

OTTOMAN-POLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS
(15th-18th Century)

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS HERITAGE

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OTTOMAN-POLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

(15th-18th Century)

An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents

BY

DARIUSZ KOŁODZIEJCZYK



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PREFACE

The present work actually belongs to a bygone period in Ottoman historiography. In the present era of brilliant studies on prosopography, material culture and the intellectual and spiritual life of our ancestors, a study of international diplomatic relations provided with the apparatus of a typical "nineteenth-century" source edition seems completely obsolete.

The more one studies Ottoman history, however, the more one realizes how valid still is the motto of Leopold Ranke "*wie es eigentlich gewesen.*" This fact led Colin Imber to introduce his recent study on Ottoman origins with a provocative motto from *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, stating that "it is a capital mistake to theorize before one has data. . . ."¹

Meticulous studies by Lajos Fekete, Tayyib Gökbilgin, Halil Inalcık, Mübahat Küçükoglu, Josef Matuz, and Victor Ménage have tremendously enriched our knowledge about the functioning of the Ottoman chancery and the function and composition of the most typical documents. Nevertheless, an extensive list of questions concerning even the most basic historical facts still awaits a response by the modern historian.

One of the most successful enterprises realized in the recent years is the pioneer study by Hans Theunissen, which is devoted to Ottoman-Venetian diplomatic relations from their initiation up to 1640. This study demonstrates that even an apparently well documented and thoroughly researched historical topic required the serious revision of numerous errors and misinterpretations.²

Ottoman-Polish diplomatic relations, the object of this study, have been the subject of much less investigation than the Venetian ones. Nevertheless, a number of individual issues have already been studied by French, German, Rumanian, Turkish, Ukrainian, and Polish

¹ Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1481* (Istanbul, 1990).

² Hans Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics: the '*ahd-names*'. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents" [hereafter, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics"]. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Utrecht, 1991.

historians, of whom we might note here only Zygmunt Abrahamowicz and Jan Reychman.³

The present study provides a detailed analysis of the various types of Ottoman and Polish instruments of peace, a chronological survey of the armistices, treaties and demarcations given against the general background of Polish-Ottoman political relations, and a full edition of the documents preserved in the original or in copies in various European collections. Those documents preserved in the original are published here in facsimile as well.

Many thanks should be addressed to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, which enabled the author to undertake research in Germany and Turkey and supported its publication. A research stay in Paris was made possible by the French Government, while research trips in Poland and Ukraine were given financial support by the author's home institution—the Institute of History at Warsaw University.

The author would like to express his gratitude to Suraiya Faroqui, Pál Fodor, Michał Kulecki, Hans Georg Majer, Victor Ostapchuk, Ihor Skočylas, Jarosław Stoliczka, Hans Theunissen, Nicolas Vatin, Gilles Veinstein, Hubert Wajs and numerous other teachers, colleagues, and staff members of various archives and libraries who contributed to this study by their advice, comments, and other kinds of assistance. Special thanks are due to Benedetto Bravo for his help in deciphering and interpreting the documents in Italian, to Joanna Błażej and Barbara Brzuska for their help in deciphering and interpreting the most difficult sections in Latin, and to Jurij Loza for drawing excellent maps. Any remaining mistakes are entirely the author's responsibility.

The author would like to express his gratitude to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for the financial assistance which enabled the publication of this book. Many thanks go to the Director of the Main Archives of Early Acts [AGAD] in Warsaw and to the Trustees of the Czartoryski Library in Cracow for their kind permission to reproduce the documents held in the aforementioned collections.

³ For the extensive literature on Polish-Ottoman relations, see the Bibliography.

A NOTE ON PLACENAMES AND FOREIGN TERMS

The problem of a satisfactory solution in rendering East European terms and placenames in a work in English may constitute a serious headache to every author. To the mixture of languages spoken in the area covered by this study—including Polish, Ukrainian, Turkish, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Hungarian, Slovak and German—one must also acknowledge political changes, the most recent of which occurred a few years ago.

Foreign terms are in general given in italics (e.g., *beylerbeyi* and *starosta*), with the exception of a few important historical terms adopted in English, such as hetman, hospodar, agha and pasha.

As far as placenames are concerned, modern boundaries were honored as long as the ethnic composition of a given territory or city has not changed radically since the period described. Therefore, with regard to places situated in the modern Ukraine, Ukrainian forms have been preferred to Polish (thus: *Žvanec*’, not *Żwaniec*; *Bučač*, not *Buczacz*), with the exception of a few important administrative centers, where Polish culture has played a dominant role (thus: *Lwów*, not *L’viv*; *Kamieniec Podolski*, not *Kam’janec’ Podil’s’kyj*). For the seventeenth-century Baltic city of Danzig (Pol. *Gdańsk*), the German form was preferred, as its ethnic and cultural identity was predominantly German until 1945. Likewise, important Ottoman centers, today in the Ukraine or in the Republic of Moldova (Moldavia) are referred to by their Turkish names (thus: *Akkerman*, not *Bel’horod Dnistrovs’kyj*; *Bender*, not *Tighina*). The Hungarian name *Temesvár*, adopted by the Ottomans (Tur. *Temeşvar*), was preferred to the modern Rumanian *Timișoara*.

The integrity of historical terms has also been preserved. While one speaks today of “the battle of Austerlitz” (not of Slavkov), such terms as the “Treaty of Karlowitz,” the “Treaty of Buczacz,” or the “Truce of Żurawno” appear in this book along with purely geographical denominations: *Sremski Karlovci*, *Bučač*, and *Žuravno*. The Polish title “*wojewoda bractawski*” was rendered as “the palatine of Braclaw” (not of Braclav). The term “Crown” refers to the Kingdom of Poland, as opposed to its coequal in the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

In a few cases, English equivalents, such as Cracow, Kiev, Dnieper, Dniester, Podolia, and Volhynia are given instead of the local names.

The geographical and ethnic terms appearing in the documents published in this volume, including those written in the Arabic alphabet, are listed in the *Glossary of geographical and ethnic terms* at the end of this work.

INTRODUCTION

Mutual perceptions

At the opening of the previous century a young Polish orientalist translated the portions of Ottoman chronicles that pertained to Ottoman-Polish relations.¹ To his great disappointment, the place assigned to Poland by Ottoman historiographers was much more limited than expected. This imbalance in mutual perceptions is true even today.

The “Turkish threat” played a prominent role in Polish internal propaganda, beginning with the battle of Varna of 1444. Along with Hotin (1621, 1673) and Vienna (1683), Varna served to mold the Polish self-image as a Christian and European state, *antemurale Christianitatis*. Numerous pamphlets of antiTurkish sentiment were published in Poland in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The perception of the “Turk” in Polish noble culture aroused interest even among nonPolish scholars.²

The perceived image of the “Turk” was highly ambivalent. Fear and disgust were often mixed with fascination. The Poles criticized Ottoman “paganism” and tyranny, but admired its wealth, power, and order. Oriental dress and armour were adopted by Polish nobles, who were often described on their visits to Italy as being dressed *alla moda barbaresca*. The Polish relationship with the Orient is reflected in its poetry, novels, and historiography.³

Paradoxically and contrary to the nineteenth-century tradition, mutual wars occupy a strikingly brief section in Polish-Ottoman history, which consisted of remarkably long periods of peace, covering the whole of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and a significant

¹ Józef Sękowski, *Collectanea z dziejopisów tureckich rzeczy do historii Polskiej służących*, vols. 1–2 (Warsaw, 1824–1825).

² See the work by Marina Ciccarini, *Il richiamo ambivalente. Immagini del Turco nella memorialistica polacca del Cinquecento* (Bergamo, 1991).

³ On these matters, see Bohdan Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku* (Łódź, 1950); Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII w.* (Cracow, 1935); Jan Reychman, ed., *Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki* (Warsaw, 1966); Janusz Tazbir, *Polskie przedmurze chrześcijańskiej Europy: mity a rzeczywistość historyczna* (Warsaw, 1987); Zdzisław Zygułski, *Broń w dawnej Polsce: na tle uzbrojenia Europy i Bliskiego Wschodu* (Warsaw, 1982).

portion of the fifteenth and even of the seventeenth, the “mythical” century.

The importance of Polish-Turkish relations in the Polish tradition scarcely corresponds to the place of Poland in the Ottoman and Turkish collective memory. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı noted that no other foreign state sent envoys to the Porte as often as the Polish kings.⁴ Unfortunately, this statement has failed to stimulate Turkish historians to undertake serious research on their mutual relations. While numerous Polish scholars can be justly criticized for not using Ottoman sources in their studies, at least they used the monumental work by Joseph von Hammer, based itself on Ottoman sources. On the Turkish side the situation is much worse. Even the monograph by Kemal Beydilli, invaluable for the student of Polish-Ottoman relations in the sixteenth century, almost completely ignores Polish sources.⁵

This lack of interest concerning its northern neighbor is partially explicable. Unlike Austria, Russia, Venice, and mediaeval Hungary, Poland never formed a serious threat to Ottoman existence. Apart from the seventeenth-century wars, their mutual relations were mostly peaceful. Furthermore, the republican system of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth was unable to attract Ottoman statesmen. Even if the Ottomans adopted certain elements of Western civilization, they preferred to do so directly from the West, and not from its East European periphery.

Only in the nineteenth century the fate of Poland prompted deeper reflection on the part of Ottoman statesmen. At that time Polish and Hungarian political refugees also began to play a tremendous role in the modernization of the Ottoman state.

The troublesome borderland: Moldavians, Cossacks, Tatars, Nogays

When traveling from Poland to Turkey today, even the shortest route will lead through at least three other countries—Ukraine, Rumania, and Bulgaria. One of the most common sins of state-oriented scholars is the neglect of the role of “nonhistorical” nations. It should be

⁴ “Hiç bir ecnebi devlet Leh kralıları kadar sık sık elçi göndermemiştir,” İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 2 (Ankara, 1949), p. 471.

⁵ Kemal Beydilli, *Die Polnischen Königswahlen und Interregnen von 1572 und 1576 im Lichte osmanischer Archivalien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der osmanischen Machtpolitik* (Munich, 1976).

stressed here that the history of Polish-Ottoman political relations belongs to the common heritage of the Poles and Turks, but also that of the Rumanians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Tatars, and other nations whose ancestors formed the ethno-religious mosaic of the greater political entities: the Ottoman empire and the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. Some of these nations managed—at least temporarily—to form semi-independent political centers with ties to Istanbul, Warsaw, Vienna, or Moscow. Among the most important are the principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, the Crimean khanate, the Ukrainian Cossack hetmanate, and the Nogay horde, who were especially active in Budjak in the first half of the seventeenth century. The Nogay bey, Kantemir, notorious for his raids into Poland, was courted by the Porte to keep the Crimean khan in check, and played an important political role in the 1620s.⁶

Often accused of plotting and treachery, the leaders of these smaller centers simply represented a completely different perspective from their counterparts in Warsaw and Istanbul. The East-European steppe can provide the scholar with an explanation of the numerous failures suffered by the great powers of those times. The Polish march to the Black Sea was halted in the fifteenth century by the Moldavian prince, Stephan the Great, and then, in the seventeenth century, by the Cossack leaders—Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj and Petro Dorošenko. The Ottoman expedition against Muscovy in 1569 was paralysed by the Crimean khan, Devlet Giray, who feared the loss of his independence. The reconciliatory policy of Istanbul and Warsaw was challenged in the seventeenth century by a notorious “private” war between the Cossacks and the Tatars, being only in theory “obedient subjects” of the king and of the sultan.

The reconciliatory efforts by Warsaw and Istanbul brought the Soviet Ukrainian historian, Noj Rašba, to the conclusion that the Polish-Ottoman peace was reached and maintained mostly through the suppression of emancipation movements in the Rumanian principalities and Ukraine.⁷ Though somewhat extreme, this hypothesis may be fairly supported by such facts as the common Polish-Ottoman

⁶ On the career and political role of Kantemir, see Mihnea Berindei, “La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues, 1600–1637,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1 (1977): 273–307, esp. pp. 291–306.

⁷ Noj Raszba, “Z dziejów polsko-tureckich stosunków w XVI–XVII w.,” *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* (1962), no. 1 (41): 241–57, esp. pp. 241–46.

pacification of Moldavia and Wallachia in the 1590s and the proposal for a common antiCossack action in the 1630s.

Whatever the particular reasons may have been, the long tradition of Polish-Ottoman diplomatic relations, which cover a period of almost four centuries between 1414 and 1795, provides a good example of the mostly peaceful coexistence of two states representing different civilizations and religions in the late mediaeval and early modern periods.

PART ONE

FOREIGN RELATIONS IN ISLAMIC CHANCERIES.
DOCUMENTS OF PEACE AND RECONCILEMENT IN
OTTOMAN DIPLOMATICS

CHAPTER ONE

'AHDNAMES—CAPITULATIONS OR PEACE TREATIES?

Though much has been written about the international relations of the Porte, much remains to be discovered. The basic difficulty lies in the lack of correspondence between certain Islamic-Ottoman terms and concepts and Latin-European ones. In the modern European tradition an *international peace treaty* is considered a single document agreed upon and signed by the representatives of the two sides and then ratified by the ruling bodies in the respective countries. While looking for such documents in the Ottoman tradition, one often finds quite different types of instruments, whose purpose was to regulate international relations. To increase the confusion, different terms were used by Ottomans and nonOttomans to describe the very same type of document. The most often used terms are listed below:

imtiyazat

an Arabic-Ottoman term for “privileges” and “concessions.” This term stressed the unilateral and voluntary character of the document “granted” by the sultan to infidels.

‘ahdname

a Persian-Ottoman term consisting of two words: *‘ahd* (Ar.-Ott. “oath, promise, pact”), and *name* (Pers. “letter”), precisely translated into German as *Eidesurkunde*, and into Polish as *list przymierny*. The term stressed the fact that a written oath or promise to keep the peace was inserted into an imperial letter. In the earlier Ottoman documents the term *‘ahdname* was used alternately with the synonymous term: *sevğendname*.

capitolazioni (Eng. “capitulations”)

a term derived from Italian *capitolo* (article, paragraph), used already in the sixteenth century. This term referred to numerous articles included in a treaty document, and should not be confused with the modern term “*capitulation*.”

pacta (Eng. “pact, treaty”)

a Latin term often found in Polish sources.

It is striking that while both Ottoman terms stress the unilateral character of a document, the Western terms rather reflect a bilateral

character. This misunderstanding can be also found in the scholarly literature that treats Ottoman political relations with various European countries.

Among the modern studies dealing with Ottoman "treaties," one must note the article by Halil İnalcık on "İmtiyazat" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*¹ and a detailed doctoral dissertation by Hans Theunissen, dealing with the Venetian *'ahdnames*.² These works form the basis for our understanding of the Ottoman concept of foreign relations. The roots of this concept can be traced to the early Islamic chancery tradition.

In 1412 the Mamluk chancery secretary al-Kalkashandi stated that the establishment of a permanent peace between Muslims and non-Muslims was impossible. Only a truce or temporary peace could be established for a specific period of time. If the Muslim ruler was strong, the truce should not last more than one year. A weak Muslim ruler might conclude a truce for ten years at the most, and then, eventually, renew it for another ten years.³ Such a truce, considered a privilege granted by a Muslim ruler, possessed a unilateral character. The solemn oath (*'ahd* or *sevğend*) contained in the document was binding on the Sultan before God (and not before a Christian ruler), and therefore guaranteed his promise to infidels. Though it was tacitly understood that reciprocal benefits were expected in return for the privileges conceded, a written document from the Christian party was not expected or even desired.

On this point, however, al-Kalkashandi allowed for more realistic options. If the Muslim ruler was weak, the truce might bear a bilateral character and its text might be drafted with the active participation of both—Muslim and Christian—parties.⁴

Theunissen proves that the origin of the Ottoman *'ahdname* goes back to the time of the Turkish emirates in Anatolia. The Mamluk, Byzantine, and Venetian tradition should not be overlooked, how-

¹ Halil İnalcık, "İmtiyazat," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition [hereafter, *EI*²], vol. 3 (Leiden, 1971): 1179–89.

² Hans Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics."

³ The precedent was given by the ten-years Treaty of Hudaibiya (628 A.D.) concluded and sworn by Prophet Muhammad with the Quraysh tribe of Mecca; see Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore, 1955), pp. 219–20.

⁴ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," pp. 26–30; cf. İnalcık, "İmtiyazat," *EI*², vol. 3, pp. 1179–80.

ever. Under the influence of contemporary Byzantine-Venetian treaties, the fifteenth-century Ottoman *'ahdname* developed into a bilateral *instrumentum reciprocum*, in which both parties exchanged the text of a treaty and swore an oath to maintain it.⁵ As we will see, not only the Ottoman-Hungarian treaty of 1444, but also the treaty of 1444 with the Ottoman vassal, Ibrahim beg of Karaman, bear such a bilateral character, even if the inferior position of the latter ruler is clearly stressed in the text and form of the treaty.

In the fifteenth century, when the Ottoman state was still one of the many local powers in southeastern Europe, it had to accept certain established local rules. One may even speak of a certain "westernization" of its chancery in that period. In subsequent years, the rise of the Ottoman empire and the conquest of Arab lands led to its "reislamization" and the rise of Ottoman "megalomania." During the sixteenth century, Ottoman-Venetian "treaties" were gradually transformed into unilateral privileges granted on request by the omnipotent Ottoman padishah. Subsequently their form resembled the diplomas granted by sultans to their own subjects, called *nizans* or *berats*.⁶

The shift of balance in favor of European states led in the eighteenth and especially in the nineteenth, century to a complete change in the character of capitulations. Ottoman sultans were no longer petitioned but forced to grant extensive privileges and immunities to the European powers and their Ottoman protégés. Thus, capitulations became a symbol of European imperialism. One should stress here that because the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth ceased to exist in 1795, "Polish capitulations" never developed into this final nineteenth-century form.

Another major point must be made here. Since the nineteenth century, the greater proportion of scholarly research has been focused on Ottoman relations with West European countries rather than on Ottoman relations with Central and Eastern Europe. In the classical sense, "capitulations," as developed by Venetian negotiators already in the fifteenth century, consisted of numerous articles (*capitolo*), comprising detailed trade regulations. Though these capitulations obviously

⁵ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," pp. 252–53.

⁶ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," pp. 253–54. Theunissen calls this process "*nizânization*."

had a political content as well, the mercantile character of the Republic and the Venetian dependency on Levantine trade determined that the main concern of the treaties would be laid on commercial clauses. When the three Western powers: France, England, and the Netherlands appeared in the Eastern Mediterranean in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their capitulations were based on the Venetian ones, for their concern was also predominantly commercial (at least for the Western partners). For instance, no border problems are dealt with in the Ottoman-Dutch capitulations, simply because no common border existed.

Though the unilateral and commercial character of Ottoman capitulations has been broadly accepted as a standard, it is not always the case where Ottoman relations with their Central and East European neighbors are concerned. Hans Theunissen classified commercial-political treaties concluded with Venice separate from the strictly political treaties concluded with Hungary (until 1525) and Austria.⁷ The dual character of Ottoman treaties concluded with the Christian powers has also been remarked by the Rumanian scholar, Viorel Panaite, who emphasized the reciprocal character of the Ottoman documents exchanged with their neighbors (Poland, Venice, Hungary, Austria, Russia) as distinct from the unilateral character of the Ottoman capitulations granted to France, England, and the Netherlands.⁸

While mutual trade always played an important role in Polish-Ottoman relations, the regular insertion of various political issues into the Polish capitulations called for the active participation of the Polish authorities. In addition, Ottoman merchants regularly visited Lwów (today L'viv), Cracow, Lublin, Poznań, and other cities of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth, thus their rights also had to be protected.⁹ Even though it was contrary to purely Islamic doctrine, the Ottomans customarily preferred to obtain a written confirmation

⁷ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," pp. 236-37.

⁸ Viorel Panaite, "Trade and merchants in the 16th century. Ottoman-Polish treaties," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 32 (1994): 259-76, esp. p. 270. Susan Skilliter compares the French *'ahdname* of 1569 and the English *'ahdname* of 1580 to imperial commands that confer privileges upon the holders of these documents; see Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey 1576-1582. A documentary study of the first Anglo-Ottoman relations* [hereafter, *William Harborne*] (London, 1977), p. 92.

⁹ A similar factor in Ottoman-Venetian relations was constituted by the permanent presence of a colony of Muslim merchants in Venice, see Cemal Kafadar, "A

of the peace from the Poles, sealed by the king and ratified by the diet. Only in the second half of the seventeenth century did the Ottoman chancery try to reduce Polish-Ottoman treaties to unilateral imperial privileges. This process began however much later than in Venice and lasted only until the Treaty of Karlowitz.

death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim merchants trading in the Serenissima,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986) = *Raiyyet Rûsumu. Essays presented to Halil İnalcık on his Seventieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*: 191–218. In that period English, Dutch, and even French commercial centers were perhaps too distant and exotic for the Ottoman subjects.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DIPLOMATIC SECTIONS OF THE *'AHDNAME*

Since its publication in 1926, the manual of Ottoman diplomatics by Lajos Fekete remains the “Bible” of every ottomanist.¹ Fekete’s classification of documents and their internal division still remains an obligatory standard for any publication of Ottoman sources. But, in more recent years, several minor but important alterations and remarks have been instituted by such scholars as Victor Ménage, Joseph Matuz, and Hans Theunissen. At the same time, the confusion in terminology derives from the fact that the Ottomans themselves used inconsistent and contradictory terms to describe the same document.

According to the standard Fekete classification, the *'ahdname* (Germ. *Vertragsschrift*) belongs to the broader category of “imperial letters,” subsumed by the Persian term “*name*.”² Yet, an introductory formula distinctive of another type of an Ottoman document—*nişan* or *berat*—appears on a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *'ahdnames*. This change, described by Theunissen as the “*nişanization* process,” led him to the conclusion that the *'ahdname* should be considered a separate type of document, with its own interesting history.³

Invocatio

As a rule, each Ottoman document begins with an invocation to God. It can be demonstrated by the Polish *'ahdnames* that this rule did not apply to documents issued in Latin and Italian, perhaps because they were considered “the languages of infidels.”⁴ While the

¹ A standard Ottoman manual in English is *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats* [hereafter, *Handbook*] by two Polish scholars Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski (The Hague-Paris, 1968). Its chapter on diplomatics is, however, quite brief and based on Fekete’s book.

² Lajos Fekete, *Einführung in die Osmanisch-Türkische Diplomatie der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn* [hereafter, *Einführung*] (Budapest, 1926), p. XXXI.

³ Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian diplomats,” p. 255.

⁴ Theunissen also noticed that “not one of the *'ahdnames* written in another language than Turkish (Greek and Italian) has an *invocatio*-formula”; cf. Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian diplomats,” p. 256.

usual invocation consisted of a single word *Hüve* ("He"), in more solemn documents, such as 'ahdnames, this formula was often more sophisticated. Written at the very top of a document, the invocation was its most vulnerable portion. Many documents preserved in the Polish archives were "shortened" in such a way that the whole blank fragment above the *tugra* was cut off. Sometimes a piece of paper containing the invocation has been pasted on the main body of the document; sometimes it is lost.

Texts of the invocations in Polish 'ahdnames are as follows:⁵

- 1525 *Hüve'l-gani'l-mugni'l-mu'in*
("He, the Wealthy, the Enricher, the Helper")
- 1577 *Hüve'llahu'l-vahidu'l-fardu's-samadu'l-gani'l-mu'ini'l-mu'ti'l-mugni*
("He, the One God, the Unique, the Everlasting, the Wealthy, the Helper, the Donor, the Enricher")
- 1634 *Hüve'llahu'l-galibu'l-kadiru'l-mennan*
("He, the Victorious God, the Almighty, the Munificent")
- 1640 *Hüve*
("He")
- 1667 *Hüve'l-mu'in*
("He, the Helper")
- 1699 *Hüve*
("He")

Notificatio, the introductory formula of the nişan

Unlike Venetian 'ahdnames, this formula was introduced to the "Polish" documents only in 1667 and disappeared in 1699.

The texts of the *notificatio* in Polish 'ahdnames comprise the following:⁶

- 1667 *Nişan-i şerif-i 'ali-şan-i sami-mekam-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani niüffize bi'l-'avni'r-rebbani ve'l-menni'l-mennani ve's-savni's-samedani hükmü oldur ki*
("This is the command of the noble, illustrious, lofty sultanic sign and of the illustrious, world-conquering imperial *tugra*—may it be effective through divine aid, munificent favor, and eternal protection!")

⁵ Only the documents preserved in the original are cited.

⁶ A *nişan*-formula is inserted also in the document of 1554 (see Document 17). This document, being a copy of the 'ahdname (*suret-i 'ahdname*) issued on the request of the Polish king, is different from a classical 'ahdname, however.

- 1672 *Nışan-i şerif-i 'ali-şan-i sami-mekam-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-arayi giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi'l-'avni'r-rebbani hükmi oldur ki*
 ("This is the command of the noble, illustrious, lofty sultanic sign and of the illustrious, world-adorning, world-conquering imperial *tugra*—may it be effective through divine aid!")
- 1678 *Nışan-i şerif-i 'ali-şan-i sami-mekam-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan giti-arayi hakani nüffize bi'l-'avni'r-rebbani ve'l-menni'l-mennani hükmi oldur ki*
 ("This is the command of the noble, illustrious, lofty sultanic sign and of the illustrious, world-conquering, world-adorning, imperial *tugra*—may it be effective through divine aid and munificent favor!")

Legitimatio (tugra)

The imperial monogram (*tugra*) was drawn by a special clerk (*tugrakeş*) after the document was inscribed. Though a *tugra* was affixed to Ottoman documents issued in Western languages as well, it never appeared on translations or copies. When the text of an *'ahdname* was entered into an Ottoman copy register, the designated place of the *tugra* was indicated by a note: *mahall-i tugra*. In some cases the Ottoman chancery could issue additional copies of a given *'ahdname* and provide each one with a *tugra*. In such cases all copies should be regarded as originals, even if some of them had a more solemn character (expensive paper, gold sand, more regular ductus); (cf. the Polish *'ahdnames* from 1623).

Theunissen correctly regards the imperial *tugra* as an element that corresponds to the Latin *legitimatio*.⁷ But, his placement of the *tugra* at the very end of his analysis is highly debatable. Even if added after the completion of a document, the *tugra* was drawn at the head, immediately beneath the invocation or, occasionally, after the *formula devotionis*. The sultan's name was thus placed in immediate proximity of the name of God. It would seem that the prominent position of the *tugra* within a document justifies its treatment at the beginning rather than at the end of a document.⁸

⁷ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," p. 294.

⁸ Except for Theunissen, all other scholars deal with the *tugra* at the beginning of a document; cf. the quite recent publication by Anton Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien* [hereafter, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*], pt. 1 (Vienna, 1983), p. XVI.

The texts of the *tugras* in the Polish 'ahdnames:

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1489, 1494, 1502 | <i>Bayezid bin Mehmed han muzaffer da'ima</i>
("Bayezid, son of Mehmed, the ever victorious khan") |
| 1519 | <i>Selim-şah bin Bayezid han muzaffer da'ima</i>
("Selim-shah, son of Bayezid, the ever victorious khan") |
| 1525 | <i>Süleyman-şah bin Selim-şah han muzaffer da'ima</i>
("Suleyman-shah, son of Selim-shah, the ever victorious khan") |
| 1577 | <i>Murad-şah bin Selim-şah han muzaffer da'ima</i>
("Murad-shah, son of Selim-shah, the ever victorious khan") |
| 1597 | <i>Mehmed bin Murad han muzaffer da'ima</i>
("Mehmed, son of Murad, the ever victorious khan") |
| 1598 | <i>Mehmed bin Murad-şah han muzaffer da'ima</i>
("Mehmed, son of Murad-shah, the ever victorious khan") |
| 1623 I | <i>Mustafa-şah bin Mehmed han muzaffer da'ima</i>
("Mustafa-shah, son of Mehmed, the ever victorious khan") |
| 1623 II, 1634 | <i>Murad-şah bin Ahmed han muzaffer da'ima</i>
("Murad-shah, son of Ahmed, the ever victorious khan") |
| 1640 | <i>Ibrahim-şah bin Ahmed han muzaffer da'ima</i>
("Ibrahim-shah, son of Ahmed, the ever victorious khan") |
| 1667, 1672, 1678 | <i>Mehmed-şah bin Ibrahim han muzaffer da'ima</i>
("Mehmed-shah, son of Ibrahim, the ever victorious khan") |
| 1699 | <i>Mustafa-şah bin Mehmed han muzaffer da'ima</i>
("Mustafa-shah, son of Mehmed, the ever victorious khan") |

Formula devotionis

The simplest version of the *formula devotionis* consists of two words: *Allahun 'inayetiyle*—"by the grace of God." In a more elaborate form it contains the names of God, of the Prophet Muhammad, the four orthodox caliphs—Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and Ali—and it is written (usually in gold) between the invocation and *tugra*. This section was for years erroneously considered the "second invocation."⁹ In

⁹ For instance, see the catalogue of Ottoman documents preserved in the Polish archives by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich. Dokumenty do dziejów Polski i krajów ościennych w latach 1455–1672* [hereafter, *KDT*] (Warsaw, 1959), *passim*.

his edition of Ottoman documents from Vienna (1983), Anton Schaendlinger concluded that in some cases this elevated part should be regarded as a part of the *intitulatio*, but his conclusions are not fully satisfactory.¹⁰ In 1985 Victor Ménage finally solved this puzzle. He suggested that this formula, originating from Latin *Dei gratia*, was placed above the mainbody in accordance with ancient Chinese-Mongolian practice. By an “honorific elevation,” the name of God was placed above the name of the sultan contained in the *tugra*.¹¹ A model text of the combined *intitulatio-formula devotionis* would read: “I, who by the grace of God am. . . .”

Further support for the thesis of Ménage was given by Theunissen, who demonstrated that once the *nişan*-formula was introduced to the Venetian ‘*ahdnames* after 1573, the *formula devotionis* was no longer elevated, as it would have disturbed the internal balance of the document.¹² Also in the first Polish *nişan*-type ‘*ahdname* of 1667, the *formula devotionis* is no longer in a raised position, but it forms an integral part of the text.

Herewith, the texts of the *formula devotionis* in Polish ‘*ahdnames*:

- 1489 *Dei gratia*
- 1494 *Dei gracia*
- 1502 *Dei gracia*
- 1519 *per la Divina favente clementia*
- 1525 *Hazret-i ‘İzzet cellet kudretihü ve ‘alet kelimetihüünün ‘inayeti ve mühr-i sipehr-i nübü’et ahter-i burc-i fütüvvet pışva-yi zümre-i enbiya ve mukteda-yi fırka-i asfiya Muhammed Mustafanın salla’llahu ‘aleyhi ve sellem mu‘cizat-i kesiretü’l-berekatı ve dört yarinin ki Ebu Bekr ve ‘Ömer ve ‘Osman ve ‘Ali dir ridvanu’llah ‘aleyhim ecma’in anların ervah-i mukaddesi mürafakatyla*
 (“By the grace of His Glorious Majesty {exalted is His Power and elevated is His Word!} and by the miracles, full of divine blessings, of Muhammad Mustafa¹³ {may God command and

¹⁰ Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*, pt. 1, p. XVIII. The German language better translates and combines the Turkish texts of *formula devotionis* and *intitulatio*; for instance: *Allahun ‘inayetiyle ben ki Sultan Süleyman Şahım* may be rendered as “Ich, der ich durch die Gnade Gottes Sultan Suleyman Şah bin.”

¹¹ Victor Ménage, “On the constituent elements of certain sixteenth-century Ottoman documents,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 48 (1985): 283–304, esp. pp. 290–92.

¹² Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics,” p. 267.

¹³ The second name of Prophet Muhammad, Mustafa, means in Arabic “the chosen” i.e., “the elect of God.”

salute him!}, the sun of the heaven of prophecy, the star of the constellation of magnanimity, the leader of the class of prophets and the guide of the group of saints, and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of his four companions, who are Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and Ali {may the approbation of God be upon them all!"})

As can be seen from later texts, after acquiring its developed form already under Sultan Süleyman, the *formula devotionis* did not undergo any further changes in the following period. Perhaps the most elaborate *formula devotionis* in the Polish 'ahdnames is that of Mustafa I dated 1623. It reads as follows:

1623 *Hazret-i Huda-yi müta'al ve Cenab-i Vahhab Zu'l-celal u'l-efzal celle celalehü ve 'amme nevalehüünin meyamin-i te'yidat-i ezeliye ve teyamün-i tefikat-i lem-yezeliyesiyile ve hazret-i sultan-i taht-gah-i eflak mesned-nışın-i bar-gah lev la ke mufahhar-i evlad-i Adem maksud-i aferiniş-i 'alem hatem-i cümle-i rüsül ü enbiya pişva-yi zümre-i asfiya mahremün harimün li ma'a'llah Muhammed resulü'llah salla'llahu 'aleyhi ve sellemün mu'cizat-i kesiretü'l-berekatı muvafakati ile ve sahabe-i kiram ve hulefa-i zeviyü'l-ihtirâmı hazret-i Ebu Bekr ve 'Ömer ve 'Osman ve 'Ali ridvanu'llah ta'ala 'aleyhim ecma'in ve sa'ir evliya-i kiram ve etkiya-i fihamun ervah-i mukaddeseleri mürafakati ile*

("By the auspicious everlasting support and the upright eternal assistance¹⁴ of His Majesty, the most Supreme God, the All-Bountiful, the Lord of glory and great qualities {exalted is His majesty and universal is His gift!}, and by the consent of the miracles, full of divine blessings, of His Excellency Muhammad, the Prophet of God {may God command and salute him!}, the sultan of the throne of the spheres seated in the [divine] court, Hadst thou not been,¹⁵ the exalted from among the sons of Adam, the purpose of the creation of the world, the seal of all the apostles and prophets, the leader of the class of saints, my intimate confidant with God, and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of his noble companions and venerated caliphs, Their Excellencies Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and Ali {may the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—be upon them all!}, and of other noble saints and illustrious pious ones")

¹⁴ The word "*teyamün*," (lit. "a going to the right hand side") is rendered here as "upright." A similar fragment (*teyamün-i te'yidat-i ezeliye ve meyamin-i tefikat-i lem-yezeliyesiyile*) is translated by Schaendlinger: "Mit der guten ewigen Hilfe Gottes... und Seinem glückhaften unaufhörlichen Beistand;" see Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*, pt. 1, p. 90.

¹⁵ "*Lev la ke*"—a name symbolizing the Prophet Muhammad and originating from the exclamation: "Hadst thou not been, the spheres would not have been created."

As was already mentioned, the *formula devotionis* in the *nişan*-type documents of 1667, 1672, and 1678 was written in the ordinary black ink under the *nişan*-formula and formed an integral part of the *intitulatio*. An elevated *formula devotionis* was again inscribed in the last Polish *‘ahdname* of 1699.

Intitulatio

The *intitulatio* consists of the name and rank of the person issuing the document, in the case of an *‘ahdname*—the Ottoman sultan. As we have seen, the *intitulatio* was usually coupled with the *formula devotionis*. Introduced by the standard formula *ben ki -ım* (“I, who am . . .”), the solemn intitulations contained in the Polish *‘ahdnames* consisted of a tremendous number of epithets of the sultan and an extensive listing of provinces under his suzerainty.

Examples of the texts of *intitulatio* in Polish *‘ahdnames*:

- 1489 *Sultan Bayesith, [formula devotionis] Asie, Grece etc. Imperator Maximus*
 1494 *Sultan Bayazit Han, [formula devotionis] Imperator ambarum terrarum, Asiae atque Europae et marium Magnus Sultanus etc.*
 1502 *Sultan Bayazit, [formula devotionis] Grande Imperator Asie atque Europe et marium etc.*
 1519 *Sultan Selim Sach, [formula devotionis] Grande Imperator di Constantinopoli, di Asia, Europa, Persia, Soria et Egipto et Arabia et de li mari etc.*
 1525 *[formula devotionis] ben ki sultanü's-selatin ve bürhanü'l-havakin tac bahş-i husrevan-i ru-yi zemin zıllu'llah fi'l-arz Ak Denizın ve Kara Denizın ve Rum-ilinin ve Anatolının ve Karamanın ve Rumın ve vilayet-i Du'l-kadriyenin ve Diyarbekrin ve Kürdistanın ve Azerbaycanın ve 'Acemin ve Şamın ve Halebin ve Mısırın ve Mekkenin ve Medinenin ve Kudsın külliyyen Diyar-i Arabın ve Yemenin ve dahi niçe memleketlerin ki aba-i kiramım ve ecdad-i 'ızamım enara'llahu berahinehüm kuvvet-i kahire ile feth eyledikleri ve cenab-i celalet-ma'abım dahi tig-i ateş-bar ve şemşir-i zafer-nigarım ile feth eyledüğim niçe diyarın sultan ve padişahı Sultan Bayezid Han oghı Sultan Selim Han oghı Sultan Süleyman-şahım*
 (“I who [*formula devotionis*] am the sultan of sultans, the proof of emperors, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusraws¹⁶ of the world, the God's shadow on earth, the sultan and the padishah of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea, of Rumelia, Anatolia, Karaman, Rum, the provinces of Zulkadir, Diyarbakır, Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, Persia, Damascus, Haleb [i.e., Aleppo], Egypt, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and all

¹⁶ Khusraw = Chosroes = King Cyrus, also any great monarch.

the lands of Arabia, of Yemen, and of the many lands conquered with the overwhelming power by my noble fathers and magnificent grandfathers {may God illuminate their miracle-working graves!},¹⁷ and also of the many countries that my glorious majesty has conquered¹⁸ with my flaming sword and victorious sabre, Sultan Suleyman-shah, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Bayezid Khan")

While the rank order of provinces and cities listed in the Ottoman *intitulation* remained basically unchanged in the second 'ahdname of Sultan Suleyman of 1553, and in the document of Selim II from 1568,¹⁹ an important shift can be observed in the 'ahdname of Murad III, issued in 1577. In this document the "classical" Ottoman provinces—Rumelia and Anatolia—, and the two seas controlled from Constantinople—the White (i.e., Mediterranean) and the Black one—, had to give their privileged place to "the noblest of the towns and cities, Mecca the venerated and Medina the enlightened," and to "the most holy among the dominions and districts, the noble Jerusalem." The whole *intitulation* from 1577 reads as follows:²⁰

1577 [formula devotionis] *ben ki sultan-i selatin-i zaman bürhan-i havakin-i evan tac-bahş-i husrevan-i cihan zillü'llahu'l-Melikü'l-Mennan eşrefü'l-meda'in ü'l-emsar Mekke-i mükerreme ve Medine-i münevvere ve akdesü'l-memalik ü'l-aktar Kuds-i şerif ve Şam darü's-salam ve Mısır ve Yemen ve San'a ve 'Aden ve Diyarbekir ve Kürdistan ve Erzurum ve Gürcistan ve Bagdad ve Van ve Haleb ve 'umumen 'Arabistan ve Anadolu ve Karaman ve Du'l-kadriye ve cezire-i Rodos ve vilayet-i Rum ve Trablus ve Basra ve Şehrizul ve hasretü'l-müluk olan mahruse-i Istanbul ve cezire-i Kıbrıs ve İfrikiya dimekle ma'ruf memalik-i Tunus ve darü'l cihad Cezayir-i Magrib ve Halku'l-Wad ve Habeş ve Lahsa ve 'umdetü'l-emakin ü'd diyar Rumili ve Budun ve Temeşvar vilayetlerinin ve Deşt-i Kıpçak iklimlerinin ve Ak Deniz ve Kara Denizin ve Eflak ve Bogdan ve vilayet-i Erdelin ve*

¹⁷ Tur. *enara'llahu berahinehim*; this exclamation is thusly translated by Alexander de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic. A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations 1610–1630* (Leiden-Istanbul, 1978), p. 338, note 27.

¹⁸ This sentence is difficult to translate literally because the subject changes from the third into the first person: *cenab-i celalet-ma'abum dahi . . . feth eylediğim*. Cf. a similar fragment translated by Reychman and Zajaczkowski, *Handbook*, illustration 23 after p. 142.

¹⁹ The 'ahdnames of 1553 and 1568 are not preserved in the original, but one can reconstruct their contents on the basis of extant copies and translations; see Documents 15 and 20.

²⁰ This intitulation, published in facsimile by Reychman and Zajaczkowski (*Handbook*, ill. 18, 20, 28a–d), was used by Skilliter in her reconstruction of the first English capitulations of 1580; see Skilliter, *William Harborne*, p. 96.

bunların emsali niçe memalik-i ma'murenin sultanı ve padişahı hazret-i Sultan Murad Han ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Süleyman Han ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Bayezid Han ibn Sultan Mehmed Han ibn Sultan Murad Hanım

("I who [*formula devotionis*] am the sultan of the sultans of the age, the proof of the emperors of the season, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusraws of the world, the shadow of God, the Munificent King, the sultan and the padishah of the noblest of the towns and cities, Mecca the venerated and Medina the enlightened, and of the most holy among the dominions and districts, the noble Jerusalem, and of Damascus, the abode of peace, of Egypt, Yemen, Sana, Aden, Diyarbakır, Kurdistan, Erzurum, Georgia, Baghdad, Van, Haleb [i.e., Aleppo], and of all the lands of Arabia, Anatolia, Karaman, Zulkadir, the island of Rhodes, the province of Rum, Tripoli,²¹ Basra, Shehrizul,²² and of the well-protected Istanbul, which afflicts the kings with nostalgia, of the island of Cyprus, and of the domains of Tunis known by the name of Africa,²³ and of Algiers and La Goulette²⁴ [being] the area of the holy war, and of Ethiopia and Lahsa,²⁵ and of the chief among the sites and regions, Rumelia, and of the provinces of Buda and Temesvár, of the climes of the Kipchak steppe, of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea, of Wallachia, Moldavia, and of the country of Transylvania and of many other prosperous provinces such as these,

²¹ Erroneously interpreted by Skilliter as "the Tripoli of Syria" (Skilliter, *William Harborne*, p. 96). While the Syrian (or rather Lebanese) Tripoli became the center of an Ottoman province only in ca. 1570, "western" Tripoli in Libya had served as a provincial center since 1556; cf. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300–1600* [hereafter, *The Ottoman Empire*] (New York, 1973), p. 106. The latter one is listed as *magrib Tarabulusi* in the sultan's intitution of the Austrian *'ahdname* of 1559 (see Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*, pt. 1, p. 60). The Latin translation of our document, prepared by the Ottoman chancery, reads precisely *Tripolis occidentalis*; see Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych [hereafter, AGAD], AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 260, no. 487.

²² A town near Kirkuk, which had disappeared by 1638; see Skilliter, *William Harborne*, p. 96 and Halil Sahillioglu, "Dördüncü Muradın Bağdad seferi Menzıl-nâmesi," *Belgeler. Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 2, nos. 3–4 (1965): 1–35, esp. p. 25.

²³ Indeed, the territory of Tunisia corresponds with that of the ancient Roman province of Africa (Ar. Ifriqiya).

²⁴ Tur.-Ar. Halku'l-Wad or Halk al-Wadi. The fort at the entrance to the harbour of Tunis. A key strategical point in the Spanish-Ottoman wars in the West Mediterranean area during the sixteenth century. Finally conquered by the Ottomans in 1574.

²⁵ The fort and the center of the province conquered in ca. 1550, situated in the Persian Gulf opposite the island of Bahrain; see Jon Mandaville, "The Ottoman Province of al-Hasa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90 (1970): 486–513.

His Majesty Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Suleyman Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Bayezid Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed (i.e., Mehmed) Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan.

The aforementioned change fairly reflects the “reislamization” process identified by Halil Inalcık in the sixteenth-century Ottoman empire. The conquest of the three holy sanctuaries of Islam and the Arab lands led to a basic change in the self-image of the Ottoman rulers. The title of the “emperor of Rome” (*kayser-i Rum*), readily used by Mehmed the Conqueror, himself portrayed by Machiavelli as an ideal ruler of the European Renaissance, was gradually replaced by the title of “the servant of the two holy cities,” which pertained to the heritage of the Arab caliphate. Also the number of provinces listed in the sultanic *intitulatio* increased dramatically in the second half of the sixteenth century, to reach the “peak of Ottoman megalomania” in the following century.

After 1577 the following new names of cities and provinces were introduced to the sultanic *intitulatio*:

- 1591 Bosnia, Caffa, Derbend, Dilem (on the Caspian), Iran, Karabagh, al-Katif (in the Persian Gulf), Maraş, Mosul, Nakhichevan, Nehavend, Pelengan (both in Iran), the Red Sea (Derya-i Kulzum), Shirvan, Sivas, Syrian Tripoli, Tabriz, Trabzon (i.e., Trapezunt), Turkish lands, Turkestan
- 1607 Childir (in Georgia), Eger, Kanizsa, Szigetvár, Tatar country
- 1623 Anushirvan (i.e., Ktesiphon), Dagestan, Hungary, Kaaba (i.e., Mecca), Luristan, Saba (i.e., southern Arabia)
- 1634 Constantinople
- 1640 Erevan
- 1667 Adana, Akkerman, Aydın, Azak, Beyrut, Cairo, Chios, Crimea, Germiyan, Iraq, Izmir, Jidda, Kilia, Mytilene (i.e., Lesbos), Očakiv (Özi), Saida, Saruhan, Suez, Tadzhik country, Upper Egypt (Sa'id)
- 1672 Crete, Erzincan, Maghreb
- 1699 Belgrade, Bursa, Edirne, Rakka (Urfa)

Many of the new names appeared only once. Some of the changes had a purely stylistic character, such as the replacement of Mecca by the Kaaba, Istanbul by Constantinople, or [the province of] Rum by Sivas. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the *intitulatio* played an important role as an instrument of Ottoman propaganda, and its composition often reflected the actual policy of the Porte. Elaborate forms of documents served to impress Ottoman subjects

as well as foreign rulers, whose position vis-à-vis the sultan may have determined the level of sophistication of a document. For instance, the intitulations of the *'ahdnames* addressed to the Polish kings were usually more elaborate than those addressed to Venetian doges.

The innovations that appear in the Ottoman intitulations between 1591 and 1699 vary in character. As might be expected, new conquests were usually reflected by the addition of the names of the new provinces to the *intitulatio*. For instance, the *'ahdname* of 1591 contains the names of a number of fortresses and provinces, recently conquered during the Persian war in the Caucasus. The Habsburg-Ottoman war of 1593–1606 resulted in the creation of new, small provinces in Hungary, mentioned for the first time in the document of 1607. In the succeeding years, the victories of Murad IV resulted in the introduction of Erevan to the *intitulatio* of 1640. Finally, three years after the conquest of Candia, Crete was mentioned among the Ottoman provinces in the *'ahdname* of 1672.

Another category of changes exhibit no correlation with recent Ottoman conquests. As a rule only large Ottoman provinces (thus *eyalets*, and not their components called *sancaks*) were listed in the *intitulatio*. By the end of the sixteenth century, the number of *eyalets* had increased from the initial two (Rumelia and Anatolia) to above thirty. New provinces were created not only through conquest, but also through the development of the internal administrative division of the empire. Therefore, Caffa, Trabzon, and Bosnia (*eyalets* founded respectively in 1568, 1578, and 1580), appear for the first time only in the sultanic *intitulatio* of 1591, though their territories had already been incorporated into the Ottoman empire in the fifteenth century.

Apart from the provinces, only the imperial city of Istanbul and the centers of religious (Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Hebron),²⁶ or strategic (La Goulette)²⁷ importance could occupy a place in the *intitulatio*. A departure from this rule can be observed in the *'ahdname* of 1667, which mentions numerous minor centers and territories usually not included in the sultanic intitulations. One finds among them Greek islands (Chios, Lesbos), Black Sea ports (Akkerman, Kilia, Očakiv), other ports in the Mediterranean and Red Sea (Beyrut, Izmir, Jidda, Saida, Suez), and even the names of West Anatolian

²⁶ Tur.-Ar. Halilü'r-Rahman, mentioned in 1553 and 1634.

²⁷ Tur.-Ar. Halku'l-Wad, mentioned in 1577.

Turkish principalities conquered by the Ottomans in the fifteenth century and turned into *sancaks* (Aydın, Germiyan). This *intitulatio* clearly reflects the sensitive position of the maritime holdings of the Porte during the prolonged war against Venice and Ottoman involvement in Black Sea matters, which resulted in the Polish war a few years later. This last thesis is further confirmed by the inclusion of the whole Crimea in the *intitulatio* of the Ottoman sultan.

The changes introduced in 1699 are fully justifiable on account of the considerable territorial losses suffered by the Ottomans during the great war and confirmed in the negotiations at Karlowitz. To compensate for these losses, two former Ottoman capitals—Bursa and Edirne—and the fortress of Belgrade along with the recently founded province of Rakka were incorporated into the sultanic *intitulatio*.

Starting with the first Polish *'ahdname* written in Turkish in 1525, each *intitulatio* contained a chain (*silsile*) of predecessors of a given sultan. Sultan Suleyman traced his genealogy from his grandfather, Bayezid II, but Suleyman's grandson Murad III went further back to his namesake, Murad II; the last mentioned remained at the head of the lists of predecessors of Mehmed III and Ahmed I until the list was shortened in 1619 by Osman II, whose genealogy began with Suleyman. With the exception of the *'ahdname* of 1634, where no *silsile* is given, Suleyman occupied the head of the dynastic lists until 1667. The second *'ahdname* of Mehmed IV, issued in 1672 during an imperial campaign, was much simpler than the first document issued in the name of this sultan in 1667. Its abbreviated *silsile* went back only to Mehmed's grandfather, Ahmed I. This scheme was repeated in the *'ahdname* of 1678. In the last Polish *'ahdname* of 1699, Mehmed's son Mustafa II traced his genealogy from his grandfather, Ibrahim.

Manifestatio

In his analysis of sixteenth-century Ottoman documents Schaendlinger distinguished a separate element, usually placed between the *narratio* and the *dispositio*, which expressed the sultan's wish to provide for global welfare and peace. He proposed to call it *manifestatio* and to regard it as yet another diplomatic part of an Ottoman document.²⁸

²⁸ Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*, pt. 1, pp. XXV–XXVI.

A similar element corresponding to Schaendlinger's *manifestatio* can be found in the Polish *'ahdnames* of the late seventeenth century. It is usually inserted between the *intitulatio* and the *narratio*.

Texts of the *manifestatio* in Polish *'ahdnames* are as follows:

- 1667 *gün ki hall ü 'akd-i umur-i emn ü emani ve fetk ü retk-i kar-i cihan-bani be-tevfik-i rebbani kabza-i tasarruf-i sahib-kıranıma müfevvazdır şükran 'ala tilke 'n-ni'am zimmet-i himmet-i mülukaneme vacib ü ehemmi oldu ki hulus-i taviyet ve sıdk ve istikamet ile dergah-i sa'adet-dest-gahımıza iltica' ve ittika' idenlere 'avatıf ve 'avarıf-i padişahanemiz mebzul ve bi-dirig ola*
 ("Since the binding and the loosing of the matters of safety and security, and the rending and the mending²⁹ of the acts of the empire have been committed to the grasp of my imperial power by the divine guidance of the Lord, while expressing gratitude for these bountiful blessings, it is my due and most important royal incumbency that our imperial kindnesses and favors be lavished and not be denied to those, who with sincere mind, truthfulness and honesty seek for refuge and lean for support at our felicitous court.")
- 1672³⁰ *ve tevfik-i rebbani ile hall ü 'akd-i umur-i mülk ü devlet ve fetk ü retk-i kar-i saltanat yed-i mü'eyyed-i sahib-kıranıma mahsus olmanın 'inan-i 'azimet-i şahanem tarik-i tanzim ü ıslah-i ahval-i ra'iyet ü bilada ma'tuf ve cell-i himmet vala-nehmet-i padişahanem taraf-i terfih-i 'ibada mas-ruf kalmak zimmet-i himmet-i hüsravaneme ehemmi ü elzem olmuştur*
 ("Since—with the divine guidance—the binding and the loosing of the matters of the state and the rending and the mending of the acts of the sultanate have been appropriated to my imperial, divinely supported hand, it is my most important and indispensable royal incumbency that the rein of my royal disposition be directed to the path of arrangement and improvement of the conditions of the subjects and of the country and that the high endeavor of my exalted imperial desire be expended in bringing prosperity to the faithful.")
- 1699 *ki hall ü 'akd-i umur-i emn ü eman ve fetk ü retk-i kar-i cihan-ban bi-tevfiki 'llahi 'l-Meliki 'l-Müste'an kabza-i tasarrufuma müsaahhar u müfevvazdır fe-la-cerem şükran 'ala tilke 'n-ni'am zimmet-i himmet-i mülukaneme ahra ve ehemmi olmuştur ki sıdk-i niyet ve safa-i taviyet ile izhar-i hulusiyet idenlere 'avatıf-i 'aliye-i padişahanemiz bi-dirig ola*
 ("Since—with the divine guidance of the Lord, Whose aid is

²⁹ On the resonant metaphors beloved by the Ottoman bureaucracy, such as *hall ü 'akd* or *fetk ü retk*, see Carter Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789–1922* (Princeton, 1980), p. 18.

³⁰ The *manifestatio* of the *'ahdname* of 1678 is identical.

implored—the binding and the loosing of the matters of safety and security, and the rending and the mending of the acts of the sovereign of the world have been subjected and committed to the grasp of my power, while expressing gratitude by all means for these blessings, it is my worthy and most important royal incumbency that our high imperial favors be not denied to those displaying sincerity of purpose, clearness of intention, and devotion.”)

Inscriptio

The *inscriptio* consists of the name of the addressee combined with his titles. In a standard Ottoman letter this part was preceded with the formula *sen ki . . . -sin* (“thou, who are . . .”). From the grammatical point of view, however, the Ottoman *ahdnames* are not addressed to a particular person, rather they contain a manifestation of the imperial will addressed to the broader public. Therefore, the name and the customary titles of the king appear not as a single part of a document, but only in the *expositio-narratio*, usually preceded by the word *hala* (“now,” “at present”). This led Theunissen to the assumption that we should speak of an indirect *inscriptio* within the text of the *expositio-narratio* and not of a normal *inscriptio*.³¹

Herewith, the texts of indirect *inscriptio* in Polish *‘ahdnames*:

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1489 | <i>Illustrissimus et Excellentissimus Dominus Chazimiro Rex Polonie</i> |
| 1494 | <i>Serenissimo Principe Domino Ihoanne Alberto Dei gracia Rege Polonie et Supremo Duce Litbanie [sic] Rusie Prusieque domino et herede etc.</i> |
| 1502 | <i>Serenissimo Principi [sic] Alexandro, Re de Polonia et Magno Dux Lituanie, e de Rusia e Prusia signore, e amico e vicino nostro carisimo</i> |
| 1519 | <i>el Serenissimo Principe et Domino Sigismundo Re di Polonia, Grande Ducca de Lituania et di Rusia et Prusia, signore amico et vicino nostro carisimo</i> |
| 1525 | <i>Lih krali olan Sicizmundus</i>
(“the Polish king Sigismund”) |
| 1553 | <i>Lih vilayetinin krali olan ifihari’l-ümera’i’l-‘izami’n-nasraniye Sicizmundus Augustus</i>
(“the king of Poland, the pride of the great Christian princes, Sigismund August”) |
| 1577 | <i>vilayet-i Leh krali ve Litvanya ve Prusya ve Urusya ve Mazovyanın ve Livonya ve sa’ir yerlerin ulu dukası olan ifihari’l-ümera’i’l-‘izami’l-‘iseviye muhtari’l-kübera’i’l-fiham fi’l-milleti’l-mesihie muslihu masalihi</i> |

³¹ Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics,” p. 272.

cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Batori Iştvan kral

("the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Prussia, Ruthenia, Mazovia, Livonia, and other lands, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene [i.e., Christian] community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, King Stephan Báthory")

- 1591³² *Lih kralı ve Litvanya ve Rusya ve Purusya ve Mazovya ve Livonya ve sayır yerlerin ulu dukası ve Sviçya vilayetinın varisi ve kralı olacak iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-izami'l-iseviye muhtari'l-kübera'i'l-fıham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihıye muslıhu masalıhi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Jigmund*

("the Polish king, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Livonia, and other lands, the heir and the future king of Sweden, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Sigismund")

- 1634 *Lih vilayetinın kralı ve Litva vilayetinın ulu dukası ve Rusya ve Prusya ve Mazovya ve sayır memleketlerin varisi ve Işveçya vilayetinın kralı olan iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-izami'l-iseviye muhtari'l-kübera'i'l-fıham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihıye muslıhu masalıhi [cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Dördüncü Vladislav*

("the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, the heir of Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, and other countries, the king of Sweden, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene [community], he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Ladislaus the Fourth")

- 1640 *Lih kralı ve Li[t]vanya ve Rusya ve Purusya ve Mazovya ve Livonyanın dukası ve Işveçya vilayetinın varisi [ve] kralı olacak iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-izami'l-iseviye muhtari'l-kübera'i'l-fıham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihıye muslıhu masalıhi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Vladislaş*

("the Polish king, the [grand] duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, and Livonia, the heir and the future king

³² This *inscriptio* of Sigismund III was repeated in the *ahdnames* of 1597, 1598, 1607, and 1623.

- of Sweden,³³ the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Ladislaus")
- 1667 *iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fiham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihîye mustlihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Lih vilayetlerinin kralı ve hükümdarı olan Yoanes Kasimiroz*
 ("the king and commander of Poland, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, John Casimir")
- 1672 *iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fiham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihîye mustlihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Lih vilayetinın kralı ve hükümdarı olan Mihayil*
 ("the king and commander of Poland, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Michael")
- 1678 *iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fiham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihîye mustlihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Lih vilayetinın kralı ve hükümdarı olan Ivan-i Salis*
 ("the king and commander of Poland, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, John the Third")
- 1699 *iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fihamü'l-mesihîye mustlihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-i'tibar hala Lih kralı ve Litva ve Rusya ve bunlara tabi vilayetlerin hükümdarı Augustus-i Sani*
 ("the present king of Poland and the ruler of Lithuania, Ruthenia and their dependent provinces, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious Christian dignitaries, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of

³³ In two copies of this 'ahdname Ladislaus is referred to simply as "the heir of Sweden" (*Işveçya vilayetinın varisi olan*).

the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and esteem, August the Second")

As can be seen, the *inscriptio* of the Polish kings had reached its final elaborate form already by 1577; later alterations involved only the provinces under their rule at the time.

The claims of the Polish Vasas to the Swedish throne were reflected in their letters to the Porte by the title: *Suedorum, Gottorum, Vandalorumque haereditarius rex*.³⁴ In Ottoman documents Sigismund III was invariably addressed as "the heir and the future king of Sweden" (*Sviçya vilayetinin varisi ve kralı olacak*). Ladislaus IV is referred to as "the king of Sweden" (*Isviçya vilayetinin kralı olan*) in the document of 1634, while the title given by the Porte to his father reappears in the *'ahd-name* of 1640.

Polish-Ottoman correspondence proves that Ottoman statesmen were not unfamiliar with the conflict over the Swedish throne. In his letter to the Polish king dated 1656 the grand vizier, Boynu Egri Mehmed Pasha, recalled the previous Polish war with Gustavus Adolphus, asking whether the whole title-affair was worth a new war.³⁵ In sum, the form adopted by the Ottomans combined diplomacy, satisfying the addressee at least in part, and a perception by Ottoman officials of the realities.

After the Polish kings officially renounced their claims to the throne in Stockholm in 1660, Sweden no longer appeared in the *inscriptio*. Moreover, in the Ottoman documents of 1667, 1672, and 1678 the Polish kings were also "deprived" of other titles and merely referred to as "the kings and commanders of Poland." As these documents were issued in the above discussed period of *nişanization*, an elaborate *inscriptio* apparently did not conform to documents granted unilaterally by an omnipotent padishah. The traditional form of *inscriptio* reappears in the Polish *'ahdnames* after the pacification of 1699.

Salutatio

The name of the Polish king written in an *'ahdname* was usually followed by a wishing formula, expressing the hope for his ultimate conversion to Islam. The forms of *salutatio* were as follows:

³⁴ See the royal treaty document of 1606 (Document 29).

³⁵ *Elkab için bunca zahmet ve neza'at çekmeğe layık değildir*, Biblioteka Czartoryskich

- 1553 *erşedehü'llahu ta'ala*
("May God—may He be exalted!—direct him to the right way!")
- 1577–1607 *hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr*
("May his latter days end with good!")
- 1623–1634 *hatema'llahu 'avakibahu bi'l-hayr*
("May God seal his days with good!")
- 1640–1678 *hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr*
("May his latter days end with good!")
- 1699 *hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr u'r-reşad*
("May his latter days end with good and with [his] taking the right path!")

Expositio-narratio

This part of the document contains an explanation of the reasons for granting the *'ahdname*. Usually it mentions the arrival of the Polish envoy and the request of the Polish king to live in peace with the Ottoman sultan. Sometimes a brief history of previous events is provided, as in the documents of 1623. In a standard *'ahdname*, the *expositio-narratio* contains an indirect *inscriptio* accompanied by a *salutatio*.

Dispositio

Following the standard expression: *bu 'ahdname-i hümayum virdüm ve buyurdum ki* ("I have given this noble *'ahdname* and I have ordered that:") occurs the body of the document, the "political" text proper. In the Venetian *'ahdnames* of 1567, 1573, 1575, and 1576 nearly the entire text of the previous document is quoted in *expositio-narratio*, with the inclusion of a brief remark about its renewal being written in the *dispositio*.³⁶ This is also the case in the Polish *'ahdnames* issued by Ahmed I (1607) and Murad IV (1623 II).

Sanctio-oath

The imperial oath (*'ahd*) included in the *'ahdname* was its crucial element. While Ménage supposes a Christian origin for the elaborate formula of the Ottoman oath, Theunissen stresses the importance of

[hereafter, Bibl. Czart.], ms. 609, pp. 197–98; a copy of this letter is contained in the Ottoman register in Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 4^o Cod. Ms. Turc. 29, fol. 119b–120a.

³⁶ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," p. 278.

the Turkish-Islamic tradition.³⁷ Though this point is far from being clarified, none of these elements should be neglected. The oath was often combined with the ordinary Ottoman formula of *sanctio*: *şöyle bileler* ("thus they must know").

The texts of *sanctio*-oath in the Polish 'ahdnames:

- 1489 *Sed sit pax et amicitia firma inter utranque partem iurantes per Deum, quod donec predictus Rex observabit dictam fidem suam et pacem, nec ab ipso fiat aliquod contrarium, nos etiam, debeamus observare pacem nostram et fidem, nec fiat a nobis aliquod contra fidem et pacem predictam.*
- 1494 *et iuramento nostro corporali servanda confirmavimus in is verbis: "Per nostrum profetam Mochamet et per Coranum et per Deum Vivum Omnipotentem iuramus, omnia supra scripta tenere et servare sine aliqua violencia, et nullum contrarium exeat a me huius convencionis; ille autem, qui transgrediatur aliquid supra scritis [sic] cum iuramento promisionibus, Deus dabit ipsi convenientem retributionem sitque ille dignus eius pena."*
- 1501 *et iuramus per Deum Omnipotentem et legem nostram, quod nulla contrarietas in his pactis exiet [sic] ex nobis, sed ille qui pertransiet [sic] et erit causa et ipse esset periurem [sic], Deus ipse puniet eum, faciet ipsum indignum et inprosperum.*
- 1502 *e iuriamo in queste parole: "Che tucte le predicte conditioni et pacti, per l'amicicia che è fra noi e'l prefacto re e fra e dominii nostri, conservare in bona fede e tenere e osservare senza fraude o cavilacione alcuna pensata, e tutte le insidie remote le conservaremo e teneremo, e da tutti e nostri subditi, e d'altri in cascheduno modo chiamati, conservare e tenere faremo e procureremo, e chosì Iddio c'aiuti. Et iuriamo per llo Iddio vivo e nostra legge, che nesuna cossa in contrario a sopradetti pacti e conditioni per noi serrà facta né usirà, ma ca [sic] chascheduno che quelli trapaxerà e non observerà e darà causa di speiurio, el medesimo Iddio convenientemente punisca e faccalo indegno d'ogni prosperità."*
- 1519 *Et iuremo per lo Dio omnipotente et per lo nostro profeta Mochamet che nesuna cossa in contrario a li sopradicti pacti et condicione per nui non serà facta né ussirà, ma colui che quelli non observerà et serà caussa di periurio, el medesimo Dio convenientemente lo punisca et facialo indegno di ogni prosperità.*
- 1553 *Ve bu 'ahdnamede mestur olan şera'itin ri'ayeti içün Allahu ta'alanın 'azametine ve hazret-i risaletin ve cemi'-i peygamberlerin ervah-i mukadeselerine yemin iderim ki müddet-i baka' ü sebat ve eyyam-i hayat-i sa'adet-simatımızda ma dam ki kiral canibinden hilaf-i 'ahd bir vaz' olmaya cenab-i celalet-ma'abım canibinden dahi 'ahda muhalif nesne sadır olmaya şöyle bileler*

³⁷ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," p. 285; Ménage, "The English Capitulation of 1580: a review article," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12 (1980): 373–83, esp. p. 376.

("In order to protect the clauses registered in this 'ahdname, I swear by the greatness of God {may He be exalted!} and by the sanctified souls of the Prophet [Muhammad] and of all the [other] prophets that for the remaining and fixed period [of our rule], and for the days of our life, marked with felicity, as from the side of the king nothing should occur contrary to the treaty, also from the side of my glorious majesty nothing will occur contrary to the treaty. Thus they must know.")

1577³⁸ *bu 'ahdname-i hümayun sa'adet-makrunumda mestur olan şerayitin ri'ayeti için Allahu ta'alanın 'azametini ve hazret-i risalet-penahın ve cemi'-i peygamberlerin ervah-i mukaddeselerine yemin iderim ki müddet-i baka ü sebat ve eyyam-i hayat-i sa'adet-simatımızda ma dam ki muma-ileyh kiral tarafından hilaf-i 'ahd ü eman bir vaz' sudur etmeye cenab-i sa'adet-nisabım canibinden dahi sulh u salaha ve 'ahd-i mugayir nesne sadır olmaya*

("In order to protect the clauses registered in this imperial, felicitous 'ahdname, I swear by the greatness of God {may He be exalted!}, and by the sanctified souls of the Refuge of Prophecy [i.e., Muhammad] and of all the [other] prophets that for the remaining and fixed period [of our rule], and for the days of our life, marked with felicity, as from the side of the aforementioned king nothing should occur contrary to the treaty and peace, also from the side of my felicitous majesty nothing will occur contrary to the treaty, peace and amity.")

1607 *muma-ileyh kiral tarafından ve beglerinden ve gayriden muceb-i ihtilal-i 'akd-i 'ahd ü peyman ve ba'is-i ihtilaf-i şart u iman bir vaz' sadır olmayub zıkr olunan şerayit-i emn ü emanı dostluk üzere ri'ayet iderlerse cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından dahi eyman-i gulaz ile yemin iderimki yeri ve göği Yaradan Perverdegar hakkıyçün ve ulu 'aziz peygamberimiz mu'cizatı hümetiyyçün bu mu'ahede olunanlardan tecavüz olunmayub müddet-i devlet-i ruz-efzun ve zaman-i sebat-i hilafet ü saltanat-i sa'adet-makrunumda bu sulh u salah mukarrer ve pay-dar ve bu dostluk ve barışıklık mü'ebbed ve ber-karar ola*

("If on the part of the aforementioned king, his governors, and others nothing is done to cause a dissolution of the tie of the treaty and agreement or to provoke a disturbance of the [treaty] articles and confidence, and if the above mentioned clauses of safety and security are respected in a friendly way, also from the side of my glorious majesty I swear with a strong oath by the sake of God, the Creator of earth and heaven, and by respect to the miracles of our great and dear Prophet [Muhammad], that this treaty will not be violated, and for the period of my long-lived government and for the

³⁸ The formula from this 'ahdname is repeated with minor changes only in the documents of 1591, 1597, and 1598.

fixed time of my felicitous caliphate and sultanate this peace and amity will remain fixed and firm, and this friendship and harmony will be perpetual and constant.”)

1623 I *bu ‘ahdname-i hümayunumda mestur olan ‘uhud-i mü’ekkede ve şurut-i müşeyyedenin ri‘ayeti babında hazret-i Hakk celle ve ‘alanın ‘azametine ve hazret-i risalet-penah ve cemi‘-i peygamberlerin ervah-i mukaddeselerine yemin iderim ki eyyam-i baka ü sebat ve hengam-i hayat-i sa‘adet-simatında ma damki muma-ileyh kiral tarafından bu ‘ahdname-i hümayunuma mugayir vaz‘ ü halet sudur etmeye cenab-i celalet-ma‘abım tarafından dahi levazım-i dosti ve muhabbet ve şerayit-i sulh u meveddet ri‘ayet olunub eyyam-i sa‘adetimde Lih memleketinin re‘aya ve berayası ve fukara ve za‘îfesi emn ü rahat üzere olalar şöyle bileler*

(“In order to protect the firm agreements and sound conditions registered in this imperial ‘ahdname, I swear by the greatness of the True God (may He be exalted!), and to the sanctified souls of the Refuge of Prophecy [i.e., Muhammad] and all the [other] prophets that for the remaining and fixed days [of my rule], and for the time of my life, marked with felicity, as from the side of the aforementioned king no gesture or act should occur contrary to this my imperial ‘ahdname, also from the side of my glorious majesty the provisions of friendship and affection, and the conditions of peace and love will be respected; and may the poor and weak Polish subjects live in safety and tranquillity during my felicitous days. Thus they must know.”)

1623 II *ma damki kiral tarafından ve kapudanlarından ve beglerinden ve gayri-den muceb-i ihtilal-i ‘ahd ü peyman be ba‘is-i inhilal-i şart u iman sulh u salaha mugayir ve muhalif bir vaz‘ sadır olmayub dostluk ve barışıklık hukukını geregi gibi ri‘ayet ve madde-i fitne ü fesad olan Kazak eşkıyasının def‘inde ke-ma hüve hakka sa‘i ve dikkat ideler cenab-i celalet-ma‘abım tarafından dahi eyman-i gulaz ile yemin iderim ki yeri ve göği yokdan var iden Perverdegar celle celalehü hakka içün ve ulu ve ‘aziz peygamberimiz iki cihan güneşi Muhammed Mustafa sallallahu ta‘ala ‘aleyhi ve sellemın mu‘cizatı hakkıyçün minval-i meşruh üzere mu‘ahede olunan maddelerden cüzvi ve külli ber hususda tahallüf ü tecavüz olunmayub müddet-i baka-yı devlet-i ruż-efzun ve zaman-i sebat-i saltanat-i ebed-makrunumda bu sulh u salah mukarrer ü paydar ve bu ‘ahd ü eman sabit ü ber karar olub ‘umumen ol vilayetlerin re‘aya ve berayası saye-i sa‘adet ve zill-i himayetimde asude hal ve müreffehü’l-bal olalar şöyle bileler*

(“As on the part of the king, his commanders, governors, and others nothing should occur contrary and adverse to the peace and amity that may cause a disturbance of the agreement and treaty or may provoke the breaking of the clauses and faith, and as they should respect the rules of amity and peace, as necessary, and they should properly endeavor and

be assiduous in repulsing the Cossack brigands who are the cause of intrigue and mischief, also by my glorious majesty I swear with a strong oath by the sake of God, the Creator of earth and heaven {may His glory be exalted!}, and by the sake of the miracles of our great and dear prophet, the sun of the two worlds, Muhammad Mustafa {may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!}, that no minor or major variation or violation will occur in the clauses concluded in the above described manner, and for the remaining period of my long-lived rule and for the fixed time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, this peace and amity will be fixed and firm, and this treaty and peace will be permanent and stable, so that all the subjects of these countries may live under the felicitous shadow and shade of my protection in a state of tranquillity and in a prosperous condition. Thus they must know.”)

1634 *bi'l-cümle bu 'ahdnamede mestur ve mezkur olan şerayitin ri'ayeti için Allahu ta'alanın 'azametini ve hazret-i risaletin ve cemi'-i peygamberlerin ervah-i mukaddeselerine yemin iderim ki müddet-i baka ü sebat ve eyyam-i hayat-i sa'adet-simatımda ma dam ki kiral [canibinden] hilaf-i 'ahd bir vaz' olunmaya ve Kazak şaykaları deryaya çıkarmayalar cenab-i celalet-ma'abım canibinden dahi eylediğim 'ahda muhalif vaz' sadır olmaya ve Tatar leşkerinden memleketlerine bir vechle zarar itdirilmeye ve müşarun-ileyh vezirimiz Murtaza Paşa ile söyleşildiği üzere ahval-i sulh u salah tarafeynden mukarrer ve pay-dar ve bu 'ahdnamemizde olan levazım-i dostluk ve barışıklık mü'ebbed ve ber-karar ola*

(“Then, in order to protect the clauses registered and mentioned in this ‘ahdname, I swear by the greatness of God {may He be exalted!}, and by the sanctified souls of the Prophet [Muhammad] and of all the [other] prophets that for the remaining and fixed period [of my rule], and for the days of my life, marked with felicity, as from the side of the king nothing should occur contrary to the treaty and the Cossack boats should not appear in the sea, also from the side of my glorious majesty nothing will occur contrary to the treaty [thusly] agreed by myself. And no damage should be brought to their country by the Tatar army. [Also] the conditions of peace and amity discussed with our aforementioned vizier, Murtaza Pasha, should be fixed and kept by both sides; and the requirements of friendship and peace [registered] in this our ‘ahdname should be perpetual and permanent.”)

1640³⁹ *ma damki Lih kralı tarafından ve kapudanlarından ve beglerinden ve*

³⁹ The *sanctio*-oath of the ‘ahdnames from 1667, 1672, and 1678 is almost identical, though the documents of 1672 and 1678 do not contain the clause concerning the Cossacks.

gayriden muceb-i ihtilal-i 'ahd ü peyman ve ba'is-i inhilal-i şart u iman sulh u salaha muhalif ve mugayir bir vaz' sadır olmayub dostluk ve barışıklık hukukını geregi gibi ri'ayet ve madde-i fitne ü fesad olan Kazak eşkıyasının def'inde ke-ma hüve hakka sa'i ve dikkat ide mukaddema merhum-i müşarun-ileyh karındaşım tarafından virilen 'ahdnamede testir olundugı üzere bendahi yemin iderimki yerleri ve gökleri yokdan var iden Perverdegar celle zikrihü hakkıyçün ve ulu ve 'aziz peygamberimiz iki cihan güneşi Muhammed el-Mustafa salla'llahu 'aleyhi ve sellemın mu'izat-i kesiretü'l-berekatı hakkıyçün bu mu'ahede olunan maddelerde[n] cüzvi ve külli ber hususda tahallüf ü tecavüz olunmayub müddet-i baka-yi devlet-i ruz-efzun ve zaman-i sebat-i saltanat-i ebed-makrunumda bu sulh u salah mukarrer ü pay-dar ve bu 'ahd ü aman sabit ü ber-karar olub 'umumen ol vilayetlerin re'ayası saye-i sa'adet ve zill-i himayetimde asude-hal ve müreffehü'l-bal olalar şöyle bileler

("As on the part of the Polish king, his commanders, governors, and others nothing should occur contrary and adverse to the peace and amity that may cause a disturbance of the agreement and treaty or may provoke the breaking of the clauses and faith, and as they should respect the rules of amity and peace, as necessary, and they should properly endeavor and be assiduous in repulsing the Cossack brigands who are the cause of intrigue and mischief, according to [the conditions] registered in the 'ahdname given previously by my late brother, whose sins are forgiven, I also swear by the sake of God, Creator of earth and heaven {may His praise be exalted!}, and by the sake of the miracles, full of divine blessings, of our great and dear prophet, the sun of the two worlds, Muhammad Mustafa {may God command and salute him!}, that no minor or major variation or violation will occur in the clauses of this pact, and for the remaining period of my long-lived rule and for the fixed time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, this peace and amity will be fixed and firm, and this treaty and peace will be permanent and stable, so that all the subjects of these countries may live under the felicitous shadow and shade of my protection in a state of tranquillity and in a prosperous condition. Thus they must know.")

1699 *ma damki kiral tarafından ve kapudanlarından ve beglerinden ve gayriden muceb-i ihtilal-i 'ahd ü peyman ve ba'is-i inhiraf-i şart u iman bir vaz' ü halet sadır olmayub dostluk ve barışıklık hukukına ke-ma yembagi ri'ayet ideler yerleri ve gökleri yokdan var iden Perverdegar celle celalehiünün ism-i şerifini yad ve ulu peygamberimiz iki cihan güneşi Muhammed el-Mustafa salla'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellemın mu'izat-i kesiretü'l-berekatlarını irad idüb şime-i kerime-i hüsvan-i sadakat-mu'tad ve ka'ide-i merziye-i tac-daran-i vefa-i'tiyad üzere 'ahd ü misak ideriz ki minval-i meşruh üzere mu'ahede olunan maddelerden cüzvi ve külli ber hususda tahallüf ü tecavüz olunmayub müddet-i baka-yi devlet-i ruz-efzun ve zaman-i sebat-i saltanat-i ebed makrunumda bu sulh u salah mukarrer ve mü'ebbed ve bu 'ahd ü*

aman mü'ekked ü mü'eyyed olub bir ferd hilafete müta'allhk vaz' ü hareket eylemeye

("As on the part of the king, his commanders, governors, and others nothing occurs and happens that would cause a disturbance of the agreement and treaty or provoke any deviation from the [peace] terms and faith and as they properly respect the rules of amity and peace, [while] having in mind the noble name of God, the Creator of earth and heaven (may His glory be exalted!), and adducing the miracles, full of divine blessings, of our great prophet, the sun of the two worlds, Muhammad Mustafa {may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!}, we swear and promise by the noble imperial qualities, accustomed to friendship, and by the approved royal principles, habituated to loyalty, that as no minor or major variation or violation should occur in the clauses agreed in the above described manner, for the remaining period of my long-lived rule and for the fixed time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, this peace and amity will be fixed and perpetual, and this treaty and peace will be firm and strengthened; and nobody should act and proceed in a contrary way.")

The importance of the Cossack question in the mutual relations can be proved by the fact that, apart from the respective articles in *dispositio*, the demand for their suppression is repeated in the *sanctio* of the documents of 1623, 1634, 1640, and 1667. This stipulation was omitted from the Polish 'ahdnames only after the conquest of Podolia and right-bank Ukraine in 1672, when the Cossacks found themselves under Ottoman suzerainty.

Corroboratio

Corroboratio, or the formula of credentials, in an Ottoman document refers to the *tugra*, being the *legitimatio* of this document. In Venetian 'ahdnames, the *corroboratio* became a regular diplomatic section after 1540.⁴⁰ In the Polish 'ahdnames it was never used regularly; it can be found only in documents dating to 1525, 1623, 1667, and 1678.

Texts of *corroboratio* in the Polish 'ahdnames appear thus:

1525 *'alamet-i şerife i'timad u i'tikad eyleyeler*
 ("They should trust and believe in the noble sign [i.e., *tugra*].")

⁴⁰ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," p. 287.

- 1623 I *bu ‘ahdname-i hümayunumu tugra-yi garra-yi ‘alem-ara ile müzeyyen ve mahalli görenler mazmun-i münifin muhakkak ve fehva-yi şerifin musaddak biliüb ‘alamet-i şerife i‘timad kılalar*
 (“Those, who see this my imperial ‘ahdname decorated with the illustrious world-adorning *tugra* in its [correct] place, ought to recognize its exalted contents as authentic and its noble tenor as true, and should trust to the noble sign [i.e., *tugra*].”)
- 1623 II *‘alamet-i şerife i‘timad kılalar*
 (“They should trust to the noble sign [i.e., *tugra*].”)

The last formula also occurs in the ‘ahdnames of 1667 and 1678.

Datatio and locatio

The two final components of an Ottoman ‘ahdname are usually combined. As a rule they are composed in Arabic, beginning with the formula “*tahriren fi*” (“written in . . .”). This Arabic formula is replaced by the Turkish *yazılmışdır* (in 1623 II *yazıldı*) only in the documents of 1607 and 1623. The Polish ‘ahdnames issued between 1597 and 1640 contain also a *salutatio* for the Prophet Muhammad. While most of the documents were issued in Istanbul, the ‘ahdnames of 1519 and 1667 were issued in Edirne, and the ‘ahdname of 1678 in the military camp of Davud Paşa, near Istanbul. The document of 1672, negotiated after the Polish campaign, was issued in the military camp in the vicinity of the Podolian castle of Żvanec’ (Pol. Żwaniec).

Texts of *datatio* and *locatio* in the Polish ‘ahdnames are formulated as follows:

- 1489 *Ex Constantinopoli xxii Martii anno Jesus mccccclxxxviii.*
- 1494 *Date sunt in aula Nostre Sultanice Potestatis a natali Ihesu profete milesimo cadrigentesimo nonagesimo quarto, sexta die mensis Aprillis.*
- 1501 *Datum in aula nostra xviii Iulii 1501. Ex Constantinopoli.*
- 1502 *Datum in Constantinopoli in aulis nostris, die viiii otubri 1502.*
- 1519 *Data in Andrinopoli nel’aula nostra a primo di octubre et al milesimo di Cristo 1519 e del profecta nostro Mochamet 925.*
- 1525 *tahriren fi gurreti şehri Muharremi’l-haram seneti isne ve selasin ve tis’i mi’etini’l-hicriye bi-makami dari’s-saltanati’l-‘aliye Kostantiniye’l-mahmiye’l-mahruse*
 (“Written on the first of the sacred month of Muharrem of the year 932 of the Hegira, in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, the protected and guarded Constantinople”)
- 1577 *tahriren fi gurreti şehri Cemaziyyi’l-evvel min şühuri seneti hamse ve semanin ve tis’i mi’etin bi-makami dari’s-saltanati’l-‘aliye Kostantiniye’l-mahmiye ‘ani’l-beliye*

- (“Written on the first of the month of Djumada I from among the months of the year 985, in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, the protected from evils Constantinople.”)
- 1591 *tahriren fi evahiri şehri Zî'l-hicce's-şerife min şuhuri seneti tis'e ve tas'in ve tis'i mi'etin bi-makami Kostantiniye'l-mahmiye*
 (“Written in the third decade of the noble month of Zilhijje from among the months of the year 999, in the place of Constantinople, the well-protected.”)
- 1597 *tahriren fi evayili şehri Rebi'i'l-ahir seneti sitta ve elf mine'l-hicreti'n-nebeviye 'aleyh efzalü't-tahiye bi-makami Kostantiniye'l-mahruse*
 (“Written in the first decade of the month of Rebi II of the year 1006 since the emigration [Hegira] of the Prophet {may the most superior salutation be upon him!} in the place of Constantinople, the well-protected.”)
- 1598 *tahriren fi gurreti şehri Muharremi'l-haram seneti seb'a ve elf mine'l-hicreti'n-nebeviye 'aleyh efzalü't-tahiye bi-makami Kostantiniye'l-mahmiye*
 (“Written on the first of the sacred month of Muharrem of the year 1007 since the emigration [Hegira] of the Prophet {may the most superior salutation be upon him!} in the place of Constantinople, the well-protected.”)
- 1607 *bu 'ahdname-i şerifimiz bizim ulu peygamberimiz hazret-i Muhammed el-Mustafa salla'llahu 'aleyhi ve sellem hıcreti tarihinden bin on altı senesi şehri Rebi'ü'l-evvelinin yigirminci gününde dari's-saltanati'l-'aliye mahmiye-i Kostantiniyede yazılmışdır.*
 (“This our noble 'ahdname has been written on the twentieth day of Rebi I of the year 1016 since the date of the emigration [Hegira] of our great prophet, His Excellency Muhammad Mustafa {may God command and salute him!} in the abode of the high sultanate, the well-protected Constantinople.”)
- 1623 I *cera zukkira ve hurrira fi evasiti şehri Rebi'i'l-ahir min şuhuri seneti isneyni ve selasin ve elf mine'l-hicreti'n-nebeviye 'aleyh efzalü's-salat ve ekmelü't-tahiye bi-makami dari's-saltanati'l-'aliye Kostantiniye hamiyet 'ani'l-afat u'l-beliye*
 (“Executed, noted and written in the second decade of the month of Rebi II from among the months of the year 1032 since the emigration [Hegira] of the Prophet {may the most superior prayer and the most perfect salutation be upon him!} in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, Constantinople, protected from misfortune and evil.”)
- 1623 II *bu 'ahdname-i şerifim hazret-i risalet-panah salla'llahu ta'ala ['aleyhi] ve sellem hıcreti tarihinde bin otuz iki senesinde vakı' mübarek-i Zî'l-hicce ayının on beşinci gününde daru's-saltanati'l-'aliye Kostantiniyeti'l-mahmiyede yazıldı bi-makami Kostantiniyeti'l-mahmiye dari's-sultanıyeti'l-mahruse*
 (“This my noble 'ahdname was written on the fifteenth day of the blessed month of Zilhijje in the year 1032 since the emigration [Hegira] of His Excellency, the Refuge of Apostleship {may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute

- [him]!} in the abode of the high sultanate, Constantinople the well-protected, in the place of the well-guarded Constantinople, the abode of the well-protected sultanate.”)
- 1634 *tahriren fi evayili şehri Cemaziye'l-evvel min şuhuri seneti erba' ve erba'in ve elf mine'l-hicreti'n-nebeviye 'aleyh efzalü's-salat u't-tahiye bi-makami dari's-saltanati'l-'aliye Kostantiniyeti'l-mahmiye hamiyet 'ani'l-afat u'l-beliye*
 (“Written in the first decade of the month Djumada I from among the months of the year 1044 since the emigration [Hegira] of the Prophet {may the most superior prayer and salutation be upon him!} in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, the well-guarded Constantinople, protected from misfortune and evil.”)
- 1640 *tahriren fi evahiri Muharremi'l-haram min şuhuri seneti hamsin ve elf mine'l-hicreti'n-nebeviye 'aleyh efzalü's-salat ve ekmeli't-tahiye bi-makami dari's-saltanati'l-'aliye Kostantiniyeti'l-mahruseti'l-mahmiye*
 (“Written in the third decade of the noble Muharrem from among the months of the year 1050 since the emigration [Hegira] of the Prophet {may the most superior prayer and the most perfect salutation be upon him!} in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, Constantinople, the well-protected and well-guarded.”)
- 1667 *tahriren fi evasiti şehri Seferi'l-hayr seneti seman ve seb'in ve elf bi-makami Edirne'l-mahruse*
 (“Written in the second decade of the prosperous month of Safer of the year 1078, in the place of Edirne, the well-protected.”)
- 1672 *tahriren fi gurreti şehri Recebi'l-mürecceb seneti selasa ve semanin ve elf bi-yurt-i sahra-i kal'e-i Izvançe*
 (“Written on the first of the venerated month of Redjeb of the year 1083, in the tent on the plain before the fortress of Žvanec.”)
- 1678 *tahriren fi evasiti Seferi'l-hayr seneti tis'a ve semanin ve elf bi-yurt-i sahra-i Davud Paşa*
 (“Written in the second decade of the prosperous Safer of the year 1089, in the tent on the plain of Davud Paşa.”)
- 1699 *tahriren fi evasiti şehri Rebi'i'l-ahri seneti ahda 'aşara ve mi'ate ve elf bi-makami dari's-saltanati'l-'aliye Kostantiniye'l-mahruse*
 (“Written in the second decade of the month of Rebi II of the year 1111, in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, Constantinople, the well protected.”)

CHAPTER THREE

THE PREPARATION OF THE *'AHDNAME*

Like most of the documents issued in the name of the sultan, capitulations were written and copied in the “office of the imperial council” (*divan-i hümayun kalemi*) in Topkapı Palace. Because some Polish *'ahdnames* were prepared outside Constantinople, it is certain that at least a part of the chancery traveled with the sultan on military campaigns. For instance, the *'ahdname* of 1672 was issued in the military camp near Žvanec'. Close examination proves, however, that both the text and form are inferior in comparison to the documents issued in the Ottoman capital.

Important international documents, such as *'ahdnames*, were composed, or at least personally checked, by the highest chancery officials. The head official, *nişancı*, was originally responsible for drawing the *tugra*, but in the sixteenth century this task was committed to a special clerk called *tugrakeş*, and the functions of the *nişancı* were limited to overseeing the legal aspects of the issued documents.¹ Only the most solemn documents were prepared by *nişancı* himself.

A second high functionary of the chancery, who by the end of the seventeenth century had assumed the position of a quasi foreign minister, was the *re'isü'l-küttab* (“head scribe”). The most well-known *re'isü'l-küttab* of the sixteenth-century was Mustafa Celâlzade. He played a leading role in the reorganization of the Ottoman chancery. After serving in Egypt as a private secretary to the grand vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, Mustafa Celâlzade returned to Istanbul in September 1525. In reward for his previous services he was appointed *re'isü'l-küttab*, and after serving nine years in this post he advanced to the post of *nişancı*, where he remained until his retirement in 1556.² As the first Polish *'ahdname* prepared in the new “Ottomanized” style and language is dated 18 October 1525, Ménage regarded it as one

¹ Josef Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymans des Prächtigen* (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 24.

² Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymans des Prächtigen*, pp. 23, 30–33, 41–45. In 1566 Mustafa was reappointed for a short time.

of the first projects of Mustafa Celâlzade.³ This assumption can be fully supported by the evidence from Polish archives. The Ottoman *'ahdname* of 1525 was accompanied by a contemporary Latin translation made at the Porte. This copy, preserved along with the Turkish original, bears the signature: *Mustafa Supremus Notarius Imperialis*.⁴

'Ahdname documents granted on earlier occasions were often brought back to Istanbul by European ambassadors and served as the basis for the composition of new ones. This practice is confirmed in the reports of Polish envoys. In 1622 Krzysztof Zbaraski brought a whole bag of old *'ahdnames* to Constantinople.⁵ In a diary from the Polish embassy of 1640 one reads about the reprimand given by Ambassador Miaskowski to the servant responsible for the storage of an old treaty brought from Warsaw to Istanbul. Due to a defective folding this document had become partly torn and was full of holes.⁶ Ottoman scribes often literally copied whole sections of old documents into new treaties. This method resulted in numerous mistakes, mechanically repeated in subsequent documents. During the process of copying, non-Turkish names were often corrupted. The fact that even obvious mistakes in Turkish words were sometimes left uncorrected in subsequent documents led Theunissen to conclusion that the scribes dared not change a text even if they did not understand it. The very fact that the text of an earlier treaty was copied rather than being composed anew may be explained by the bureaucratic conservatism of the time.⁷

A hitherto unanalyzed element of the *'ahdname* can be found in the Polish documents issued between 1623 and 1699. On the reverse side of these documents, usually opposite the *locatio*, one finds a sign, described by Abrahamowicz as an "illegible sign of the scribe."⁸ The

³ Ménage, "On the constituent elements of certain sixteenth-century Ottoman documents," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 48 (1985), p. 301.

⁴ AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 19, no. 42.

⁵ "Poselstwo Krzysztofa Xięcia Zbaraskiego do Turcyi w roku 1622," *Dziennik Wileński/Historia i literatura*, vol. 3 (1827): 3–27, 101–25, 237–73, 339–71, esp. p. 348. See also Part II (chapter 3).

⁶ "Frasunek tylko jeden jmcii tego dnia barzo utrafił, a to dlatego, że pakta, które dał do schowania pokojowemu swemu panu Komosińskiemu, za złem jego ułożeniem i zachowaniem w skrzyni w kilku miejscach naruszyły się, to jest zdarty, aż kilka dziur w nich." "Diariusz drogi tureckiej" in: Adam Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.* (Warsaw, 1985), p. 139. Traces of this mistreatment are visible even today, see Document 45 (the *'ahdname* of 1634) and *KDT*, p. 299.

⁷ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," p. 352.

⁸ *KDT*, pp. 248, 253, 299, 313, 353, 361.

attribution of this sign to a scribe raises some doubts. Though written on the reverse side of a document, it is usually sprinkled with gold sand, which would represent an unusual "elevation" of the ordinary clerk. Though this sign can be found on all the copies provided with *tugras*, it is absent on the Ottoman copy of 1667, which bears no *tugra*. This would suggest that the sign was placed not upon the completion, but upon the corroboration of a given document, apparently by a much higher official than the common scribe. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the "signs" on Sultan Murad's *ahdnames* of 1623 and 1634 resemble the Turkish form *buyurulmuşdur* ("thus it was ordered"), the customary mark of approval inscribed by the grand vizier with his own hand. The "signs" on the documents of 1678 and 1699 resemble the word "*sahh*" ("correct"), affixed by higher Ottoman officials (including viziers) on an approved document.

Though the attribution of all the aforementioned signs to the grand vizier is not certain, it is safer to call them "correction signs" rather than merely signs made by the scribes. While the earlier capitulations were usually checked by the *nişancı* and the grand vizier as well, the only sign of their corroboration was the imperial *tugra*. The introduction of "correction signs" in the seventeenth century may be considered yet another illustration of the rising importance of the grand vizier in that period.

Usually an *ahdname* was issued in more than one copy, each one provided with the imperial *tugra*. In the case of the Ottoman-Venetian and Ottoman-Dutch relations, apart from the official copy delivered to the rulers of these countries and subsequently stored in their archives, each *bailo*, or consul, obtained a separate copy of the *ahdname*, which served to regulate daily matters in their mutual relations.⁹ Though Poland-Lithuania had no permanent representation in the Ottoman empire, at least in a few cases the Polish *ahdnames* were also issued in more than one copy. Some of these additional copies are preserved in Polish archives along with the official original, as in the case of the documents of February 1623, October 1623, and 1667. Unlike the copies of 1623, the secondary copy of 1667 bears no *tugra*, as it was apparently given to the Polish envoy merely as a draft for reference in any future disputes.¹⁰

⁹ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," p. 317.

¹⁰ According to a marginal note in Polish, this copy was brought in 1667 along

One year after the capitulations of 1553 were granted, the Polish king sent an Armenian named Nicholas to petition the sultan for three additional copies of this treaty, provided with imperial *tugras*. In his reply Suleyman notified the king that his request had been granted and that, in addition, firmans had been sent to the *beyler-beyi* of Buda, the bey of Akkerman, and provincial kadis, decreeing that they respect the conditions of the peace.¹¹ Of the three copies issued on that occasion in December 1554, two are preserved today in Warsaw.¹² Considering the fact that the original treaty document of 1553 is no longer extant,¹³ its original Turkish text can be reconstructed on the basis of these two copies and another copy (bearing no *tugra*) of the original *'ahdname* of 1553, which is preserved in Venice.¹⁴ The text of this *'ahdname* was also recorded in an Ottoman copy register, today stored in London.¹⁵

The texts of *'ahdnames* were not only issued in official copies provided with *tugras*, they were also usually entered into special registers containing the diplomatic correspondence of the Porte, called *ecnebi defterleri* ("foreign registers") and *name-i hümayun defterleri* ("registers of imperial letters"). Unfortunately, the oldest preserved *ecnebi* register containing correspondence with Poland dates to the eighteenth century. This register contains only a few copies of the earlier, seventeenth-century documents.

Most Ottoman documents were written on paper though some parchment documents are preserved as well.¹⁶ While in the domestic bureaucracy white, stiff and thick paper of Italian origin was in

with the *'ahdname*, then taken back to Istanbul by the Polish envoy in 1670, and finally returned to the Crown chancery archives in 1673, see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 464, no. 779 and Abrahamowicz, *KDT*, p. 354.

¹¹ AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 69, t. 171, no. 326, see *KDT*, p. 150.

¹² See Document 17, copies A. and B.

¹³ Only the Polish translation by the dragoman Ibrahim Beg (Joachim Strasz) is extant, AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 68, t. 157, no. 302, cf. *KDT*, p. 139.

¹⁴ Venice, Archivio di Stato, Documenti Turchi, busta 6, no. 408; published in Arabic script by Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki vesikalar külliyatında Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri belgeleri," *Belgeler. Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 1 (1964): 119–220, esp. 128–130; Gökbilgin gives the old signature: busta 2, fasc. 50, pezzi 6. Unfortunately his edition contains several omissions.

¹⁵ British Library, Or. 9503, fol. 179v–182r. I would here like to thank Hans Theunissen for providing me with the facsimiles of the documents from Venice and London.

¹⁶ For instance, the Venetian *'ahdname* of 1446, see Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," p. 328.

common use, for correspondence with foreign monarchs the Ottomans preferred a yellowish and brittle paper, usually manufactured from silk and imported from India, China, and Central Asia.¹⁷ It possessed larger dimensions, more suitable for the purpose of emphasizing the magnificence of the padishah. The paper was usually polished or covered with a fluid substance made from water and eggs, which gave it a shiny appearance.¹⁸

All the original Venetian 'ahdnames issued by the Ottoman chancery, apart from one parchment document of 1446, are written on the yellowish kind of paper.¹⁹ It appears that this was not the case so far as the Polish 'ahdnames were concerned. The two oldest Polish documents are written on rough, white paper, apparently of Italian origin. In order to achieve an even script, the scribe made regular lines with a razor. The paper of the later documents conforms to the "luxurious" category described above. Its color, however, is not always yellowish, but varies between white and grey. The dimensions of the Polish 'ahdnames are as follows:

Table 1. Physical characteristics of the Polish 'ahdnames²⁰

Date	Paper	Length in cm.	Width in cm.	No. of sheets	No. of lines ²¹
1489	white	70.5	26.5	1	22
1494	white	69.5	28	1	44
1502	yellowish	87.5	30.5	1	46
1519	yellowish	115.5	26.5	2	61
1525	yellowish	272.5	39	4	21 (+6)
1554 ²²	A. cream-colored	103.5	33.5	2	30
	B. white	111.5	33	2	36
1577	white-grey	263	57.5	4	29 (+4)
1591	white-grey	188.5	46	5	55 (+4)

¹⁷ Reychman and Zajązkowski, *Handbook*, p. 105.

¹⁸ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," pp. 330–31; see also for further bibliography.

¹⁹ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," p. 328.

²⁰ Organization of this table follows the same as the table provided by Theunissen ("Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," p. 333) to facilitate comparison. Only the 'ahdnames preserved in the original have been included.

²¹ If a *formula devotionis* is written above the *tugra*, the additional number of lines is given in parentheses.

²² This is merely the copy of the lost 'ahdname of 1553, issued in December 1554. Of the three copies issued by the Ottoman chancery, two are preserved, cf. Document 17, copies A. and B.

(table 1 cont.)

Date	Paper	Length in cm.	Width in cm.	No. of sheets	No. of lines
1597	white	244	43	3	35 (+4)
1598	white-grey	318	56	6	56 (+3)
1623 I ²³	A. white-grey	371	59.5	5	53 (+5)
	B. white	221	42	4	73 (+5)
1623 II ²⁴	A. white-grey	491.5	65	7	69 (+4)
	B. white	208	41.5	4	83 (+5)
1634	white-grey	204.5	64.5	3	35 (+4)
1640	white-grey	305.5	60.5	4	47 (+4)
1667 ²⁵	A. white-grey	336.5	63	5	57
	B. white	301	41	5	92
1672	white-grey	263.5	60.5	5	58
1678	white-grey	229	63	4	76
1699	white-grey	292	76.5	3	39 (+2)

Ottoman *'ahdnames* consisted of several sheets of paper, glued together to form a long and narrow document, which could be rolled up. The importance of a document was stressed by its length. Theunissen demonstrates rapid changes in the length of Venetian *'ahdnames*, starting from 114.5 cm. in 1479, then reaching a maximum of 686.3 cm. in 1540 under Sultan Suleyman, and finally decreasing to 195.2 cm. in 1641. Venetian documents consisted of at least 2 sheets, and at most 9 sheets of paper (in 1540). The width of Venetian documents gradually increased from 33 cm. in 1479 to 53.6 cm. in 1641.²⁶

Polish *'ahdnames* were originally much shorter than the Venetian ones. In this instance, also, one can observe a rapid increase in length from 70.5 cm. in 1489 (one sheet only) to 272.5 cm. (four sheets) in 1525. The dramatic change in the length of documents between 1519 and 1525 can be explained by the fact that the doc-

²³ The *'ahdname* of Mustafa I issued in February is preserved in two copies, both provided with *tugras*; cf. Document 37, copies A. and B. The first copy has a more solemn character.

²⁴ The *'ahdname* of Murad IV issued in October is also preserved in two copies, provided with *tugras*; cf. Document 38, copies A. and B.

²⁵ Preserved in the original and one copy, bearing no *tugra*; cf. Document 48, the original document (here referred to as A) and the copy A. (here referred to as B.).

²⁶ It must be remembered that the analysis by Theunissen ends with the year 1641. The Venetian *'ahdname* of 1733 preserved in Paris reaches again a considerable length and with its dimensions of 492 × 72 cm. it is wider than any sixteenth-century document; see Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément turc, no. 728.

ument of 1525 is the first Polish *'ahdname* written in Turkish. Apparently, documents issued in Arabic script were considered by the Ottomans more solemn than those written in the languages and script of the "infidels." For instance, the Hungarian *'ahdname* of 1503, preserved in the Topkapı Palace archives and written in Turkish, is four times longer than the Polish *'ahdname* issued one year earlier, written in Italian.²⁷

Unfortunately, the second *'ahdname* from the reign of Sultan Süleyman is preserved only in copies. The original document was probably longer than the document of 1525. Contrary to Venetian documents, the increase in dimensions of the Polish *'ahdnames* did not cease upon the death of Sultan Süleyman, so that by the first half of the seventeenth century Polish *'ahdnames* were already longer than the Venetian ones. The longest Polish document, issued in 1623 by Murad IV, consists of seven sheets of paper and is 491.5 cm. long. One must remember that many Polish *'ahdnames*, including that of 1623, were originally even longer, as their upper part containing the *invocatio* is now missing. The changes in the size of the documents cannot be explained merely by changes in the length of their text. This becomes evident when one compares the length of "solemn" and "nonsolemn" copies of the same *'ahdname*, whose dimensions vary despite identical content.

As in the case of the Venetian documents, a slow but constant increase in width can be observed in the Polish *'ahdnames* as well. The widest Polish document is the *'ahdname* of 1699, which measures 76.5 cm. in width. An analogous increase in width can be detected among the Austrian *'ahdnames* preserved in Vienna. While the sixteenth-century documents of 1562 and 1565 measured respectively 304 × 39 cm., and 242 × 40 cm., the document issued after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 measured 237 × 85 cm.²⁸ The single

²⁷ The Hungarian document measures 356 × 30 cm. It is provided with a *tugra* and begins with a *nışan*-formula; on this document, see Nigâr Anafarta, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya) arasındaki münasebetlerle ilgili tarihi belgeler/ Historical documents concerning relations between the Ottoman Empire and Lehistan (Poland)* [(Istanbul, 1979)], no. 3; and a facsimile in Gökbilgin, "Korvin Mathias (Mátyás)ın Bayezid II.e mektupları tercümeleri ve 1503 (909) Osmanlı-Macar muahedesinin türkçe metni," *Belleten* 22 (1958): 369–90, ill. III–XI.

²⁸ For the documents of 1562 and 1565, see Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*, pt. 1, p. XIII; for the document of 1699, see *Österreich und die Osmanen. Gemeinsame Ausstellung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek und des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs. Prunksaal*

sheets of paper used for the Austrian and Polish *‘ahdnames* of 1699 were also of greater size.

The increase in the size of Venetian and Polish *‘ahdnames* as well as the introduction of Ottoman-Turkish as the only official language in the foreign correspondence of the Porte were symptomatic of the “reislamization” policy initiated by Sultan Suleyman and put into effect by Mustafa Celâlzade. In the following century one could even speak of the “baroquization” of Ottoman taste, which was symbolized by the outsize dimensions of the Ottoman documents of that time, combined with very sophisticated language and enlarged *tugras* affixed to these documents.

Perhaps the larger increase in the dimensions of Polish documents in comparison with the Venetian ones may be explained by a change of the respective roles played by these countries in Ottoman politics. Venice, the most important Christian rival and partner in the fifteenth century, gradually lost this position in the subsequent period. On the other hand, Poland-Lithuania became the dominant power in Eastern Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century.

In the documents of prestigious character the Ottoman scribes tried to squeeze as many words as possible in one line. Margins were left on the top and on the right side of a document. At the end of each line inscribed in Arabic script, the words were written one above another, and the last character was lengthened until it reached the edge of the paper. If the last character in a line could not be reshaped, an ornamental “tail” (*zeneb*) formed from the Arabic letter *he* was added, to fill the empty space.²⁹ Apart from the intentional aesthetic effect, by which every line in the document resembles a Turkish scimitar, this method also served to prevent any possible unauthorized additions to the original text.³⁰ In less “solemn” copies the scribes paid less attention to aesthetic form and the words in lines are written more widely spaced. Therefore, the number of lines in these copies is greater than the number of lines in the “solemn” documents, in spite of the fact that these latter documents usually have much larger dimensions.³¹

der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: 31. Mai bis 30. Oktober 1983 [hereafter, *Österreich und die Osmanen*] (Vienna, 1983), p. 188.

²⁹ See especially Document 55; on *zeneb*, see Mübahat Kütükoglu, *Osmanlı belgelerinin dili (diplomatik)* (Istanbul, 1994), pp. 62–63.

³⁰ Fekete, *Einführung*, p. XIII; Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics,” p. 337.

³¹ Cf. Table 1 (especially the documents of 1623 and 1667).

It is significant that in the 'ahdname of 1699, similar in form and language to the "classical" sixteenth-century documents, the long text is squeezed in 39 lines. Other features, such as discontinuing use of the *nişan*-formula and reintroducing the *formula devotionis* written above the *tugra*, convince one that after the *nişanization* period in the Polish 'ahdnames, the Ottoman chancery tended to return to the classical forms.

All Polish 'ahdnames are written in the *divani* script or its more developed version called *celi divani*. The *formula devotionis* written above the *tugra* is usually written in *sülüs*, an ornamental script used in Koranic inscriptions.

The text, usually written in black ink, was further ornamented by writing the names of God, the Prophet Muhammad, and the sultan in gold and blue. Golden sand was sprinkled on the paper and golden dots called *zerefşan* were scattered between the lines.

The most ornamental element of the document is the imperial *tugra*, a monogram-like device of the ruler.³² It was drawn above the text after the document had been completed, and it was regarded as its *legitimitio*, to which reference was usually made in the *corroboratio*. In theory the *tugra* should have been drawn by the *nişancı*, often compared to a European chancellor. But, considering the highly artistic quality of *tugras*, one may assume that already in the sixteenth century a special clerk (*tugrakeş*), along with painters and illuminators, must have been appointed to this task. After having studied the documents in Venetian archives, Bombaci and Theunissen stress the continuous development in the shape, size, and variety of colors used for the *tugra* and its floral ornament through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the gold *tugra* on the Venetian 'ahdname from 1482 occupied only 4.5% of the space of the document, in 1625 the huge (61 × 57 cm.), ornamented, multicolored *tugra* occupied 27.4% of the document. This led Theunissen to express the sarcastic comment that the diminishing power of the sultans was compensated by the rhetoric and ornamentation of their documents.³³

³² On the Ottoman *tugra*, see Reychman and Zajączkowski, *Handbook*, pp. 141–143; Ernst Kühnel, "Die osmanische Tughra," *Kunst des Orients* 2 (1955): 69–82; Suha Umur, *Osmanlı padişah tugraları* (Istanbul, 1980).

³³ Alessio Bombaci, "Les toughras enluminés de la collection de documents turcs des Archives d'État de Venise," in: *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale di arte turca [Venice, September 26–29, 1963]* (Naples, 1965): 41–55; Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," pp. 346–50.

As far as the *tugras* from Polish archives are concerned, the thesis that they exhibited constant development can be confirmed only until the midseventeenth century. The last ornamented *tugra* on a Polish *'ahdname* dates to October 1623. Subsequently, especially in the documents of Mehmed IV, the *tugras* become not even simple, but primitive in character. Perhaps one may explain this "deterioration" by the decreasing prestige of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth in the Ottoman eyes and by the *nişanization* of Polish *'ahdnames* after 1667. It is striking, however, that even the documents of Mehmed IV issued to his own subjects, not to mention the Dutch capitulations of 1680, are illuminated by rich and ornamented *tugras*. The size of the Polish *tugras*, even those from the early seventeenth century, never attained that of the *tugras* on Venetian documents.

Table 2. Color and size of the *tugras* on Polish *'ahdnames*³⁴

Date	Color used	Height (cm.)	Width (cm.)
1489	gold, black	6.5	19.5
1494	gold, black	7	21.5
1502	gold, black, blue	11	28.5
1519	gold, black	8.5	19
1525	gold, blue	10.5	31.5
1554	A. gold	11.5	26
	B. gold	11	25.5
1577	gold, blue, red, black	20.5	45.5
1591	gold	18	38
1597	gold, black	19	40
1598	gold, black, blue, pink, green	23	50
1623 I	A. gold	20	54.5
	B. gold	15	39
1623 II	A. gold, blue, red, green	22	59
	B. black	14	38.5
1634	gold	17.5	56.5
1640	gold	20.5	56.5
1667	A. ³⁵ gold	20	37
1672	gold	15.5	37
1678	gold	17.5	35
1699	gold, black	20	40.5

³⁴ The composition of this table enables comparison with the tables given by Theunissen ("Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," pp. 346-47). For the details on copies A. and B. of the respective documents, see Table 1.

³⁵ 1667 B. bears no *tugra*.

After completion, the document was rolled up and put into a small bag (*kise*) fastened with a silver or golden capsule (*kozalak*). In the sixteenth century, Ottoman letters addressed to minor rulers were sent in satin bags with silver capsules, while letters to greater monarchs were sent in brocade bags with golden capsules.³⁶ According to Fekete, letters addressed to Christian rulers were usually enclosed in red bags, letters to Muslim rulers in white bags, and rescripts to Ottoman subjects in green bags. Yet, Fekete himself found numerous exceptions to this rule among the Ottoman documents preserved in Vienna.³⁷ Because many fewer bags than documents have been preserved in the archives, it is very difficult to confirm or to challenge Fekete's scheme. For instance, the 'ahdname sent in 1649 to George II Rákóczi was in a red bag made of Italian brocade.³⁸ In this case the addressee was the Christian prince of Transylvania, but also an Ottoman vassal. In 1665 the text of the 'ahdname granted to the Republic of Genoa was entered into the Ottoman copy register with a marginal note: "this imperial 'ahdname was sent in a white brocade bag provided with a golden *kozalak*."³⁹ The 'ahdname granted to the Habsburg emperor after the Treaty of Karlowitz was packed in a silver bag made of silk.⁴⁰ While these examples do not seem to confirm the Fekete's thesis, we can only assume that the greater the import borne by the document and the higher the rank of the addressee, the more expensive was the material used for the bag and the capsule.⁴¹

³⁶ Skilliter, *William Harborne*, p. 49; according to Mübahat Küçükoglu *kozalak* (or *kozak*) also means a small capsule placed over soft wax seals for their protection; see Küçükoglu, *Osmanlı belgelerinin dili (diplomatik)*, pp. 49–50. The Polish 'ahdname of 1568 was delivered in a brocade bag (*w złotogłowym worku*); see Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, ed., *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcyi a mianowicie: Podróż E. Otwinowskiego 1557, Jędrzeja Taranowskiego komornika j. k. m. 1569, i Poselstwo Piotra Zborowskiego 1568* [hereafter, *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcyi*] (Cracow, 1860), p. 72. Also the imperial letter sent along with the Polish 'ahdname of 1577 was put in a brocade bag (*seraser kise*) with a golden capsule (*altun kozalak ile*); see Başbakanlık Arşivi [hereafter, BA], Mühimme Defterleri [hereafter, MD] 31, p. 63, no. 161.

³⁷ Fekete, *Einführung*, p. XXVIII.

³⁸ This bag is preserved in Karlsruhe; see the exhibition catalogue: *Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute. Die "Türkische Kammer" des Markgrafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden. Die "Türkischen Curiositaeten" der Markgrafen von Baden-Durlach* (Munich, 1991), ill. 299, pp. 347–49.

³⁹ Bu 'ahdname-i hümayun beyaz diba kise ve altun kozalak ile göndürülmüştür, Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Cod. Ms. Turc. 29, fol. 174b; for more details about this register, see chapter 7.

⁴⁰ *Österreich und die Osmanen*, p. 188.

⁴¹ For some "cheaper" bags, used for internal correspondence within the Ottoman

Often a piece of silk or brocade cloth was attached to the top of the rolled document. As the cloth was very heavy, this procedure tended to damage the upper part of the document. This was observed by Theunissen and can be confirmed by an examination of the documents preserved in Poland. Indeed, the upper portion of several Ottoman documents, usually containing the *invocatio*, is either absent or torn off.⁴²

empire and usually made of silk, see *Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute. Die "Türkische Kammer" des Markgrafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden. Die "Türkischen Curiositaeten" der Markgrafen von Baden-Durlach*, ill. 301–309, pp. 350–55.

⁴² Cf. Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomacy," pp. 353–54.

CHAPTER FOUR

TEMESSÜK-TYPE DOCUMENTS

In 1971 Susan Skilliter published the text of the Hispano-Ottoman Armistice of 1581, preserved in the British Library.¹ Both the form and contents of the document, composed in two languages, Ottoman and Italian, were defined as “astonishing” and “uniquely strange” by the editor. Quoting Skilliter: “It is not an Imperial or official Ottoman document; it is not a treaty, nor a capitulation, nor even, as de Germigny suggested in 1580, an *‘arz-u hal*, although it may well be based on a petition from the Vizier to the Sultan. It is a simple receipt—*temessük*—confirming, in Ottoman and Italian, the agreement reached between Siyawush Pasha [the second vizier] and Giovanni Margliani [the Spanish ambassador], on behalf of their masters, for peace to be maintained by land and sea between Turkey and Spain for three years. The document under consideration here must be the master-copy, since it contains both texts and the certificate of their authenticity by their compiler Khurrem Beg [the imperial dragoman]. As we are told, three copies of only the Italian receipt, signed by Margliani, were to be kept by the Vizier, and three copies of the Turkish receipt, signed by Siyawush Pasha, were to be kept by Margliani.”²

Skilliter lists several unusual elements in the Ottoman text of this document. For instance: Philip II is called *Kattulika Mayesta* (“the Catholic Majesty”) and not the usual *Ispanya kralı* (“the King of Spain”); the king and the sultan are equally referred to as *iki padişahlar* (“the two padishahs”); the languages in which the document is composed are referred to by such “modern” terms as *türkçe* (“Turkish”) and *italıyanca* (“Italian”). In short, both Ottoman and Italian texts are heavily dependent on each other and some terms are simply transliterated into Turkish from the Italian language version. All this led Skilliter to conclusion that “. . . the exchange of receipts bilingually

¹ Skilliter, “The Hispano-Ottoman armistice of 1581,” in: *Iran and Islam (in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky)*. Edited by C.E. Bosworth (Edinburgh, 1971): 491–516.

² Skilliter, “The Hispano-Ottoman armistice of 1581,” p. 500.

valid, the Ottoman as much a translation of the Italian as the Italian of the Ottoman, is probably unique in Ottoman diplomatics.”³

A strikingly similar conclusion was drawn by Halil Inalcık in regard to the text of the first French capitulations of 1536. According to Inalcık, the draft of the treaty, negotiated between the French ambassador, Jean de la Forest, and the grand vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, “. . . bears the form of a treaty concluded between two equal parties: this is the sole example of such a ‘treaty’ among the ‘capitulations’ (all the others of which were granted as unilaterally conceded *‘ahdnames*).”⁴ The unusual form of the treaty raised doubts in the minds of a number of scholars concerning its authenticity.⁵ Only recently Josef Matuz has found new evidence demonstrating that the French capitulations of 1536 were observed and quoted by Sultan Suleyman himself and were still valid in the Ottoman dominions in the midsixteenth century.⁶

Skilliter and Inalcık have offered interesting comments on the peculiarities in the form and language of both the aforementioned documents, but their claim of uniqueness implies that they have overlooked many similar documents pertaining to the history of Ottoman relations with their immediate Christian neighbors. The texts of the *temessük* of 1581 and the draft of 1536 have hitherto been compared only with the typical Ottoman capitulations granted to West European countries. The unilateral character of the English or Dutch capitulations can be easily explained by the fact that it was the Western parties who were interested in obtaining commercial privileges. The

³ Skilliter, “The Hispano-Ottoman armistice of 1581,” p. 501.

⁴ Inalcık, “İmtiyazat,” *Eİ²*, vol. 3, p. 1183. The Italian text of this first French-Ottoman treaty is published in: Ernest Charrière, ed., *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1848), pp. 283–94.

⁵ According to Skilliter this agreement was never ratified; Skilliter, *William Harborne*, p. 1.

⁶ Matuz, “À propos de la validité des capitulations de 1536 entre l’Empire ottoman et la France,” *Turcica. Revue d’études turques* 24 (1992): 183–92. Even the publication of this article failed to offer a resolution. The Ottoman document quoted by Matuz in which Suleyman refers to his own “*‘ahdname-i hümayunum*” (emphasis added) contradicts the famous letter of Rinçon, in which the French envoy drew up a report for the *connétable* de Montmorency describing his unsuccessful efforts in obtaining an imperial confirmation of the capitulations negotiated three years earlier between Jean de la Forest and the late grand vizier, Ibrahim Pasha; the letter, dated 20 September 1539 in Constantinople, was published in: Charrière, ed., *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, vol. 1, pp. 413–16. Perhaps Suleyman did not want to compromise himself by officially ratifying an alliance with an “infidel,” but he tacitly accepted the conditions stipulated in the provisional document.

negotiations concerning their issue always took place in Istanbul, because Ottoman officials saw no necessity of traveling to London or Amsterdam. In Ottoman relations with their closer neighbors the situation was much different, however. Constant warfare on the Ottoman frontiers often forced local commanders to conclude provisional truces with the enemy, that only subsequently were confirmed by the sultan and, eventually, by the Christian ruler as well.

As a classical example of a scholarly misunderstanding, one can list the Treaty of Zsitvatorok, sometimes considered a turning point in Ottoman-European diplomatic relations because of its unusual and supposedly new elements. In October 1606 the Habsburg and Ottoman plenipotentiaries met in the border area where the creek of Zsitva flows to the Danube. In the atmosphere of this neutral place both delegations enjoyed much more equal standing than, for instance, in the Ottoman capital. In the final Ottoman document, signed in November 1606, Rudolf II was officially referred to as "the Roman Emperor" (*Roma'î çasar*) and not, as before, merely as "the king of Vienna" (*Beğ kralı*). This change, however, was less revolutionary than it used to be assumed. The title *çasar* can be found in the correspondence of the governors of Buda to the Habsburgs already in the 1590s, while the title *imperator* was used even in the letters of Süleyman I.⁷

More astonishing than the content, however, is the form of the treaty documents of 1606. As Hungarian served as the *lingua franca* on the Habsburg-Ottoman border, the Habsburg delegation prepared three copies of the final document in Hungarian, which was only later translated into Latin for domestic use. The Ottoman documents were prepared in Turkish and Hungarian. After the copies were signed and sealed, they were exchanged between the commissioners. As a result, two authorized versions were composed, which were not countersigned by the delegates of the opposite party. As might be expected, the texts of the Habsburg and Ottoman versions were not identical, which resulted in further disputes.⁸

⁷ Address forms in Ottoman-Habsburg correspondence have been studied in detail by Markus Köhbach, "Çasar oder imperator?—Zur Titulatur der römischen Kaiser durch die Osmanen nach dem Vertrag von Zsitvatorok (1606)," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 82 (1992): 223–34.

⁸ See the discussion of these matters by Gustav Bayerle in "The Compromise of Zsitvatorok," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980): 5–53, esp. pp. 6–11. See also the reconstruction of the diplomatic procedure on the both sides in Karl Nehring, *Adam*

If one compares the form and contents of the documents of 1606 with those of a classical Ottoman *'ahdname*, the difference is evident. The documents of 1606 were prepared in two language versions outside the Ottoman capital, and were not validated by the imperial *tugra*. This again has led some scholars to the conclusion that a new stage in the Ottoman diplomatic procedure was initiated in the early seventeenth century. But, a comparison of the documents of 1606 with the aforementioned documents of 1536 and 1581 discloses a strikingly close similarity. These documents were considered by their drawers as preliminary drafts that were to be confirmed by the rulers of the two sides. As early as 1536, the Ottoman-French document contained a clause stipulating its confirmation by the two sides within six months.⁹

Another example of this type of document was prepared during negotiations between the Habsburg and Ottoman commissioners at Vienna in July 1615.¹⁰ The role and function of this document is explained in an appended receipt signed by the same authors on the same date.¹¹ The commissioners of the both sides decided that:

In accordance with mutually exchanged receipts [*temessüks*] after His Excellency, the great Padishah, the Refuge of the Universe, issues the imperial *'ahdname* at the felicitous threshold, the receipt [held in Istanbul] is to be burned in the presence of our [i.e., Habsburg] deputy;¹² and after His Excellency, the felicitous and excellent Roman Emperor, issues an *'ahdname* as required in the imperial [i.e., sultanic] letter, [the second receipt held in Vienna] is to be burned in the presence of those who come [as deputies] from the side of His Excellency, the great Padishah, the Refuge of the Universe; this receipt [*temessük*] has been drawn up for the aforementioned reason.¹³

Freiherm zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel. Ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606) (Munich, 1983), p. 59. The Turkish-Ottoman version of the treaty of 1606 was published with a German translation by Lajos Fekete in: *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy 1606–1645* [hereafter, *Türkische Schriften*] (Budapest, 1932), pp. 3–7 and 207–213.

⁹ “*Che li prefati Gran Signore et Re di Francia mandaranno l'uno a l'altro fra sei mesi le confirmationi del presente trattato in buona et solita forma;*” Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, vol. 1, p. 293. On the ratification of this document, see n. 6.

¹⁰ Published by Fekete in *Türkische Schriften*, pp. 7–14 and 213–22.

¹¹ Published in: Fekete, *Türkische Schriften*, pp. 15 and 222–23.

¹² In the original: *kethüda*. This title applies to the Habsburg functionaries in the previous document, issued by the same commissioners (“*Roma imparatorun kapu kethüdalari*”); see Fekete, *Türkische Schriften*, pp. 12 and 219.

¹³ Fekete, *Türkische Schriften*, p. 15: “... *bir birimize virdüğümüz temessükler mucibince asitane-i sa‘adetde ‘azametlü padişah-i ‘alem-penah hazretleri ‘ahdname-i hümayunların virdikden*

Thus, preparing a *temessük* was not considered the final and ultimate stage of the pacification procedure. This procedure had to be completed by the granting of a "classical" imperial *'ahdname* on one side and the written confirmation of the Christian ruler on the other side. Afterwards, the provisional receipts (*temessüks*) were considered invalid and should be destroyed in the presence of the envoys of the other side. Indeed, the Ottoman-Habsburg pacification of 1606 was not completed in Zsitvatorok. On 9 December 1606 Rudolf II ratified the treaty in Brandeis.¹⁴ Two years later, Adam Herberstein obtained in Istanbul an imperial *'ahdname* dated 11 October 1608.¹⁵ Because of its numerous inaccuracies the Habsburgs refused to accept this document. After sending it back to Istanbul, the final version of the *'ahdname* was issued in May 1612—almost six years after the negotiations in Zsitvatorok.¹⁶

Publication of the "Polish" *temessüks* should further contribute to our knowledge about this type of Ottoman document and its role in the diplomatic procedure. In the sixteenth century when Polish-Ottoman relations were peaceful, all political and commercial matters were resolved in Istanbul by Polish ambassadors who were sent to the Ottoman capital for the purpose of obtaining imperial *'ahdnames*. But by the end of the century, the Cossack raids, the Polish

sonra mezkur temessügi kapu kethüdamız önünde ihrak bi'n-nar idüb ve sa'adettü ve 'izzettü Roma'ı imparator hazretleri name-i hümayun mucibince 'ahdname virdikden sonra 'azametlî padişah 'alem-penah hazretleri canibinden her kim gelürse önlerinde ihrak bi'n-nar etmek için işbu temessüh tahrir olunmuşdur;" German translation by Fekete on pp. 222–23. Both documents, the one making the reference and the one cited, are called *temessüks*. The provisions of this document seem to be illogical. One should rather expect that after the issue of the imperial document, the provisional Habsburg document held in Istanbul should have been destroyed in the presence of an imperial deputy, while after the issue of the Ottoman *'ahdname*, the Ottoman *temessük* held in Vienna should have been destroyed in the presence of Ottoman envoys. As we can see, this last document was not destroyed and is extant today.

¹⁴ Nehring, *Adam Freiherrn zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel. Ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606)*, pp. 28–29, 59. Bayerle mistakenly states that "the mentally unstable Rudolf refused to sign the treaty, and its ratification from the Habsburg side awaited Matthias, his successor to the throne;" see Bayerle, "The Compromise of Zsitvatorok," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980), p. 23. If this had been the case, the embassy of Herberstein would have never left for Istanbul. Besides, the text of Rudolf's ratification document is preserved. For the German translation of the Latin original sent to Istanbul, see Nehring, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–55.

¹⁵ Published in: Feridun Bey, *Münşe'atü's-Selatin*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1274/1857–1858), pp. 412–15; reprinted by Bayerle, "The Compromise of Zsitvatorok," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980), pp. 48–53 and 24–27 (English translation).

¹⁶ Bayerle, "The Compromise of Zsitvatorok," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980), p. 28.

involvement in Moldavia, and the proCatholic policy of Sigismund III resulted in the raising of tensions between the two states. In 1595 a temporary agreement was concluded at Moldavian Țuțora (Pol. Cecora) between the Crown grand hetman Jan Zamoyski and the Ottoman commander, Ahmed Bey, in the presence of the Crimean khan, Ghazi Giray II. The articles of agreement were drafted in two copies—one in Polish, and one in Serbian. The latter document, written in Cyrillic script, was issued and signed by the Turco-Tatar side.¹⁷ Two years later, this agreement was confirmed by a formal *‘ahdname* received by the Polish envoy in Istanbul.

Again, in 1617 the governor of Bosnia, Iskender Pasha, was sent to the Polish border at the head of Ottoman troops. After both armies met on the river Dniester, the Polish field hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski sent his envoy Piotr Ożga to the Ottoman camp. Surprisingly, the negotiations were conducted in Hungarian, spoken both by the Polish envoy and Iskender Pasha. Finally, an agreement was made and the instruments of truce were exchanged. The Polish receipt, referred to as a *skrypt* in the Polish text, was prepared in two versions: Polish and Turkish, and sealed by the hetman and the leading magnates present in the Polish camp.¹⁸ It was issued in the camp at Jaruha (Pol. Jaruga) on 23 September 1617. The Ottoman *temessük* was issued on the same day (22 Ramadan 1026 A.H.) in the Ottoman camp situated on the Moldavian shore of the Dniester.¹⁹ On the basis of this agreement, in 1619 Piotr Ożga received in the Ottoman capital a formal *‘ahdname* from the new sultan, Osman II.

After the failure of Sultan Osman’s campaign of 1621 (*Hotin seferi*), another *temessük* was negotiated at Hotin (Pol. Chocim, Ukr. Xotyn) between the Polish commissioners and the grand vizier Dilaver Pasha. On this basis, a new *‘ahdname* was granted in February 1623 by Sultan Mustafa I to the Polish ambassador, Krzysztof Zbaraski.

¹⁷ See Documents 25–26 and Part II (chapter 2). A contemporary Polish relation states that the Turco-Tatar document was written in Serbian in Ruthenian (i.e., Cyrillic) letters (“*ruskimi literami po serbsku*”); see Bibl. Czart., ms. 351, p. 278. Unfortunately, only the copy transcribed in Polish (i.e., Latin) characters is extant.

¹⁸ It is mentioned in the Ottoman *temessük*: “... *mezbur hetman kendü mühriyle ve taburları içinde olan beglerinin mühriyle biri Türkçe ve biri dahi Leh dilince iken temessük virüb . . .*” see Document 32.

¹⁹ In Polish historiography this treaty is named after the fort of Buša (Pol. Busza), situated near Jaruha on the left bank of the Dniester. For the further details about these negotiations, see Part II (chapter 3) and Documents 31–32.

The Polish *'ahdnames* of 1634, 1672, and 1678 were also preceded by *temessüks*. An especially complicated procedure was followed in 1634. The preliminary conditions of peace were negotiated between the Polish grand hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, and the Ottoman envoy, *müteferrika* Shahin Agha. The *temessük* issued by Shahin Agha is dated 19 August 1634 (23 Safer 1044 A.H.). From its text one learns that one copy was given to the Poles, and another was sent to the Ottoman commander appointed to the Polish border, Murtaza Pasha. A new *'ahdname* should have been granted on the basis of its outline.²⁰ In the camp of Murtaza Pasha the *temessük* was rewritten and confirmed with his own seal on 8 September and sent back to the Polish hetman.²¹ Apparently another copy was sent directly to Istanbul. In October 1634 the Polish envoy, Jakub Zieliński, received a new *'ahdname* in the Ottoman capital.

After the conquest of the Polish fortress of Kamieniec Podolski (Tur. Kamanıçe, today Ukr. Kam'janec' Podil's'kyj) in 1672, Polish commissioners were sent to the Ottoman camp near Bučač (Pol. Buczacz) to negotiate peace conditions with the *kaymakam*, Kara Mustafa Pasha. According to the Ottoman chronicler Silahdar:

Two copies of the *temessük* were prepared: one in Turkish and one in Latin; the vizier, Kara Mustafa Pasha, sealed the Turkish *temessük* and gave it to the Polish envoys, and the Polish envoys sealed the Latin *temessük* and gave it to Mustafa Pasha.²²

In fact, however, the Ottoman *temessük* preserved in the Czartoryski Library bears the seal and *pençe* of the grand vizier, Ahmed Köprülü, and not of the actual negotiator, Kara Mustafa. It was issued on 18 October 1672. On the basis of its contents, a few days later an imperial *'ahdname* was prepared in the name of Sultan Mehmed IV, who took part personally in this campaign. The *'ahdname* was granted to the Polish envoys on 23 October in a camp near Żwaniec' (Pol. Zwaniec).

²⁰ "Bir sureti kendülere teslim olunub ve bir sureti dahi serdar-i 'ali-mikdar vezir Murtaza Paşa hazretlerine gönderilüb minval-i meşruh üzere 'ahdname virilmek için . . .," see Document 43.

²¹ "Sureti bu canibe göndürmeleriyle manzurumuz oldukda makbulumuz olmagın berayn temessük mühürlenüb haliya irsal olunmuşdur," see Document 44.

²² "Temessük üzere türkçe ve latince iki suret yazılub türkçe olan temessüğü vezir Kara Mustafa Paşa mühürleyüb Lih ilçilerine viridi ve Lih ilçileri dahi latince olan temessüğü mühürleyüb Mustafa Paşaya virüb . . .," see *Silahdar tarihi*. Edited by A. Refik (Istanbul, 1928), vol. 1, p. 617.

After the resumption of the war in 1673, new terms of pacification were put into effect by an agreement negotiated in October 1676 between the Ottoman commander, Şeytan Ibrahim Pasha, and the Polish commissioners. Again, *temessüks* were issued and exchanged in the Ottoman camp at Żuravno (Pol. Żurawno). The text of the new *‘ahdname*, received in April 1678 by the Polish ambassador, indicates that it was issued on the basis of these *temessüks*.²³

Another example of a *temessük* is the very text of the Treaty of Karlowitz, negotiated in January 1699 on the shore of the Danube by the Ottoman, Habsburg, Venetian, Polish, and Russian plenipotentiaries. The Latin and Ottoman copies of the Polish-Ottoman agreement were exchanged on 26 January between the respective delegations. On their basis a royal ratification was issued in Warsaw on 1 March 1699, and an imperial *‘ahdname* was granted to the Polish envoy in Istanbul in October 1699.²⁴ This last document proved to be the last Ottoman capitulations granted to the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth.

It should be stressed here that while in the European literature the aforementioned treaties of 1672, 1676, and 1699 are known as the treaties of Buczacz, Żurawno, and Karlowitz, from the Ottoman legal point of view the ultimate conclusion of the peace occurred on the occasion of the granting of the imperial *‘ahdname*. In these three cases the *‘ahdnames* were issued respectively in Žvanec, in the camp of Davud Paşa, and in Istanbul, five days (1672), eighteen months (1676–78) and nine months (1699) after the *temessüks*.

Another type of a *temessük* in our series does not precede, but replaces or supplements the *‘ahdname*. When in 1630 the royal envoy Aleksander Piaseczyński was sent to Istanbul to obtain a new *‘ahdname*, he was informed that the previous *‘ahdname* issued in 1623 was still valid, as both rulers—Murad IV and Sigismund III—were still alive and in power. In this case, a separate *temessük* was prepared, specifying the conditions of the preservation of peace negotiated by Piaseczyński with the Ottoman *kaymakam*, Redjeb Pasha.²⁵ A new

²³ “*Virilen temessük mazmununu mü’eyyed ü mü’ekked . . . olundukda . . .*” see Document 55.

²⁴ The Austrian *‘ahdname* based on a similar *temessük* had been issued earlier, in late February 1699. The segment with the *tugra* of Mustafa II was published in facsimile in: *Österreich und die Osmanen*, ill. 31 and p. 188.

²⁵ See Document 41.

'*ahdname* was issued by Murad IV only four years later, after King Sigismund's death and the accession of his son, Ladislaus IV.

A similar situation took place in 1714. In the diary of the embassy to Istanbul of Stanisław Chomentowski one reads:

On the following day we were taken to the *divan* for an audience before the vizier . . .; there we found articles written in Turkish, which were sealed in our presence; we also gave our signed [articles] after receiving those from his own hands; and when we insisted on an audience before the emperor, he [i.e., the vizier] set an appointment for the third day after signing [the articles].²⁶

During his audience with the sultan, Chomentowski did not get a new '*ahdname*, because the previous one, issued in 1699, was considered still valid. The only document brought by the Polish envoy was the *temessük* issued by the aforementioned grand vizier, Damad Ali Pasha.²⁷ While the '*ahdname* of 1699 continued in force until the liquidation of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth in 1795, any matters that arose subsequently were registered in a *temessük*, deemed to be a suitable and sufficient document to settle such matters.

To sum up, the *temessük*-type document can be described as a highly flexible instrument, composed by Ottoman negotiators together with the Christian envoys, often on the latter's initiative, and therefore highly influenced by European forms and terminology. Sometimes a *temessük* consists merely of a literal translation of a Latin document prepared by Christian envoys, supplemented with an Islamic *invocatio*, *narratio*, and the seal, *pençe* or signature of the Ottoman official. Among the Ottoman plenipotentiaries, who issued the "Polish" *temessüks*, one finds grand viziers (1621, 1672, 1714), a *kaymakam* (1630–II), pashas (1617, 1630–I, 1634–II, 1676), a *reisü'l-küttab* (1699), a bey (1595), and a *müteferrika* (1634–I). These documents were issued in Ottoman military camps (1595, 1617, 1621, 1630–I, 1634–II, 1672, 1676), a Polish military camp (1634–I), a camp for negotiators situated in neutral territory (1699), and Istanbul (1630–II, 1714).

²⁶ "Zaprowadzeni nazajutrz do wezyra na Dywan . . . zastaliśmy już u niego po turecku podpisane punkta, które przy nas pieczętowano, my też swoje wzajem podpisane oddali, z rąku jego własnych tamte odebrawszy, i gdyśmy się audyencyji u cesarza domawiali, zaraz żeby na trzeci dzień po podpisie naznaczył;" AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 79, t. 572, no. 953, fol. 31a.

²⁷ See Document 65.

In exchange for an Ottoman *temessük*, Polish negotiators issued a similar document, written usually in Latin or in Polish. Unfortunately, only a few copies of such instruments are preserved in Polish libraries, while not a single original, sealed and signed Polish document of that kind was found in the Ottoman archives.

CHAPTER FIVE

SINURNAME—PROTOCOLS OF DEMARCATION

In 1969 Rifaat Abou-el-Haj published an article about the demarcation of Ottoman borders after the Treaty of Karlowitz. The author stressed the unprecedented character of this demarcation, which contributed to the “closure of the Ottoman frontier in Europe” and to the development of a modern concept of well-defined linear boundaries. According to Abou-el-Haj: “It is quite possible that this demarcation of a political boundary was the first of its kind in early modern European history.” The same author defines the pre-Karlowitz Ottoman borders as “rough, vague, indefinite military zones between the belligerent forces.”¹

This “Turnerian-McNeillian” thesis seems intellectually very appealing, and fits the old scheme put forward by Paul Wittek, who saw the early Ottoman state as a dynamic creation of frontier warriors.² Unfortunately it is not the first time that historians try to create new models and discover new “milestones” by simply neglecting facts. Indeed, numerous new elements were present in the post-Karlowitz demarcation, especially as far as the Habsburg-Ottoman border is concerned. As the most characteristic new feature one can mention the usage of modern cartography by the Habsburg delegation, headed by the Italian mercenary and geographer, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli.³ But on the other hand the procedure of demarcation possessed quite a long tradition in Ottoman history. The documents of demarcation

¹ Abou-el-Haj, R., “The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699–1703,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89 (1969): 467–75, esp. p. 467.

² Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938). On the struggle for domination over the East European steppes between the Ottomans, Russia, and Poland-Lithuania, see the famous study by William McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier 1500–1800* (Chicago, 1964).

³ On his role in the Habsburg-Ottoman demarcation, see the newly published book by John Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe 1680–1730. The Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Soldier and Virtuoso* (New Haven-London, 1994), pp. 164–215. Marsigli's reports on the demarcation, provided with maps, were recently published by Rafaella Gherardi as: *Relazioni dei Confini della Croazia e della Transilvania a sua Maestà Cesarea (1699–1701)* (Modena, 1986).

(*hududname* or *snurname*) were issued not only internally to define the boundaries of the property of pious foundations (*vakyfs*) and state-owned (*miri*) land within the Ottoman empire, but also to define international borders.⁴ Unfortunately, very few such international demarcations have survived to our times, and even fewer have been studied and published.⁵

For instance, after the conclusion of the Ottoman-Venetian peace in 1479 the Venetian ambassador Domenico Trevisano was sent to Constantinople to define the borders. After an agreement was reached, a document called *snurname* was issued.⁶ Again, after the war of 1570–1573, a joint Ottoman-Venetian commission led by the *sancakbey* of Bosnia, Ferhad, and the ambassador Giacomo Soranzo, was appointed to settle the borders in Dalmatia. The document of demarcation prepared by this commission is referred to in the Venetian *ahdnames* of 1576, 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625, and 1641.⁷

Furthermore, as far as Polish-Ottoman relations are concerned, the demarcation effected after the Treaty of Karlowitz was by no means unprecedented. Already in the sixteenth century, after the Ottoman conquest of Očakiv and Bender, demarcation of the south-Ukrainian pasture lands between Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Yedisian had been necessary.⁸ In a letter dated April 1542 Sultan Suleyman notified the Polish king, Sigismund, that he had ordered the *sancakbey* of Silistra and the kadis of Akkerman and Bender to delineate the border together with the Polish commissioners in accordance with the testimony of local residents whose word was reliable.⁹

⁴ See Klaus Kreiser, "Osmanische Grenzbeschreibungen," in: *Studii Preottomani e Ottomani. Atti del Convegno di Napoli (24–26 settembre 1974)* (Naples, 1976): 165–72.

⁵ The Ottoman documents defining the post-Karlowitz borders of Ottoman Bosnia with the Habsburg Empire and with Venice were studied and published by Ešref Kovačević in the article "Hududnama Bosanskog Vilajeta prema Austriji poslije Karlovačkog Mira," *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 20–21 (1970–1971): 365–436; and in the monograph *Granice Bosanskog Pašaluka prema Austriji i Mletačkoj Republici po odredbama Karlovačkog Mira* (Sarajevo, 1973).

⁶ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomacy," p. 131.

⁷ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomacy," pp. 170–71.

⁸ See Gilles Veinstein, "L'occupation ottomane d'Očakov et le problème de la frontière Lituanio-Tatare 1538–1544," in: *Passé Turco-Tatar présent soviétique. Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen* (Louvain-Paris, 1986): 123–55, esp. pp. 137–46. The palatinates of Braclav and Kiev belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and were incorporated into the Polish Crown only in 1569.

⁹ *KDT*, p. 70; the Italian copy of the lost original is preserved in AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 68, t. 72a, no. 156.

Between September and November 1542 an intensive correspondence in Turkish and Ukrainian (then called Ruthenian) languages was going on between the *sancakbey* of Silistra, Osman-shah, and the Polish field hetman and chief commissioner, Mikołaj Sieniawski. While the Poles claimed that the old border had passed along Kodyma, the right tributary of the river Boh, according to the Ottomans the Muslim territories had extended to the river Savran' (or Savranka), flowing further to the north. The situation deteriorated after the sultan would not agree to any concession, and the Poles started to gather troops near the border. On learning this, Osman-shah returned to his *sancak* and the border question remained unresolved.¹⁰

Despite the ill-defined border, till the end of the sixteenth century both sides tried not to provoke each other. Only in the early seventeenth century new tensions arose, which ultimately led to the demarcation of 1633. Almost no information about this demarcation had been available until recently. In a much later Ottoman document dated 1703 one reads that during the new demarcation following the Treaty of Karlowitz:

the Polish commissioners also presented a certificate (*temessük*), mutually effected seventy years before the date of [this] *temessük* by the *mütefferika* Huseyn Agha, appointed by his excellency, Abaza Pasha, and the palatine Stanisław Koniecpolski, being at that time the grand hetman and appointed to the [task of] demarcation from the side of their king and republic, which states: "the place Jahorlyk, known in the Turkish language as Kaynar, [is the border]."¹¹

The date of that demarcation is quite astonishing. In 1632 Murtaza Pasha, the favorably disposed Ottoman governor of Očakiv and

¹⁰ *KDT*, pp. 73–79. The detailed correspondence in this matter between the king and the royal commissioners was published by Zygmunt Bartoszewicz in "Z rękopisów Dogiela (tomu II, części I) wyjątki, ściągające się do działań między królami Zygmuntem I i Zygmuntem II, a Solimanem sułtanem tureckim," *Dziennik Wileński/Historia i literatura*, vol. 1 (1826), pp. 315–29. On this demarcation, see also the monograph by Mykola Krykun, *Administrativno-territorial'noe ustrojstvo pravoberežnoj Ukrainy v XV–XVIII vv. Granicy voevodstv v svete istočnikov* [hereafter, *Administrativno-territorial'noe ustrojstvo*] (Kiev, 1992), pp. 86–87.

¹¹ "Leh komisarları dahi tarih-i temessükden yetmiş sene mukaddem 'Abaza Paşa hazretleri tarafından ta'yin mütefferika Hüseyin Aga ile ol esnada büyük hetmanları olub kıralları ve cumhurları tarafından kat'-i hududa ta'yin İstislav Konespolski nam voyvoda ma'an kat'-i hudud eyledikleri mahall-i Yahorlik ki Türki lisanında Kaynar demekle ma'rufdur deyü temessük ibraz . . . olduktan sonra . . ." This is repeated in the Latin protocol of demarcation from 1703, composed by the Polish commissioners, see Documents 63–64; cf. Krykun, *Administrativno-territorial'noe ustrojstvo*, pp. 87–88.

Silistra, was replaced by an Abkhazian (Tur. Abaza), Mehmed Pasha, who in October 1633 led a military expedition against Poland. After its fiasco, Murtaza Pasha returned to his post, and Abaza Mehmed Pasha was executed as a mutineer. The role of Murtaza Pasha in the following negotiations of 1634 with the Crown grand hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, has already been noted. Therefore it is hard to explain why the demarcation, which usually crowned the process of peacemaking and took at least several weeks to be completed, was effected not in 1634 but in 1633, during the short and turbulent governorship of Abaza Mehmed Pasha. In the monograph written in 1992 by Mykola Krykun the accuracy of the dating given in the document of 1703 was even questioned.¹²

These doubts have been erased by two recent concurrent findings of Krykun and the present author. Two copies of the lost Polish document of demarcation, written in Latin, came to light among the eighteenth-century manuscripts of the Czartoryski Library. From their text one learns that the document was copied into the court register (*księga grodzka*) of the castle of Kamieniec Podolski in December 1633. Seventy years later its extract from the court register was used by the Polish commissioners participating in the aforementioned demarcation of 1703.¹³ While the extract, entered on the request of Sebastian Uchański, Koniecpolski's servant and agent, is dated 5 December (*feria secunda post festum Sancti Andreae Apostoli*), according to Krykun, the demarcation itself must have been effected in more favorable weather conditions and before the deterioration of mutual relations, most probably in May–June 1633. The Ottoman text of this demarcation is not extant.

The Ottoman conquest of the province of Podolia and its main fortress, Kamieniec Podolski, resulting from the campaign of 1672, required a new demarcation between the two states. The first demarcation between Ottoman Podolia and the neighboring provinces of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth apparently began in spring

¹² Krykun, *Administrativno-territorial'noe ustrojstvo*, p. 88.

¹³ See Document 42, and the article by Krykun, "Rozgraniczenie ziem Rzeczypospolitej i Imperium Otomańskiego w 1633 roku" [hereafter, "Rozgraniczenie"], in: *Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w dobie szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Żenonowi Guldonowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*. Edited by W. Kowalski and J. Muszyńska (Kielce, 1996): 145–57. Besides ms. 612 in the Czartoryski Library, mentioned by Krykun, another copy of this document is contained in ms. 616.

1673. The “old landmarks” erected after the Treaty of Buczacz are mentioned in the Polish and Turkish reports from the following demarcation of 1680. The Ottoman organization of the new province of Podolia was interrupted by the resumption of the war. In fall 1673, an “old Turkish official,” appointed by the sultan to establish the Podolian borders and called “Beglerbeg” in the Polish source, was captured in a raid led by Lieutenant Jan Piwo.¹⁴

The next demarcation was effected in 1680, four years after the Truce of Żurawno and two years after the new *ahdname* had been granted to the Polish ambassador, Jan Gniński.¹⁵ Since the new border passed through inhabited areas devoid of natural barriers, its description—preserved both in Polish and in Turkish—is the most detailed Polish-Ottoman demarcation ever executed. It is by far superior to the demarcation of 1703, prepared after the Treaty of Karlowitz.

Numerous Polish reports on this demarcation have survived. The original of the official Polish protocol has not been found. Fortunately, its contemporary copy is preserved in Kiev, and two eighteenth-century copies are held in Cracow.¹⁶ In 1847 Joachim Lelewel published an excerpt of the relation by Polish commissioners, then held in the Krasieński Library.¹⁷ The original perished when the entire Krasieński Library burned during the Warsaw uprising in 1944. Fortunately, a better and more detailed variant of the same relation has been preserved.¹⁸ Written in the first person, it contains a rich array of behind the scenes details naturally missing in the official protocols, such as the Polish attempts to bribe the Ottoman commissioners

¹⁴ Wespazjan Kochowski, *Roczników Polski Klimakter IV obejmujący dzieje Polski pod panowaniem Króla Michała*. Translated and edited by J. Bobrowicz (Leipzig, 1853), p. 331.

¹⁵ On this demarcation, see also Krykun, *Administrativno-territorial'noe ustrojstwo*, pp. 18–26. Krykun's meticulous monograph is based only on nonOttoman sources.

¹⁶ Central'nyj deržavnyj istoričnyj arxiv Ukrainy v m. Kijevi, f. 2227, op. 1, spr. 98; Bibl. Czart., ms. 178 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 187–96 (copied by the bishop and historian Adam Naruszewicz from a manuscript of the Wiśniowiecki Family Archives); Bibl. Czart., ms. 426, pp. 500–502 (from the library of Tadeusz Czacki). These copies were studied by Krykun, *Administrativno-territorial'noe ustrojstwo*, p. 21. See Document 56.

¹⁷ [Joachim Lelewel], *Materiały do dziejów polskich* (Poznań, 1847), pp. 165–67; quoted also in Antoni J. Rolle, *Żameczki podolskie na kresach mławańskich*, vol. 1 (Cracow, 1880), pp. 156–58.

¹⁸ “Relacja komisarzy Rzeczypospolitej do rozgraniczenia Podola” [hereafter, “Relacja komisarzy”], AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 479, no. 803.

and witnesses. Yet another Polish relation is contained in the memoirs of Florian Drobysz Tuszyński, a professional soldier and esquire carver (*stolnik*) of Żytomierz (Ukr. Żytomyr). Since Tuszyński was only a member of the commissioners' military escort, his account lacks deep insight and, written several years afterwards, gives an erroneous date for the demarcation—1675. Nonetheless, this report of a rank and file soldier is not without value. It offers some curious details absent in the official reports and shows a Polish participant's perception of the Turks:

When it came to raising a mound, the Turks, using spades attached to their saddles, in the twinkling of an eye raised a mound of turf after digging around a big oak trunk [that was] in the middle. Then, after finishing the job their superiors climbed on top of it and ululated like dogs with their faces turned up, praising God that they had conquered so much with the sword.¹⁹

On the Polish side a cross crowned each mound, while on the Ottoman, a wooden pile in a shape of turbaned head.²⁰

An official Ottoman copy of the protocol of demarcation is extant in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow.²¹ A nearly identical text of the border description was also appended to the Ottoman survey register (*defter-i mufassal*) of the newly organized province of Kamanice (i.e., Podolia).²² While the Cracow manuscript is written in the more legible *rik'a* script, the copy in the *defter* is written in *siyakat*. This last copy lacks the signatures and seals of the official copy, but it contains an interesting preamble, which expresses the ideology of a holy war (*cihad*) and praises God for the victories of the army of Islam. Bearing a certain degree of sophistication and literary ambition, the preamble begins with the remark that although the actual document deals with the borders, one should not treat them too seriously since only God may hand out kingdoms to the rulers of this world. The preamble is followed by a passage from the hadith promising that sooner or later all the lands of the unbelievers would be accessible to Muslim warriors. We may assume that this preamble was not

¹⁹ Adam Przyboś, ed., *Dwa pamiętniki z XVII wieku Jana Cedrowskiego i Jana Floriana Drobysza Tuszyńskiego* (Wrocław, 1954), p. 66.

²⁰ "Relacja komisarzy," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, p. 8.

²¹ Bibl. Czart., ms. 609, no. 21, fol. 81a–85b (= pp. 159–68); see Document 57.

²² "Defter-i mufassal-i eyalet-i Kamanice," BA, Tapu Tahrir 805, pp. 378–83. This register, edited by this author, is in press.

included in the official copy given to the Poles, because the Ottoman commissioners would not wish to irritate their counterparts to whom the preamble refers to as "Giaours, [who] having perverse ideas and hostile to the manifest faith . . . flee consistently and incessantly from their solid castles, fortresses, and forts."²³

The leading figure in the negotiations on the Ottoman side was an Abkhazian (Tur. Abaza), Kör Huseyn Pasha, the *beylerbeyi* of Očakiv, whose signature and seal appear in the copy in Czartoryski Library.²⁴ In the Polish sources he is described as an intelligent man relentless in the negotiations, but as someone who was also able to understand the arguments on the other side. When the commissioners claimed that the name Podolia referred only to the district (*powiat*) of Kamieniec, he is reported to have responded that "I do not blame you for saying that since you must feel grief watching your land and native province being taken away, but at the same time you should not blame us since we are obeying our orders."²⁵

Defterdar Ahmed Pasha, then the chief Ottoman commander in Podolia, who was empowered by the sultan to lead and conclude the negotiations, did not leave his seat in Kamieniec, presumably because of his duties there; however, whenever disputes arose, the Ottoman commissioners would send letters to him and wait for his ultimate decision. Ahmed Pasha's seal, official signature (*pençe*), and confirmation (*sahh*) written in his own hand are placed at the top of the Czartoryski copy.

On the Polish side a leading role was played by two men, the castellan of Braclaw (Ukr. Braclav), Colonel Jerzy Wielhorski, and the standard-bearer (*chorąży*) of Sanok, Colonel Tomasz Karczewski. These were the same men who signed the Truce of Żurawno in 1676. The latter was regarded as a confidant of Jan Sobieski, and

²³ "Defter-i mufassal-i eyalet-i Kamanice," BA, Tapu Tahrir 805, p. 378.

²⁴ *Hararahu el-hakir Hüseyin mirmiran-i Özü*, see Document 57.

²⁵ "Relacja komisarzy," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, pp. 3-4; Since the governor of Očakiv usually resided in Silistra on the Danube, in the Polish sources he is called Kior Husejm Sylstryjski; the Turkish nickname *kör* literally means "blind." Huseyn Pasha was appointed chief commander (*serdar*) on the northern front after the Ottoman campaign against Muscovy (the first Cyhyryn campaign of 1677); in 1682 he was appointed governor of Eger; he was killed in the battle of Tulln on 24 August 1683 probably by Polish soldiers from the auxiliary corps of Hieronim Lubomirski. See Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani* (Istanbul, 1308-1311/1890-1893), vol. 2, p. 196; Janusz Wimmer, *Wiedeń 1683. Dzieje kampanii i bitwy* (Warsaw, 1983), pp. 265-66.

therefore entrusted with several diplomatic tasks. Already in 1670 he had been appointed commissioner of the demarcation with Hungary. He died in 1691 as the castellan of Halicz (Ukr. Halyč).²⁶

The commissioners of the two sides met on 26 August 1680 between Bučač and Jazlivec'. At the outset, Huseyn Pasha declared that according to his orders, the three cities of Bučač, Potok, and Čortkiv should be included in Ottoman Podolia. The Poles argued that these cities had never belonged to Podolia and that after the pacification of 1672 the Ottomans had returned them to the Commonwealth by their own free will. In the end, Bučač and Potok remained in Polish hands, although the Polish commissioners had to turn over the old tax registers to Huseyn Pasha so that he could show them in Istanbul. "It will be better for you to lose your records than for me to lose my head" argued the Ottoman governor.²⁷ The matter of Čortkiv was much more serious. Since it had been already entered in the "imperial register" (the first *defter-i mufassal*, from 1672–1673), the Ottomans warned that the only alternative solution was a resumption of the war, although they tempered their remarks saying "such a small thing should not divide such great monarchs."²⁸ Finally, Ahmed Pasha decided to send an *ulak* (courier)²⁹ to Istanbul to ask the Porte for an ultimate decision.

The response was unequivocal. In an uncompromising decree issued in the third decade of Shaban 1091 A.H. (16–24 September 1680) addressed to both Defterdar Ahmed Pasha and Kőr Huseyn Pasha, the sultan categorically ordered that Čortkiv be included in his realm. A copy of this order, verified by the kadi of Kamieniec, Ahmed bin Musa, was given to the Polish commissioners and is preserved in the Czartoryski Library.³⁰

²⁶ See "Relacja traktatów żórawińskich 1676 i Puncta instrukcji danej IchMMPP Komisarzom na traktaty tureckie (in Septembri 1676)," in: Janusz Woliński, ed., "Materiały do rokowań polsko-tureckich w r. 1676," *Przegląd Historyczny* 29 (1930–1931): 382–413. On Tomasz Karczewski, see the article by Adam Przyboś in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [*Polish Biographical Dictionary*], vol. 12 (Wrocław, 1966–1967), pp. 37–38; his role in the Podolian demarcation is omitted, however.

²⁷ "Relacja komisarzy," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, p. 15.

²⁸ "Relacja komisarzy," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, p. 7.

²⁹ "Relacja komisarzy," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, p. 12; in seventeenth-century Polish such words of Turkish origin as *ulak* or *zahara* (*zahiré*) were in common use.

³⁰ *Suret-i emr-i şerif-i 'ali-şandır*, Bibl. Czart., ms. 609, no. 22, fol. 94 (= pp. 185–86). News of the affair of Čortkiv reached the French ambassador in Istanbul, de

The dispute over Čortkiv caused a delay of almost one month. Meanwhile, an ominous event took place. An agha of the Tatars who was taking part in the demarcation was killed near the Polish camp. After a short investigation the murderer was found among the retainers. The Ottomans wanted to punish him themselves, but finally he was executed by the Poles on a plain between the two camps.³¹

At the beginning of October, the demarcation procedure was resumed. The commissioners wanted to finish it before the winter cold began. The next conflict arose over the ruined castle of Lyčkivci. At first the castle and village were conceded to the Commonwealth, but then Huseyn Pasha noticed that they had been registered in the previous survey *defter*. Although he promised to talk to Ahmed Pasha about this matter and even gave a written guaranty to the Poles, from the later *defter* we learn that Lyčkivci remained in Ottoman hands.³²

The commissioners of the Commonwealth were deeply disappointed. As we read in their relation:

Having no other choice, we try to corrupt the Turkish officers and guides. Huseyn Pasha was given hundred thalers, fifteen ells of French cloth and twelve ells of satin. The same amount of money, cloth, and satin was given to Efendi³³ and Ibrahim Agha. Three Lipka Tatars were given ten thalers and five ells of French cloth each. Thus, with God's favor, we have succeeded, since the same [people] who before had forced the peasants to testify falsely, now were asking the same peasants to tell the truth, and [with this aim] brought them [again] to the Pasha.³⁴

Toward the close of the demarcation procedure, the commissioners remained in Medżybiż while only their deputies were sent out to raise the last mounds. On 13 October a new firman arrived ordering that the work continue and that the Ukrainian territories left in the Commonwealth be demarcated from Cossack Ukraine. But since

Guilleragues; see his report dated 2 October 1680 preserved in Paris, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance politique, Turquie, no. 16, fol. 161a.

³¹ "Relacja komisarzy," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, p. 12.

³² "Relacja komisarzy," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, p. 17; "Defter-i mufassal-i eyalet-i Kamaniçe," BA, Tapu Tahrir 805, p. 189.

³³ Mevlana Huseyn Efendi.

³⁴ "Relacja komisarzy," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, p. 19.

winter was approaching and Ukraine was considered very unsafe, it was decided to postpone the demarcation to the following year.

On 14 October a Polish copy of the protocol of demarcation was signed and delivered to Kamieniec by the deputies Siekierzyński, Sławiński, and the interpreter Spendowski. After a few days they returned with the Ottoman copy, dated the third decade of Ramadan 1091 (15–24 October 1680).³⁵

In spite of the above conflicts, the actual demarcation was executed quite efficiently. Huseyn Pasha reproached the representatives of the Commonwealth because their ranks were lower than those of the Ottoman commissioners, but also praised them as reasonable counterparts, with whom he had become acquainted already at Žuravno when he was still the *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia.³⁶ The newly established borders were basically identical to the old borders of the palatinate of Podolia, with the exception of Čortkiv which had previously belonged to the palatinate of Ruthenia (centered in Lwów), but now was included in the new Ottoman province.

In 1699 the Polish-Ottoman border resumed its former shape. The Ottomans restored Podolia to the Poles, and the Polish garrisons evacuated northern Moldavia. Various internal political reasons on both sides contributed to a delay in the demarcation. Finally in 1703 the commissioners met on the river Dniester. The task was much easier than in 1680, since the border ran again along the Dniester, and further on through scarcely populated steppes. In the Turkish copy of the demarcation even the following statement of the Polish commissioners is recorded: "God (may He be exalted!) has separated the aforementioned lands of Moldavia from our Polish lands by the river Dniester."³⁷

After running along the Dniester, the border turned to the north-east and moved upstream, following its left tributary named Jahorlyk. Then it followed the river Kodyma to the Boh. The ancient conflict originating from 1542 had earlier been resolved in favor of the Commonwealth in the demarcation of 1633, by the establishment of

³⁵ "Relacja komisarzy," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, pp. 21–22; Documents 56–57.

³⁶ "Relacja komisarzy," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, p. 16.

³⁷ "Bogdan arazi ile bizim Lehlü topragının mabeynini Allahu ta'ala Turla suyu ile kat' eylemişdir." In the Latin version: "Inter nos et Valachiam ipse Deus flumine Tyra dislimitavit," see Documents 63–64.

the border on the Kodyma rather than on the Savran' river. The Polish-Ottoman border confirmed in 1703 remained untouched until 1793, when the Ukrainian territories of the Commonwealth with Kamieniec and Braclav were incorporated into Russia.

As we have seen, the Ottomans themselves called the documents of demarcation *temessiiks*. Indeed, these documents are similar to the peace protocols described in the preceding chapter. They were prepared in two different language versions, signed and sealed by the commissioners of each side, and exchanged. Usually the protocols of demarcation were prepared after the granting of the imperial *'ahd-name*, sometimes with a delay of a few years. Therefore, they should be considered the final step in the procedure of peacemaking.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PROCEDURE OF PEACEMAKING IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Before the procedure of peacemaking is described, two key aspects must be reconsidered, namely the reciprocity and the duration of a treaty. Halil İnalcık stresses the unilateral character of the *'ahdname* by comparing it to a freely-made grant or concession. According to this author:

The Sultan retains authority to decide unilaterally when the *musta'min* has broken the pledge of friendship and sincere goodwill (*ihlas*) and when in consequence the *'ahdname* is rendered void. It is for this reason that in firmans etc. sent to Ottoman officials there always appears the phrase that the *musta'min* has undertaken to behave in friendly and faithful fashion (*dostluk ve sadakat üzere*). Like all the *berats*, *'ahdnames*, being granted by the individual Sultan personally, had to be confirmed by his successor.¹

While keeping in mind this general statement, the substantial differences between the various Ottoman *'ahdnames* granted to various countries at different times cannot be ignored. Having studied the earliest fifteenth-century Ottoman-Venetian treaties, Theunissen noticed a shift from a “purely” Islamic unilateral instrument to a sworn bilateral *instrumentum reciprocum*, apparently under Byzantine and Italian influence. Only later, between 1482 and 1540, reciprocity was again gradually replaced by the unilateral stance.² Yet, the Ottoman-Venetian pacification process of 1502–1503, described in detail by Theunissen, still demonstrates that its procedure cannot be defined as a purely unilateral action.

In September 1502 the Venetian senate decided to send Zaccaria di Freschi to Constantinople. The text of the treaty of 1482 was inserted among his instructions to form the basis for the negotiations. The ambassador arrived at the Ottoman capital in December 1502. After long negotiation with the Ottoman officials, interrupted by the dispatching and reception of messages from Venice, the text

¹ İnalcık, “İmtiyazat,” *Eİ²*, vol. 3, p. 1179.

² Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics,” pp. 253–54.

of the new treaty was accepted and attested by Sultan Bayezid. In March 1503 the *'ahdname* was granted and brought to Venice by Zaccaria di Freschi, accompanied by the Ottoman envoy, Ali Beg. In May 1503 the doge ratified the treaty by swearing an oath in the presence of Ali Beg. An Italian translation of the Ottoman-Turkish text of the treaty was prepared and sealed with the doge's golden seal. It was taken to Constantinople by Ali Beg and by the new Venetian ambassador, Andrea Gritti. Only then was the final *'ahdname* granted by Sultan Bayezid in July 1503.³

As we have seen, as the result of the protracted negotiations, lasting twenty months, three documents were issued: the preliminary Ottoman text, the Venetian text sealed by the doge, and the final Ottoman *'ahdname*. Though the text of the treaty was composed in Istanbul, the ambassador negotiated its articles and even consulted the senate in Venice. An almost identical procedure was repeated in the Ottoman-Venetian negotiations of 1540.⁴

When the first Polish-Ottoman treaty was concluded in 1489, Sultan Bayezid asked King Casimir in a separate letter to confirm this treaty in the presence of his envoy, Isa.⁵ Such a confirmation was apparently sent to Istanbul but its text is not extant. A similar request accompanied the next treaty of 1494 between Bayezid and John Albert. The king was asked to confirm the treaty by oath in the presence of the Ottoman envoy, Haydar, and to issue a written certification.⁶ Indeed, the royal ratification was prepared and given to the said Ottoman envoy. Its text was copied into the Crown Register (*Metryka Koronna*) and is preserved.⁷ The request for a royal confirmation is also expressed in the text of the treaty of 1502.⁸

³ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," pp. 140–43.

⁴ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," pp. 160–61.

⁵ AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 6, no. 11; the letter in Italian, provided with the golden *tugra*, is published in: *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, [vol. 1]. Edited by A. Sokołowski and J. Szujski (Cracow, 1876), no. 334, pp. 348–49.

⁶ "... quando autem iste veniet ad vos, faciatis iuramentum coram ipso simile, prout et nos fecimus et est scriptum et in litteris concordiae nostrae; et postquam factum fuerit, detur in manibus eius et mittatur in scriptis ...;" AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 8, no. 17, published in: *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. 3. Edited by A. Lewicki (Cracow, 1894), no. 402, pp. 416–17.

⁷ Published in: *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. 3, no. 405, pp. 419–21. See Document 4. The last paragraph reads: "Et per hunc oratorem prefati domini imperatoris nostras literas reversales remisimus et remittimus per presentes."

⁸ See Document 7; beneath the text of the imperial oath it reads: "Et lo simile la prefacta Maestà farà."

Table 3. The Ottoman *'ahdnames* and the Polish confirmations:

Duration of the treaty	Issuance of imperial <i>'ahdname</i>	Royal confirmation
1444 (10 years) ⁹	Edirne, 12. 06. 1444	Várad, 15. 08. 1444 ¹⁰
1489 (2 years)	Istanbul, 22. 03. 1489	lost
1494 (3 years)	Istanbul, 6. 04. 1494	Cracow, 28. 06. 1494
1500–1501	Istanbul, 19. 07. 1501	Cracow, 1. 03. 1500
(unspecified)		
1502 (5 years)	Istanbul, 9. 10. 1502	Vilna, 21. 02. 1503
1509 (1 year) ¹¹	lost	lost
1510 (1 year)	lost	lost
1511 (5 years)	lost	lost
1514 (3 years) ¹²	Akşehir, 26. 04–5. 05. 1514	lost
1519 (3 years) ¹³	Istanbul, 1. 10. 1519	?
1525 (3 years)	Istanbul, 18. 10. 1525	?
1528 (5 years) ¹⁴	Istanbul, 5–14. 10. 1528	?
1533 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 18–26. 01. 1533	Cracow, 1. 05. 1533
1553–54 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 1. 08. 1553	Lublin, 12. 03. 1554
1564–65 (in perpetuity) ¹⁵	Kütahya, 17–26. 10. 1564	Piotrków, 30. 04. 1565
1568 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 21 July 1568	?
1577 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 17. 07. 1577	Marienburg, 5. 11. 1577 ¹⁶
1591 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 10–18. 10. 1591	Wiślica, 15. 01. 1592
1597 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 11–20. 11. 1597	Warsaw, May 1598 ¹⁷
1598 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 4. 08. 1598	Warsaw, April 1606 ¹⁸
1607 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 15. 07. 1607	ratified in advance
1619 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 26. 05–4. 06. 1619	Warsaw, 2. 12. 1619
1623 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 12–21. 02. 1623	not accepted
1623 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 10. 10. 1623	Warsaw, 1. 04. 1624

⁹ This treaty belongs rather to the Hungarian series, though Ladislaus was also the king of Poland. For the discussion of the “Treaty of Segedin,” see Part II (chapter 1).

¹⁰ Várad (Nagyvárad) = Oradea in Rumania.

¹¹ For the discussion of the treaties of 1509, 1510, and 1511, see Part II (chapter 1).

¹² The treaty had been in force since 30 May 1514. Its text is lost.

¹³ The treaty had been in force since 25 September.

¹⁴ The treaty had been in force since 15 September.

¹⁵ Issued in the name of Prince Selim, prior to the death of his father, Sultan Süleyman.

¹⁶ Marienburg = Malbork in the Royal Prussia.

¹⁷ The text is not preserved, but it is mentioned in the royal instruction to the Polish envoy, dated 8 May 1598, AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 27, fol. 66b; see also Part II (chapter 2).

¹⁸ The document is preserved in an undated copy, see Document 29. The royal instruction to the Polish envoy is dated 3 April 1606 (see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 288, no. 533).

(table 3 cont.)

Duration of the treaty	Issuance of imperial 'ahdname	Royal confirmation
1634 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 23. 10–1. 11. 1634	Warsaw, March 1635 ¹⁹
1640 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 13–22. 05. 1640	Warsaw, 3. 09. 1640
1667 (in perpetuity)	Edirne, 2–11. 08. 1667	Warsaw, 26. 01. 1670 ²⁰
1672 (in perpetuity)	Žvanec', 23. 10. 1672	unratified
1678 (in perpetuity)	Davud Paşa, 4–13. 04. 1678	ratified; no ratification sent
1699 (in perpetuity)	Istanbul, 6–15. 10. 1699	Warsaw, 1. 03. 1699 and 24. 08. 1699 ²¹

A letter dated May 1533, written by the Polish vice-chancellor, Piotr Tomicki, and addressed to the royal envoy, Jan Ocieski, before his departure for Constantinople, provides some interesting information about the appearance of royal confirmations and the diplomatic ceremonial. At the beginning of his letter, Tomicki accused the chancery painter of tardiness in drawing the royal documents.²² After arriving at Constantinople the envoy was ordered to unfold the documents and to remove covers of leather from the seals, and then to put the documents into the special little bags. Actually two different treaty documents were prepared in Cracow. In the first version the royal chancery unilaterally extended the treaty on Prince Selim, the son and successor of Sultan Suleyman. If this version was not accepted, the second one, not mentioning the sultan's son, was to be presented. In order to facilitate the distinction between the two versions, the miniatures drawn on the margin of the first copy were made larger.²³

¹⁹ The text is not preserved, but it is mentioned in the royal letter to Murad IV, dated 20 March 1635 in Warsaw. Its fragment reads: "*Ne vero nostra etiam ex parte quidquam de esset ad eiusdem amicitiae pacis concordiae perpetuum firmamentum mittimus Serenitati Vestri per eundem Alli Agam pro more ac instituto veteri solenne pactorum diploma ex formula pactorum a Serenitate Vestrae missorum aliorumque antiquorum rite confectum, quae sicut nos sancte servaturos spondemus;*" see AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 32, fol. 487b.

²⁰ See Document 49. On this document, see below.

²¹ See Documents 60–61. On this "double ratification," see below.

²² Perhaps the painter was Stanisław Samostrzelnik, the creator of famous miniatures, who was employed at that time in the royal chancery.

²³ "... *Propter pictoris moram et tarditatem in pingendo celerius quam nunc litteras praesentes vobis mittere non potuimus, mittimus tamen illas integras et in ordinem compositas, quas vos cum diligentia perferetis et cum in loco eritis, evolvatis illas et sacculas religabitis, cutes ex sigillis deponetis, postea vero mundas et chartis exutas sacculis imponentis et primum offeretis primas, sicuti desuper videbitis in illis descriptum, quae si acceptabuntur, de aliis mentionem non facietis, si vero illae, quas prius offeretis, reuicerentur, secundas offeretis. Primae continent foedus etiam cum filio*

From a close reading of this letter, one can draw an important conclusion: royal confirmations in that period were not merely mechanically copied translations of the Ottoman *'ahdnames*. Even in the final stages of the diplomatic procedure, the Polish side tried to change some articles of the treaty or even to extend its validity.²⁴

Exposure of the role of the sons of the two rulers is very characteristic of Polish diplomacy in that period, since in 1529 Sigismund August was crowned as the king of Poland before his father's death (*coronatio vivente rege*). In consequence, between 1529 and 1548 Poland had two legally ruling kings. The efforts to create parallel treaties between Sigismund and Süleyman, and between their sons, Sigismund August and Selim, brought fruit in the last years of Sultan Süleyman's reign. In 1564 an unprecedented treaty was concluded between the Polish king and Prince Selim, two years before the latter's accession to the Ottoman throne.

Except for the documents of 1500–1501 and 1699, all Polish confirmations were issued after the Ottoman *'ahdname* had been granted. It seems that in their relations with other Christian states the Ottomans preferred a reverse option, not allowing any last-minute insertion into the treaty after the Ottoman *'ahdname* was already granted. For instance, the Venetian procedure of 1502–1503 consisted of three stages: (1) drawing up the Turkish draft, (2) issuing the Venetian document, and (3) issuing the final Ottoman *'ahdname*. An identical procedure was followed during the Ottoman-Austrian negotiations of 1547.²⁵ Moreover, in 1562 and 1606–1608 the final document issued by the Habsburg emperor preceded the Ottoman *'ahdname*.²⁶

imperatoris, secundae tantum ad vitam caesaris, non nominato filio eius, foedus habent. Primae denique latiore in marginibus picturam habent, secundae actiorem, quod vos, si diligenter advertetis, facile conspicietis et nihil errabitis . . .," this letter is published in: *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 15 (Wrocław, 1957), no. 248, pp. 340–41.

²⁴ The articles on Wallachia and Moldavia were also deliberately omitted in the royal document of 1533. This matter is also discussed in Part II (chapter 2).

²⁵ The conditions of peace negotiated by Gerhard Velwyck in Istanbul were detailed in the sultanic *name* sent to Ferdinand in June 1547. The emperor issued the ratification document (in Latin) in Prague on 26 August, and the final Ottoman *'ahdname* was issued in Constantinople on 8 October; see Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*, pp. 14–18 and Ernst Dieter Petritsch, "Der habsburgisch-osmanische Friedensvertrag des Jahres 1547," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 38 (1995): 49–80, esp. pp. 66–80.

²⁶ The *'ahdname* issued by Ferdinand and sent to the sultan through the ambassador, Ogier Ghiselin von Busbeck, is mentioned in the Ottoman final document from 1562; see Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*, p. 68. On the Peace of Zsitvatorok, see chapter 4.

To sum up, it seems that sending royal confirmation of a treaty was a customary and obligatory step in the Polish-Ottoman peace-making procedure, at least until 1640. From the period between 1489 and 1503 three royal documents (1494, 1500, 1503) are preserved in copies, and the existence of a fourth one (1489) is confirmed by other sources. From the treaties of 1507–1514 not only the royal confirmations, but also the Ottoman texts are lost. From the period between 1519 and 1592, five texts of royal confirmations are preserved (1533, 1554, 1565, 1577, 1592) while four texts are apparently lost (1519, 1525, 1528, 1568). It must be stressed that the general state of preservation of the documents from that period is not perfect, and also the Ottoman texts from 1501, 1528, 1533, 1553, 1564, and 1568, are preserved only in copies or translations.

For the eight *‘ahdnames* issued between 1597 and 1640, four royal confirmations from 1606, 1619, 1624, and 1640 are extant, and the existence of two others of 1598 and 1635 is confirmed by other sources.

If one studies the royal confirmation of 1640, it becomes apparent that since the fifteenth century the royal document had developed into a mirror-like inversed version of the Ottoman text, including the original Ottoman *narratio* and even some elements of a *manifestatio*, expressing the wish of Sultan Ibrahim to keep global peace. The only important difference from the Ottoman text is that the king is referred to in the first person plural instead of the third person singular as in the *‘ahdname*. Though in form this document is similar to the earlier Polish confirmations, it is more dependent on the Ottoman “standard.”²⁷

The two royal documents of 1606 and 1670 are quite unusual in the tradition of Polish-Ottoman diplomatic procedure. In theory they confirmed the Ottoman *‘ahdnames* of 1598 and 1667, but they were issued only after a long delay of eight and three years after the respective Ottoman documents. Both documents were issued on the Polish initiative—the first after the accession of the new sultan, and the second after the change on the Polish throne.

When the contents of the *‘ahdname* of 1597 led to discontent at the Polish court, Sigismund III sent a new envoy to obtain a “better” treaty. In order to save time and money, the Polish envoy was

²⁷ See Document 47. The extant copy does not contain the royal *intitulatio*.

provided with a completed document of the royal ratification, prepared in two versions as in the case of the aforementioned embassy of 1533. The first version contained several Polish amendments to the treaty, while the second one merely confirmed the articles of the document issued by the sultan.²⁸ As the new *‘ahdname* of 1598 was issued in conformance with the Polish request, evidently the first expanded version of the royal ratification was accepted by the Porte. Therefore, no further ratification was needed after the new *‘ahdname* was brought to Warsaw. Only a few years later, after the accession of the new sultan, Ahmed I (1603–1617), Sigismund III confirmed the conditions of the *‘ahdname* of 1598 in a new document, given to the Polish envoy to the Porte in April 1606. Again, the document was issued in two versions, one with new, and other with the old conditions.²⁹ The initiative of the king was quite a novelty in the mutual tradition. Instead of applying for a new *‘ahdname*, Sigismund sent his own document and asked the sultan to confirm one of its versions with an Ottoman document. The Porte tacitly accepted this innovation, and a new *‘ahdname* was granted by Ahmed I in 1607, but in the following years the standard procedure in the mutual relations was restored.

A similar situation occurred sixty years later. After the *‘ahdname* of 1667 was granted by Mehmed IV to King John Casimir, no royal ratification was issued. The abdication of John Casimir in 1668 resulted in the election of Michał Wiśniowiecki to the Polish throne in the following year. Instead of applying for a new *‘ahdname*, the new king sent his envoy Franciszek Wysocki with a prepared document, confirming the conditions of the *‘ahdname* of 1667.³⁰ Wysocki was ordered not to present the royal document to the Ottomans until the sultan issued a similar instrument addressed to the Polish king.³¹ This time the Porte, not bound by the previous treaty after the change on the Polish throne, had other plans. In the wake of

²⁸ See the royal instruction to Jan Szczęsny Herbut dated 8 May 1598, AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 27, fol. 66b.

²⁹ “*Rewersaby dwojga przymierza rozkazaliśmy dać, jeden cum novis, drugi cum antiquis conditionibus . . .*,” see the royal instruction to the Polish envoy, AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 288, no. 533, p. 9.

³⁰ See Document 49.

³¹ The respective fragment of the royal instruction to the envoy dated 26 January 1670 reads: “*. . . których to pakt od JKMcI potwierdzonych instrumentum nie pierwszej urodzony postannym odda, aże będzie pewien odebrania takżę confirmacyjnej onych od Cesarza JM Tureckiego;*” see Bibl. Czart., ms. 2577, p. 198. This fragment is written on the bottom margin

two years of futile negotiations, war was declared on Poland, and Wysocki was temporarily arrested. The official royal document, brought by the Polish envoy to Istanbul, was never received by the Porte. After the loss of the campaign in 1672 and the conclusion of a new treaty, this ill-starred document was returned to the Crown chancery. Though the royal seal was removed, the document was not destroyed and survived until the present day.³²

The fact that the *'ahdname* of 1667 was not immediately confirmed by a royal document should not be explained merely by the abdication of John Casimir.³³ The Ottoman document of 1667 was the first one issued in the form of a *nişan*, a unilateral diploma issued by the sultan. A similar change had occurred in the form of Venetian *'ahdnames* already in the midsixteenth century. As was observed by Theunissen, the Ottomans did not expect a unilateral imperial diploma to be confirmed by its recipients. In such circumstances, the royal confirmation issued three years later by King Michał was not only unexpected, but even unwished for and may have been interpreted as proof of the "insolence of the infidels."

This thesis can be confirmed by the absence of royal confirmations from the following years. Though the *'ahdname* of 1672 was not ratified by the Diet, the next treaty of 1678 was ratified, but no confirmation document has been found.³⁴ This absence cannot be explained by the imperfect preservation of documents. It is striking that so many texts even from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

of the document and is missing in the second preserved copy of this instruction (cf. Bibl. Czart., ms. 2577, pp. 209–210).

³² See Document 49 and Part II (chapter 3). The reverse side of the document bears a chancery remark: "*confirmando pactorum cum Porta Ottomanica per magnum olim Hieronimum Radziejowski legatum extraordinarium in A° J. 1667 conclusorum Generoso Francisco Wysocky ablegato in A° J. 1670 dum mitteretur Constantinopolim data. Tandem per eundem Wysocki rebus infectibus Constantinopoli reversum Varsaviae die 10 Februarii Anno Dni 1673 item ad cancellariam restituta.*" AGAD, AKW, Dokumenty pergaminowe [Parchment documents], no. 5623.

³³ On his return from Edirne, the Polish envoy Wysocki could not have been received by the diet, because the diet was broken up on 7 March 1668. His relation from the embassy was heard on 14 March during the senate meeting (*senatus consultum*). In the same month John Casimir decided to resign from the Polish throne. The political activity of that period has been studied in detail, but no mention of a royal confirmation of the treaty has been found; see Maciej Matwijów, *Ostatnie sejmiki przed abdykacją Jana Kazimierza 1667 i 1668* (Wrocław, 1992), pp. 151 and 166.

³⁴ The treaty of 1678 was accepted by the diet in March 1679 but—as in the case of the treaty of 1667—no mention of a royal ratification has been found; cf. Krystyn Matwijowski, *Sejm grodzieński 1678–1679* (Wrocław, 1985), p. 114.

are extant in the Polish libraries and archives, but no copy of such an important document can be found for the late seventeenth century, since the general state of preservation of documents from this later period is much better. It seems unlikely that the Polish nobles and clergymen suddenly lost interest in copying the texts of royal confirmations of the treaties. The most plausible solution is that due to the “unilateralization” and *nişanization* of the Polish ‘*ahdnames*’ no more confirmations by the Polish king were expected after 1667. All the Polish ‘*ahdnames*’ issued between 1667 and 1678 exhibited the form of a *nişan*.

After the Treaty of Karlowitz, a ratification document was issued anew by the Polish king, and in the Ottoman ‘*ahdname*’ the form of a *nişan* was abandoned. While the Europeans could regard the procedure of 1699 as an enforced concession by the Porte, perhaps for the Ottomans it symbolized merely the return to the classical sixteenth-century praxis.

Only two original documents of ratification issued by the royal chancery have survived. For many years they remained almost unnoticed by scholars.³⁵ By a mere coincidence, instead of being sent to Istanbul they were preserved in Poland. The first one is the aforementioned ratification document issued by King Michał in 1670. The parchment document measures 84 cm. in length and 67.5 cm. in width. Its margins are ornamented in gold, black, blue, yellow and red. It is signed by the regent of the royal chancery (*Regens Regni Cancellariae Maioris*), Bogusław Leszczyński. The document, brought to Istanbul in 1670 and not accepted by the Porte, was initially provided with the royal seal, attached by string. After it was returned to the chancery in 1673 the seal was apparently removed. Its original existence is proved by six holes and an impress of the string on the parchment.³⁶

The second Polish document is the ratification of the Treaty of Karlowitz by King August II from August 1699. The king had already

³⁵ See Documents 49 and 61. Special thanks are due to Dr. Michał Kulecki and Dr. Hubert Wajs from the Main Archives of Early Acts in Warsaw, who helped the author to find and identify these documents.

³⁶ A small reproduction of this document was published in black and white by Józef Siemieński in the exhibition catalogue *Diplomatie de l'ancienne Pologne présentée en reproductions des actes des archives exposées dans la section du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères à l'Exposition Générale Polonaise à Poznań en 1929* (Poznań, 1929), pp. 30–31. On Polish royal seals, see the monograph by Marian Gumowski, *Pieczęcie królów polskich* (Cracow, 1910).

ratified this treaty on 1 March, but the first version of the document sent to the Porte was rejected because contrary to custom it was issued only in the name of the king, without including mention of the name of the Commonwealth.³⁷ Upon request a new document was issued with a revised preamble and conclusion. On 24 August 1699 the chancery issued two copies of this official document. One copy was sent to Istanbul, while the second, apparently identical with the first one is preserved in the Polish archives. The parchment document measures 68.5 cm. in length and 82 cm. in width, and it is ornamented in gold and blue, having on its top the arms of Poland, Lithuania, and Saxony. It is signed by the royal secretary, Franciszek Trzcíński. Though it also has six holes, like the document of 1670, apparently no seal was ever attached because no string impress can be found. It was also unnecessary to provide a second "reserve" copy with a seal.³⁸ These two documents were apparently similar in shape and size to the lost royal ratification of 1533, mentioned above.

Because, at least in certain periods, the Ottomans did not consider royal documents of equal validity with imperial *'ahdnames*, an indication of this "inferiority" should be detectable in Ottoman terminology. Yet, the words *'ahd* or *sevğend*, meaning an oath, are used in Ottoman sources for both the oath of a sultan and that of a Christian ruler or even of an Ottoman vassal.³⁹ In sixteenth-century Ottoman documents, the confirmations issued by the Polish kings were invariably called *'ahdnames*.⁴⁰

A significant new term can be found in the Ottoman register containing correspondence with Russia after 1701 (*Rus ecnebi defteri*).

³⁷ See Document 60 and Władysław Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792* (Warsaw, 1936), pp. 39–41. The document from 1 March 1699 is preserved only in copies.

³⁸ For a "complete" Polish document from that period, provided with the seal of King John III Sobieski, see the ratification of the treaty with Emperor Leopold, dated 31 May 1683 in Warsaw, preserved in Vienna. Its first page is published in: *Österreich und die Osmanen*, ill. 27.

³⁹ By his treaty of 1444 with Murad II, the bey of Karaman, Ibrahim, accepted Ottoman suzerainty. His "oath document" was called *sevğendname*; see Şinasi Tekin, ed., *Menahici'î'l-İnşa. The Earliest Ottoman Chancery Manual by Yahya bin Mehmed el-Kâtib from the 15th Century. Text in Facsimile with Introduction and Index* (Roxbury, Mass., 1971), pp. 23–24 (Ottoman text), 31–32 (English translation), 134–36 (facsimile).

⁴⁰ For instance, see the letter of the grand vizier Ibrahim to Sigismund I from 1533 (AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 67, t. 35, no. 78, *KDT*, pp. 45–46) and the letter of Sultan Suleyman to Sigismund August from 1554 (AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 69, t. 172, no. 329, *KDT*, p. 150).

Russian confirmation of the Treaty of Belgrade of 1739 was entered the register in a Turkish translation. The aforementioned confirmation was issued on 16 October 1739 (Old Style) by Empress Anna. At the bottom of the translation a marginal note reads: *imza-i çarife-i Moskov Anna; mühür* (“the signature of the tsarina of Muscovy, Anna; the seal”), proving that the translation was made from the original document. The heading for the translation, apparently devised by an Ottoman scribe, reads: “*Rikab-i müstetab-i cihandariye Moskov çaricesi kâbelinden gelen tasdiknamenin tercümesidir*” (“This is the translation of the letter of confirmation, which arrived from the tsarina of Muscovy at the pleasant imperial stirrup”).⁴¹ Thus, instead of the usual term “*ahdname*,” the word “*tasdikname*” was used to define the Christian document, meaning literally “letter of confirmation.” The supposition that the Ottomans attempted to compensate for their military losses by degrading the Russian partner in diplomatic terminology would not be very convincing in this case. Perhaps the change in terminology rather symbolized the shift from the mediaeval procedure of taking an oath by the ruler to the modern concept of ratifying a treaty negotiated and previously signed by the plenipotentiaries of the two sides.

Meanwhile, eighteenth-century Ottoman documents of this type continued to be called ‘*ahdnames*’; however, a subtle difference is apparent in the Ottoman terminology of the period. While a “classical” ‘*ahdname*’ was always “granted” (*ihsan oldı*) or “given” (*virildi*) by the omnipotent padishah, now it was also “confirmed” (*tasdik buyurulmuşdur*). For instance, in the final clause of the imperial ‘*ahdname*’ issued in 1774 after the conclusion of the Ottoman-Russian Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, the sultan “swore, accepted, and absolutely confirmed the treaty” (“*ahd ü misak ü temamen tasdik iderüz ki . . .*”).⁴²

While written royal confirmations temporarily disappeared from the Polish-Ottoman diplomatic procedure in the seventeenth century, this procedure was enriched by another element, namely truce protocols (*temessüks*) that usually precede the ‘*ahdname*’ proper. As has already been mentioned, the first document of this type was issued in 1595 at Tıttora by Ahmed Bey, in exchange for a similar document submitted by Hetman Jan Zamoyski. The agreement of 1595

⁴¹ BA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye 83/1 (*Rus ecnebi defteri*), pp. 89–92.

⁴² The articles of this treaty without the customary parts of a protocol are published in: *Mu‘ahadat Mecmu‘ası*, vol. 3 (Istanbul, 1297/1879–1880), pp. 254–73. The whole text is entered in the *Rus ecnebi defteri* (BA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye 83/1, pp. 142–52).

was properly confirmed in the *'ahdname* of 1597. The second *temessük* was issued in 1617 by Iskender Pasha, as a result of his negotiations with the envoy, Piotr Ożga, sent by the Polish hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski. In 1619 Piotr Ożga—on this occasion the royal ambassador—obtained a formal *'ahdname* in the Ottoman capital. The whole peacemaking procedure can be traced again after 1621, when the new truce concluded at Hotin between the grand vizier, Dilaver Pasha, and the Polish commissioners was confirmed in the formal *'ahdname* of 1623.

Table 4. The peacemaking procedure in Polish-Ottoman relations

Year	Date and person issuing the:		Ottoman <i>'ahdname</i>
	Ottoman <i>temessük</i>	Polish <i>skrypt</i>	
1595–1598	22. 10. 1595, Ahmed Bey	22. 10. 1595, Jan Zamoyski	11–20. 11. 1597, Mehmed III ⁴³
1617–1619	23. 09. 1617, Iskender Pasha	23. 09. 1617, Stanisław Żółkiewski	26. 05–4. 06. 1619, Osman II ⁴⁴
1621–1624	9. 10. 1621, Dilaver Pasha	9. 10. 1621, commissioners ⁴⁵	12–21. 02. 1623, Mustafa I ⁴⁶
1634–1635	8. 09. 1634, Murtaza Pasha ⁴⁷	19. 08. 1634, Stanisław Koniecpolski	23. 10–1. 11. 1634, Murad IV ⁴⁸
1672	18. 10. 1672, Ahmed Köprülü	16. 10. 1672, commissioners	23. 10. 1672, Mehmed IV
1676–1680	17. 10. 1676, Ibrahim Pasha ⁴⁹	15. 10. 1676, commissioners	4–13. 04. 1678, Mehmed IV
1699–1703	26. 01. 1699, Mehmed Rami ⁵⁰	26. 01. 1699, Stanisław Małachowski	6–15. 10. 1699, Mustafa II ⁵¹

⁴³ The royal ratification was issued in May 1598 in Warsaw.

⁴⁴ The royal ratification was issued on 2 December 1619 in Warsaw.

⁴⁵ Since the Polish head commander, Karol Chodkiewicz, died on 24 September, the Polish copy was signed by the Polish commissioners in the name of his acting deputy, Stanisław Lubomirski.

⁴⁶ Actually the *'ahdname* of Murad IV obtained by Krzysztof Serebkowicz in October 1623 and the royal ratification issued on 1 April 1624 belong to the same peacemaking procedure. See also Part II (chapter 3).

⁴⁷ The *temessük* issued by Murtaza Pasha confirmed the preliminary agreement concluded with Shahin Agha on 19 August 1634.

⁴⁸ The royal ratification was issued in March 1635 in Warsaw.

⁴⁹ Erroneously dated the second decade of Shaban 1087 (19–28 October); see note 1 to Document 54.

⁵⁰ Together with Alexander Maurocordato.

⁵¹ The royal ratification was issued in Warsaw on 1 March 1699, and repeated on 24 August 1699.

The pacifications of 1678 and 1699 were followed by demarcations conducted in 1680 and 1703, respectively. Therefore, the demarcation should be considered a separate, though not a requisite stage in the peacemaking procedure.

It is not accidental that most of the *temessüks* were issued in September and October. This was usually the time when the campaign season ended, and the Ottoman army was returning to the south. Negotiations would begin at this time, leading to the conclusion of a new treaty.

The model given above is very similar to the model of the Austrian-Ottoman peacemaking procedure outlined by Nehring for the years 1606–1608.⁵² The notable difference is that in the Polish-Ottoman procedures of 1672 and 1676–1680 no royal confirmation was expected.

The last problem to be examined here is the durability of the treaties. Initially, the *ahdnames* were granted to the Polish kings for two, three, or five years (see Table 3). Beginning with the document of 1533 they were granted “in perpetuity.” According to İnalcık, “. . . like all *berats*, *ahdnames*, being granted by the individual sultan personally, had to be confirmed by his successor.”⁵³ The first Polish “eternal” capitulations were granted by Sultan Süleyman to King Sigismund in 1533. After the death of the latter in 1548, his son, Sigismund August, obtained the new *ahdname* from Süleyman in 1553. In 1564, Polish diplomacy was successful in obtaining capitulations from Prince Selim during his father’s lifetime. After Selim’s accession to the throne, these capitulations were confirmed in 1568. The conclusion of a double treaty by the ruling sultan and his successor proved to be unique in the history of the Polish-Ottoman relations though it was not unprecedented in the history of Ottoman diplomacy. In 1446 the Venetians had concluded a double treaty with Murad II and his son, Mehmed.⁵⁴

The term of an *ahdname* depended on the status of a particular Christian state in the Ottoman eyes. Dubrovnik, Wallachia, and Moldavia, considered tribute-paying vassals, easily obtained capitulations in perpetuity already in the fifteenth century. This was also true for

⁵² Nehring, *Adam Freiherrn zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel. Ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606)*, p. 59.

⁵³ İnalcık, “İmtiyazat,” *ET*², vol. 3, p. 1179.

⁵⁴ Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian diplomacies,” p. 120.

Byzantium and Venice, regularly sending tributes to the Ottoman court in the periods of peace. Further, Western European countries, whose ambassadors first arrived at Istanbul only in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, were not considered enemies and thus were easily granted capitulations in perpetuity. Such capitulations were obtained by France in 1536, England in 1580, and the Netherlands in 1612.⁵⁵

The situation of Christian neighbors, who rejected Ottoman suzerainty and paid no tribute, was different. Apart from Poland-Lithuania, Hungary, Austria (since the midsixteenth century), and Muscovy (Russia) belonged to this category.⁵⁶ Years had to pass until these countries obtained "normal" capitulations.

The Kingdom of Hungary, considered in the fifteenth century the Ottoman arch-enemy, never obtained a capitulation in perpetuity until the loss of independence in 1526. It is no accident that the treaty of 1444, negotiated by the sultan under very unfavorable conditions, was concluded for only 10 years, as this was the maximum period for which an Islamic ruler could conclude the peace with an infidel.⁵⁷

Table 5. Terms of Hungarian-Ottoman treaties until 1526⁵⁸

1421	5 years
1425	2 years
1428	3 years ⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," pp. 103–178; Gabriel Noradounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman. Traités, conventions, arrangements, déclarations, protocoles, procès-verbaux, firmans, bérats, lettres patentes et autres documents relatifs au droit public extérieur de la Turquie* [hereafter, *Recueil*], vol. 1 (Paris-Leipzig-Neuchâtel, 1897), pp. 387–409 (*Table par ordre alphabétique des puissances contractantes*). Notwithstanding numerous mistakes and omissions, this work is still useful as a general survey.

⁵⁶ To this category one should add the Knights of Rhodes (until 1522). In 1482 Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson obtained from Sultan Bayezid an unprecedented "eternal" treaty without even mentioning the tribute; however, Bayezid's benevolence is easily explicable by the fact that his fugitive brother, Djem, was at that time in the hands of the Hospitalers; see Nicolas Vatin, *L'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes (1480–1522)* (Paris, 1994), pp. 170–71.

⁵⁷ See Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, pp. 219–20, and the discussion in Part I (chapter 1).

⁵⁸ Based on Noradounghian, *Recueil*, vol. 1, pp. 396–97. Corrections and supplements are referred to in footnotes to the separate treaties.

⁵⁹ Hammer states only that the next treaty was concluded in 1433, see Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (Pest, 1827–1835), vol. 1, p. 430.

(table 5 cont.)

1433	5 years (?) ⁶⁰
1444	10 years
1449	7 years
1483	5 years
1488	2 years ⁶¹
1495	3 years
1498	3 years
1503	7 years ⁶²
1510	1 year ⁶³
1511–1512	5 years
1513	4 months ⁶⁴
1519	3 years ⁶⁵

In 1528 John Zapolya obtained capitulations as the king of Hungary and an Ottoman vassal. After his death in 1541, central Hungary was transformed into an Ottoman province and Transylvania became an Ottoman vassal under its own prince.⁶⁶ The role of the Ottoman arch-enemy was assumed by the Habsburgs, who ruled in Austria

According to Halil İnalcık the treaty of 1428 expired in 1431, see İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 19.

⁶⁰ Unspecified in Hammer (*Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 1, p. 445). The Ottoman-Hungarian war broke out again in 1438, after King Sigismund's death in 1437.

⁶¹ On this treaty, see György Hazai, "Eine Urkunde der ungarisch-türkischen Friedensverhandlungen in der Zeit von Matthias Corvinus und Bayezid II.," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 38 (1976): 155–60; idem, "Eine Urkunde des Friedensvertrages zwischen König Matthias Corvinus und dem türkischen Sultan 1488," in: *Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Volkskunde und Literaturforschung. Wolfgang Steinitz zum 60. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1965 dargebracht* (Berlin, 1965): 141–45. Noradounghian states erroneously that the truce of 1488 was concluded for three years.

⁶² On this treaty, see Gökbilgin, "Korvin Mathias (Mátyás)ın Bayezid II.e mektupları tercümelere ve 1503 (909) Osmanlı-Macar muahedesinin türkçe metni," *Belleter* 22 (1958): 369–90.

⁶³ See Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey 1481–1512* (Urbana, Illinois, 1948), p. 100.

⁶⁴ The question of the existence of the alleged three-year truce of 1513 and its extension in 1516 and 1517 was recently reexamined by Pál Fodor and Géza Dávid in the article "Hungarian-Ottoman Peace Negotiations in 1512–1514," in: Dávid and Fodor, eds., *Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleymán the Magnificent* (Budapest, 1994): 9–45.

⁶⁵ See Janusz Pajewski, *Stosunki polsko-węgierskie i niebezpieczeństwo tureckie w latach 1516–1526* (Warsaw, 1930), p. 25. Noradounghian states erroneously that this truce was concluded for one year.

⁶⁶ Ottoman-Transylvanian political relations in the sixteenth century have been recently studied by Sándor Papp, see Papp, "Kritische Untersuchungen über Verleihungs-, Bekräftigungs-, und Vertragsurkunden von Osmanensultanen an die Herrscher von Ungarn und Siebenbürgen." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Vienna, 1998.

and in northwestern Hungary. The first Habsburg-Ottoman treaty was concluded in 1547.⁶⁷ According to its conditions, Ferdinand I was to keep his part of Hungary in return for a yearly tribute.

Table 6. Terms of Habsburg-Ottoman treaties until 1606⁶⁸

1547	5 years
1553	8 years
1559	8 years
1562	8 years
1565	8 years
1568	8 years
1573	8 years
1576	8 years
1584	8 years
1591	8 years
1606–1608	20 years

In the Treaty of Zsitvatorok, concluded after the war of 1593–1606, the emperor was exempted from the Hungarian tribute. Thereafter, the treaties were extended for twenty years or even more to be finally “eternalized” in 1747.⁶⁹ Spain, ruled since 1556 by a separate branch of the Habsburg family, obtained in the sixteenth century only three-year truces in 1581, 1584, and 1587.

Despite the conflicts over Kazan and Astrakhan and the raids of Tatars and Don Cossacks, Ottoman relations with Muscovy were peaceful for the greater part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bilateral trade, though bringing huge profits to both courts,

⁶⁷ Though direct Habsburg-Ottoman diplomatic relations date to as early as 1496, for ideological reasons Emperor Maximilian used to resort to Hungarian mediation whenever he wished to make peace with the Sultan; see Fodor and Dávid, “Hungarian-Ottoman Peace Negotiations in 1512–1514,” in: Dávid and Fodor, eds., *Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent*, pp. 14, 22.

⁶⁸ See Petritsch, “Der habsburgisch-osmanische Friedensvertrag des Jahres 1547,” *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 38 (1995), p. 56; Noradounghian, *Recueil*, vol. 1, pp. 385–86, 397 and Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*, pp. 59–74, 87–94. The treaties of 1559 and 1565 are missing in Noradounghian. Usually the peace was renewed before the expiration of a previous treaty.

⁶⁹ All seventeenth-century treaties including the Treaty of Vasvár (1664) were concluded for twenty years, the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) for twenty-five years, the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718) for twenty-four years, and the Treaty of Belgrade (1739) for twenty-seven years; see Petritsch, “Der habsburgisch-osmanische Friedensvertrag des Jahres 1547,” *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 38 (1995), p. 56; François à Mesgnien Meninski, *Institutiones Linguae Turcicae* (Vienna, 1756), p. 223; Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 6, p. 676; vol. 7, p. 541.

was not regulated in the capitulations.⁷⁰ The first political treaty was concluded for twenty years in 1681, after the Russian-Ottoman war over Ukraine.⁷¹ Five years later the czar entered the Holy League and peace was reestablished only in 1699 with a truce of two years, resulting from the negotiations of Karlowitz. In 1700 this truce was converted into a peace of thirty years. After this peace was broken during the campaign of Prut, in 1713 a new treaty was signed for twenty-five years. The first permanent treaty was concluded after the new war in 1739. A new stage in Ottoman-Russian relations was established by the famous Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774.⁷²

By comparison with other Ottoman neighbors, Poland-Lithuania enjoyed a privileged position, especially in the sixteenth century. Granted capitulations in perpetuity already in 1533, Poland-Lithuania remained the pillar of Ottoman policy in Eastern Europe.

The eighteenth century saw a new development in the Ottoman *'ahdname*. In the French capitulations granted in 1740 Sultan Mahmud I confirmed for the first time concessions on behalf of his successors. The old practice of renegotiating each treaty on the accession of a new padishah was thus nullified.⁷³

While the Polish *'ahdname* of 1699 was granted only on behalf of Mustafa II, in fact it remained valid until 1795, that is until the last partition of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. As early as 1714 Polish envoys had been given only a *temessük* containing two new clauses negotiated with the grand vizier while the previous *'ahdname* remained valid. In subsequent years Polish ambassadors arrived at Istanbul merely to confirm the existing *'ahdname*. In 1790 the last ambassador, Piotr Potocki, was sent for the purpose of concluding

⁷⁰ On the intermediary role of the Crimean khan in the early Ottoman-Russian relations, see Inalcık, "Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature," in: *Passé Turco-Tatar présent soviétique. Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen* (Louvain-Paris, 1986): 175–211.

⁷¹ The truce concluded in January 1681 was confirmed in February 1681 by the grand vizier; see Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj arxiv drevnix aktov [hereafter, RGADA], fond 89, opis 3, no. 2. The imperial *'ahdname* was issued in April 1682; see RGADA, fond 89, opis 3, no. 3; another copy was published in: Feridun Bey, *Münşe'atü's-Selatin*, vol. 2, pp. 396–99.

⁷² Noradounghian, *Recueil*, vol. 1, pp. 401–403.

⁷³ Robert Olson, "The Ottoman-French Treaty of 1740: A Year to be Remembered?" *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* XV/2 (1991): 347–55; Thomas Naff, "Ottoman Diplomatic Relations with Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Patterns and Trends," in: Naff and Owen, eds., *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* (Carbondale, Ill., 1977): 88–107, esp. p. 101.

a Polish-Ottoman alliance against Austria and Russia. The draft negotiated during his mission was never ratified. Instead, we learn that the *'ahdname* of 1699 was still considered a basis for mutual relations. On the eve of the expiration of his unsuccessful mission in October 1792 Potocki made a request of the grand vizier for a passport for a Polish merchant going to Chios. His request was granted "on the basis of the conditions of the imperial *'ahdname*."⁷⁴ As a matter of fact the *'ahdname* mentioned in the document was nothing other than the capitulations of 1699.

⁷⁴ "*'Ahdname-i hümayunun şüurâtı mucibince yol hükmü virilmek buyurulmuşdur fî 28 S[efar] sene-i 1207,*" BA, A. DVN. DVE [Bab-i Asafî Divan-i Hümayun. Düvel-i Ecnebiye Kalemî] 171, no. 78. The provenance of the document is the dossier of Potocki, preserved in the Ottoman archives.

CHAPTER SEVEN

POLISH-OTTOMAN TREATY DOCUMENTS IN TURKISH, POLISH, AND OTHER COLLECTIONS

Turkey

Before the original Ottoman *‘ahdnames* were sent to foreign rulers, their texts were usually copied into registers of foreign affairs (*ecnebi defterleri*), kept separately for each country or into registers of imperial letters (*name-i hümayun defterleri*), which contained the international correspondence of the Porte. Unfortunately, both the “Polish” *ecnebi* register and the series of *name-i hümayun* preserved in the Prime Ministry Archives in Istanbul begin only in 1699. It seems that after the Treaty of Karlowitz the Ottomans reorganized their chancery by opening new series of registers concerning foreign relations. Only the most important treaties from older registers were copied into the new ones while the old registers were apparently destroyed.¹

Apart from the *‘ahdname* of 1699, the “Polish” *ecnebi* register preserved in Istanbul contains a few older Polish *‘ahdnames*, beginning with the capitulations of 1607, apparently copied from an older register.² An eighteenth-century document illustrates that *ecnebi* registers were used by the Ottoman chancery when dealing with current political matters. In January 1749 an anonymous Ottoman clerk was charged with the task of summarizing the articles in regard to foreign envoys registered in the Polish *‘ahdnames*. In his report he quoted the respective articles of the documents of 1607, 1617, 1640, 1667, 1678, and 1699, noting that he could not find any other *‘ahdname* in the *defter*.³ The documents quoted by the clerk are exactly the same as those entered in the extant “Polish” register.

¹ The problem of dating the *ecnebi* registers preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi was convincingly resolved by Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics,” pp. 303–313. Only a few older registers for France, Venice, and Dubrovnik have survived by chance. The “new series” of French, Dutch, and English *defters* was started in the 1670s, while the extant *defters* for Poland, Austria, Venice, and Russia were kept starting in 1699.

² BA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye 55/1 (*Leh ecnebi defteri*).

³ BA, A. DVN. DVE 168, no. 6.

The text of the Polish *'ahdname* of 1699 is also entered in the *name-i hümayun* register no. 1, the earliest one preserved in the Ottoman archives,⁴ and two other registers containing various *'ahdnames*, stored in the Topkapı Palace Archives. These two registers were compiled in the mideighteenth century for use within the palace. The texts of the *'ahdnames* were apparently assembled and copied from *ecnebi* registers of respective countries.⁵

Numerous Polish *'ahdnames* can be found in the so-called collection of Feridun Bey, *Münşe'atü's-Selatin*, compiled in 1575 by the secretary of the grand vizier Mehmed Sokollu and published in the previous century in Istanbul.⁶ As was determined by Kurt Holter, the collection printed under this title consisted of two parts—the original collection of Feridun Bey (vol. 1 and thirty documents in vol. 2) and the anonymous collection of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents assembled by another compiler some one hundred years after Feridun Bey's death (vol. 2, pp. 100–536).⁷ All Polish *'ahdnames* published in the aforementioned edition belong to this second collection. One could formulate a tentative hypothesis that the manuscript used by the nineteenth-century publisher already contained both collections. As no editorial note is provided in the published volume, and Holter already checked the manuscripts in the European libraries, this author tried to investigate the manuscripts stored in Istanbul.⁸ Contrary to my expectations, none of the catalogued manuscripts of *Münşe'at* contains seventeenth-century documents. Most of these manuscripts end with documents from the reign of Selim II or even earlier. A few later documents, including the imperial letter to Shah Abbas from 1592, are registered in the ms. Reisülküttab 892 in the Süleymaniye Library, but no Polish *'ahdname* was found.

⁴ BA, Name-i Hümayun, no. 1, pp. 2–5.

⁵ Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi [hereafter, TSMA], D. 7017/1 and D. 7017/2. On these two *defters*, see Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics," pp. 320–21.

⁶ Feridun Bey, *Münşe'atü's-Selatin*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1274/1857–1858), the second enlarged edition.

⁷ Kurt Holter, "Studien zu Ahmed Feridun's Münşe'ât es-selâfin," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 14 (1939): 429–51, esp. p. 435; cf. J.H. Mordtmann and V. Ménage, "Feridun Beg," *EI*², vol. 2 (Leiden, 1965): 881–82.

⁸ The manuscripts from the following libraries were checked: Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, T. 5946; Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hacı Mahmud Ef. 4989, Reisülküttab Mustafa Ef. 892, Fatih 4070, Fatih 4126; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi [hereafter, TSMK], R. 1957, R. 1959, R. 1960, H. 1375, B. 172.

Of the seventeenth-century collections of imperial letters stored in the Topkapı Palace Library, none could be identified as the “second collection” from the printed version of Feridun Bey’s *Münşe’at*. Only one copy of the Polish *‘ahdname* of 1607 was found in a collection compiled in the eighteenth century.⁹

Instead, a surprising correlation can be established if one examines the Polish *‘ahdnames* from Feridun Bey’s edition with the *‘ahdnames* entered in the “Polish” *ecnebi* register:

	<i>Münşe’at</i> edition	<i>ecnebi</i> register
<i>‘ahdnames</i> :		
1577	pp. 507–510	missing
1607	pp. 504–507	pp. 4–7
1640	pp. 529–532	pp. 8–12
1667	missing	pp. 12–15
1678	pp. 510–515	pp. 16–20
1699	missing	pp. 22–26
<i>temessüks</i> :		
1617	pp. 522–523	pp. 7–8
1621	pp. 523–525	missing

The *‘ahdnames* of 1591, 1597, 1598, 1619, 1623 (both), 1634, and 1672 are missing in both collections. As the “second collection” of *Münşe’at* was apparently compiled by the end of the seventeenth century, while the extant *ecnebi* register is not earlier than 1699, the lack of the *‘ahdname* of 1699 in the *Münşe’at* is self-evident. For the same reasons one must dismiss the possibility that the *Münşe’at* collection was based on the later *ecnebi* register. On the other hand, an official register like the *ecnebi defter* could not be based on a private or semi-private *inşa* collection, being a kind of a manual of style. It is likely, however, that both our sources are based on a lost *ecnebi* register, containing the Polish *‘ahdnames* from the years 1607–1678, or even 1577–1678. Because the Polish *‘ahdnames* from the 1590s were based on the document of 1577 and were obviously out-of-date by 1699, perhaps they were deliberately omitted by the later compilers. The absence of the *‘ahdnames* of 1619, 1623, 1634, and 1672 in both collections is more striking. Perhaps by the late seventeenth century no

⁹ TSMK, R. 1942, fol. 34b–37a. For the list of collections of imperial letters preserved in Topkapı Palace Museum Library, see Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Katalogu*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1961), pp. 423–30.

copy of these documents was left in Istanbul. This solution is especially plausible as far as the *ahdname* of 1672 is concerned, because it was issued on campaign, hundreds of kilometers from the Ottoman capital. In sum, the only substantial difference between the two aforementioned collections is the lack of the *ahdname* of 1667 in the *Münşe'at*.

Differing from the copies in the *ecnebi* register, the language of the documents published in the *Münşe'at* has been greatly modified. Not only endings, but whole words and phrases are often changed and "modernized."¹⁰ These innovations were probably made by the nineteenth-century publisher.

As concerns the documents issued by the Polish side, it should be stressed that all the documents published in this volume, both originals and copies, were found in Polish libraries and archives, and not in the Turkish archives.¹¹ One should ask what happened to the originals of the Polish documents sent to Istanbul? Polish royal documents, provided with seals and signatures, can be found in various European archives, but not in the Turkish ones. As early as 1568, Piotr Zborowski, Polish ambassador to Selim II, could not find the royal ratification of the previous Polish-Ottoman treaty, sent a few years earlier to the Ottoman capital. "They do not want to hear about the letter of Your Royal Majesty . . . and they do not care; perhaps it is stored in the house of Strasz [the former dragoman of Polish origin]? They look only at their Turkish [copy] and they regard as valid only that [copy],"¹² related Zborowski to the king.

This phenomenon is in no way limited to Polish documents. In 1580, de Germigny, French ambassador to Istanbul, tried in vain to find earlier copies of French-Ottoman treaties.¹³ Numerous scholars

¹⁰ This was observed already by Holter, "Studien zu Ahmed Ferîdun's Münşe'ât es-selâtin," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 14 (1939), p. 438 and Matuz, "Über die Epistolographie und Inša'-Literatur der Osmanen," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Supplementa I: XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 21. bis 27. Juli 1968 in Würzburg*, pt. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1969): 574–94, esp. p. 582.

¹¹ On the Polish collections, see below.

¹² "Ale oni o liście tym W. K. M. nic wiedzieć nie chcą i w Straszowym domu snąć leży, nie dbają oni, tylko na swój turecki patrzą i ten przyznawają," see Pajewski, "Legacja Piotra Zborowskiego do Turcji w 1568 r. Materiały do historii stosunków polsko-tureckich za panowania Zygmunta Augusta," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 12 (1936): 29–90, esp. pp. 66–67.

¹³ "J'ay fait instance de faire chercher aux registres de ceste Porte une ancienne et très avantageuse capitulation, faite du temps de M. de la Forest, amb' en icelle, l'an MVXXXVI. Dont,

studying the history of Ottoman-European relations have sought European documents in Istanbul and Ankara. Unfortunately, almost no original documents from the period until 1699 were found.¹⁴ Only a few Ottoman translations of letters of foreign rulers are preserved in various collections. This is especially striking if one considers that the Ottoman archives are extremely rich and highly organized as far as the tax registers, internal administration, soldiers' payrolls, and similar documents are concerned. The only plausible solution is that the Ottomans did not value foreign documents and perhaps, after a translation was made, the original documents were not even kept in the archives.¹⁵ This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that Polish ambassadors usually brought along old copies of *'ahdnames* to show to the Ottoman negotiators, because they were never sure whether correct copies existed in the Ottoman archives. A characteristic scene is described in the Polish report from the demarcation of 1703. When the Polish commissioners presented a seventy-year-old copy of the previous demarcation, the Ottoman commissioner, Ibrahim Agha, confirmed its authenticity but he did not show any copy of his own. When asked by the Polish commissioners, why he did not bring one with him, Ibrahim Agha replied that "among us documents are valued less than [oral] testimonies; and I received an explicit order to set the border through assistance of the old inhabitants."¹⁶

pour n'avoir esté trouvé l'original en turcq parmy les papiers de ceste ambassade, doutant aussy que ces gens, informez du contenu en icelle, mesmes le missangy-bassy ou chancellier, allèguent de ne la trouver, ainsy qu'ilz ont fait aultresfoys, j'envoye coppie de la traduction cy-incluse . . . ;" see Charrière, ed., *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, vol. 3, pp. 912–14.

¹⁴ According to the catalogue by Anafarta, the only seventeenth-century document in Polish preserved in the Topkapı Palace Archives is the letter of the Cossack hetman, Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj (Pol. Chmielnicki), addressed to the grand vizier and dated 7 September 1653; see Anafarta, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya) arasındaki münasebetlerle ilgili tarihi belgeler/Historical documents concerning relations between the Ottoman Empire and Lehistan (Poland)*, no. 19. Recently the present author has found three Polish letters dated 1645–1646 and addressed to Ottoman border commanders by Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński and Hetman Mikołaj Potocki; see TSMA, *Lehçe belgeler*, nos. 450, 468–69.

¹⁵ This conclusion was reached after a number of discussions by the present author with other scholars studying Ottoman relations with Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, namely Suraiya Faroqui, Klaus Kreiser, Hans Georg Majer, and Hans Theunissen.

¹⁶ Stefan Humiecki, "Relacya rozgraniczenia Polskiego," in: idem, *Relacya Kommissyi in Anno 1699, circa Evacuationem Kamieńca odprawioney, iako y innych Komissyi, requentibus annis expedyowanych. . . . Na seymie Walnym Grodzińskim in Anno 1718* [[Lwów, 1718]], fol. 24b; cf. Krykun, *Administrativno-territorial'noe ustrojstvo*, p. 88.

Poland

The Polish Crown Archives (*Archiwum Koronne*) were founded in Cracow in the fourteenth century and reorganized in the sixteenth century. After the court's removal to Warsaw a separate branch was organized there. In 1765 both branches were reunited in Warsaw. At that time the Ottoman documents stored in these archives were rearranged by the official translator of Oriental languages, Antoni Crutta. All but one of the original "Polish" *'ahdnames* still preserved (the oldest one is dated to 1489) are stored in the Turkish section (*Dział turecki*) of the Crown Archives, which forms at present a subdivision of the Main Archives of Early Acts in Warsaw.¹⁷ The documents are arranged according to box (*karton*), folder (*teczka*) and number. Besides the *'ahdnames*, the Ottoman *temessüks* of 1630, 1634, and 1714, and the *hudud-name* of 1703 are also preserved in this collection. Documents written in Turkish were usually provided with contemporary Latin or Polish translations. In a few cases only these translations are extant, while the originals are missing. Also the original Polish document of demarcation of 1703 was found in the Turkish section of the Crown Archives. The Polish commissioners appointed to that demarcation prepared two copies of the protocol in Latin. One copy was given to the Turkish commissioners, while another was sent to Warsaw along with the Ottoman copy. This second copy, provided with signatures and seals, is preserved.¹⁸

Three important documents are stored in the section of parchment documents in the Crown Archives.¹⁹ One of them, known already to Abrahamowicz, is the original *'ahdname* of Murad IV from 1623. This long paper document was included in this section, apparently by mistake.²⁰ Two other documents are the originals of royal ratifications from 1670 and 1699, mentioned above.

In consequence of the partitions of Poland, the Crown Archives were sent to St. Petersburg. After the October Revolution they were transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. Finally, according to the terms of the Polish-Soviet treaty of 1921, they were returned to Warsaw in 1923. Immediately after the partitions some

¹⁷ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [AGAD], Warszawa.

¹⁸ See Document 64 and Facsimile XXIX.

¹⁹ AGAD, Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie, Dokumenty pergaminowe, nos. 5418, 5623, 5628.

²⁰ See Document 38 and *KDT*, pp. 251–52.

documents from the Crown Archives were acquired by the Czartoryski family and thus remained in Poland, stored in the Czartoryski residence in Puławy. After the unsuccessful November Uprising of 1830–1831, the collection was sent to Paris, to return only in 1876 after the Czartoryski Museum and Library were founded in Cracow. Today numerous Ottoman documents originating from the Crown Archives can be found in the Czartoryski Library.²¹ There one finds the *temessüks* of 1672 and 1676, the *hududname* of 1680, and the drafts of the proposed Polish-Ottoman treaty of 1790.

The Crown chancery was managed by two officials, chancellor (*kanclerz*) and vice-chancellor (*podkanclerzy*). According to custom, codified in 1507, only one of them could be a clergyman. Though the tasks of these two officials were never officially differentiated, in the second half of the sixteenth century foreign policy was usually directed by the vice-chancellor, who was obliged to make a continual presence at the court.²² The documents issued by the royal chancery were copied into the Crown Register (*Metrica Regni Poloniae* = *Metryka Koronna*). At the beginning of the sixteenth century a new series of registers concerning foreign embassies (*Libri Legationum*) was separated from the Crown Register. The texts of royal documents sent abroad, as well as the texts of incoming foreign documents were copied into these registers. Several royal ratifications in Latin, and Polish translations of imperial '*ahdnames*, can be found in this series.²³

The Lithuanian chancery registers, separate from the Crown registers, formed the Register of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (*Metrica Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*). At present this register is held in Moscow. A contemporary Ruthenian translation of the '*ahdname* of 1568 can be found there.²⁴ In consequence of the Union of Lublin in 1569, when the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth was founded, the Ukrainian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were incorporated into the

²¹ Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Kraków. For instance, in the manuscript no. 609 numerous Ottoman documents and letters, originating from the Crown Archives, are sewn and bound together.

²² Zbigniew Wójcik, ed., *Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI–XVIII wieku* [hereafter, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*] (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 103–104.

²³ AGAD, *Libri Legationum* nos. 1–36, covering the period between 1503–1745 with numerous gaps.

²⁴ Published in: *Kniga posol'skaja Metriki Velikago Knjažestwa Litovskago* [pt. 1] (Moscow, 1843), no. 173, pp. 268–71.

Polish Crown. Because Lithuania lost her common border with Ottoman territory and the Crimea, relations with these two Muslim states became a "specialization" of the Polish chancery. For this reason, the documents of the Lithuanian chancery are of lesser importance for this study.

As relations with the Porte were of vital importance for the political and everyday life of the Commonwealth, any news about legacies and negotiations was diffused throughout the country. Polish or Latin translations of Ottoman documents along with the texts of royal ratifications were frequently copied into private registers. A number of such registers are preserved in the manuscript section of libraries in Cracow, Wrocław, Poznań, Kórnik, and Warsaw.²⁵ Some of these documents have been published in monumental editions of acts and documents, prepared by Polish and Rumanian historians in the previous century.²⁶

Other countries

Two seventeenth-century Ottoman *name-i hümayun* registers have fortunately escaped the fate of other early registers of this type. They are preserved in Göttingen, bearing the signature and a note by Adam Kollar, the director of the imperial library in Vienna in the eighteenth century. The note reads: *Protocolum correspondentiae Supremi Turcarum Vezirii*. Besides letters of grand viziers, both volumes contain numerous imperial letters and *'ahdnames*, entered chronologically from 1644 to 1676 (first volume) and from 1676 to 1687 (second volume).²⁷ They apparently belonged to the spoils captured in the

²⁵ For instance, many texts of the Polish-Ottoman treaties are contained in the mss. 107 and 114 of the Jagiellonian Library, mss. 612, 616, and 2482 of the Czartoryski Library, ms. 3555 of the Ossoliński Library, and ms. 206 of the Library in Kórnik. Manuscripts containing copies and translations of the Polish-Ottoman treaties are also preserved in the Stefanyk Library (formerly Ossolineum) in L'viv, and in the Polish Library (Biblioteka Polska) in Paris.

²⁶ For such editions as *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, *Acta Alexandri*, *Acta Tomiciana*, *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, and *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, see the Bibliography.

²⁷ Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Cod. Ms. Turc. 29–30; see also *Verzeichnis der Handschriften im Preussischen Staate*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1894), pp. 484–85; Martin Köppel, *Untersuchungen über zwei türkische Urkundenhandschriften in Göttingen* (Bremen, 1920). Some documents from the first volume concerning

camp of the grand vizier, Suleyman Pasha, after the battle at Harsány near Mohács on 12 August 1687.²⁸ In these two volumes one finds the Polish *'ahdnames* of 1640 (erroneously registered among the documents of 1645), 1672 and 1678.

While the volumes from Göttingen belong to Ottoman spoils dispersed to European collections, the copies of Polish *'ahdnames* were also consciously collected by diplomats of other European states. The copy of the Polish *'ahdname* of 1553, preserved today in the Archivio di Stato, was apparently sent to Venice by the *bailo* in order to inform the Signoria about the contents of the Polish capitulations. In July 1577, only two days after the new Polish *'ahdname* was granted, the Habsburg ambassador to Constantinople, David Ungnad, managed to obtain its Latin translation. It is published in the diary of the embassy's member, Stephan Gerlach.²⁹ A few texts of later Polish-Ottoman treaties, acquired by the imperial court in Vienna, were published in translation in the seventeenth-century collection *Theatrum Pacis*, and in the eighteenth-century monumental work by Jean Dumont.³⁰

A Turkish copy of the Polish *'ahdname* of 1598 can be found in the register brought to Paris in the early seventeenth century by the French embassy of Monsieur de Brèves.³¹ The register, written in a

Ukrainian matters were studied and published by Jan Rypka; see idem, "Aus der Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bogdan Chmelnicki," in: *Ž dejin Východní Evropy a Slovanstva. Sborník venovaný Jaroslavu Bidlovi* (Praha, 1928): 482–98; idem, "Weitere Beiträge zur Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmel'nyčkyj," *Archiv Orientální* 2 (1930): 262–83; idem with Dmytro Dorošenko, "Hejtman Petr Dorošenko a jeho turecká politika," *Časopis Národního Múzea* 107 (1933): 1–55. Twelve documents from the second volume concerning Hungary were also published by Zdenka Veselá-Přenosilová, "Quelques chartes turques concernant la correspondance de la Porte sublime avec Imre Thököly," *Archiv Orientální* 29 (1961): 546–74.

²⁸ The latest document, whose copy is entered in the second volume, is dated the second decade of Šaban 1098 A.H. (22 June–1 July 1687); see Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Cod. Ms. Turc. 30, fol. 109a.

²⁹ Stephan Gerlach, *Tage = Buch der . . . Gesandtschaft* (Frankfurt, 1674), pp. 432–35. The Polish *'ahdname*, issued on 17 July (see Document 21), is entered into the diary with a marginal note: ". . . 19. Jul. à Generoso Domino meo Davidi Ungnadio, comparatae." The royal ratification, issued a few months later, is also published in this diary, see *ibid.*, pp. 443–44.

³⁰ Jean Dumont, *Corps Universel diplomatique du Droit des Gens; contenant un Recueil des traités d'alliance, de paix, de trêve et autres contrats qui ont été faits en Europe, depuis le règne de l'empereur Charlemagne jusqu'à présent* [hereafter, *Corps Universel diplomatique*], 8 vols. (Amsterdam-La Haye, 1726–1731). The Latin text of the Polish-Ottoman document of the Treaty of Karlowitz is published there with a note: "*Tiré des Archives de la Chancellerie Imperiale Aulique de Guerre*," vol. 7, pt. 2, p. 451.

³¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien fonds turc, no. 130; cf. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1932), pp. 53–54.

Turkish hand and containing mostly Ottoman-French correspondence, plus a few *ahdnames*, was apparently copied from a contemporary “French” *ecnebi defter* or perhaps it is an *ecnebi* register itself.

Finally, a copy of the Polish *ahdname* of 1553 can be found in the Ottoman manual of style (*inşa*) stored in the British Library.³²

³² London, British Library, Or. 9503. On this register, see Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics,” pp. 323–24.

PART TWO

EMBASSIES AND TREATIES.
A CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

CHAPTER ONE

THE FIRST CENTURY (1414–1520)

The origins of Polish-Ottoman relations

At the beginning of the fourteenth century no one could have predicted that the small political entities centered in Bursa on the one hand and in Cracow and the even more distant Vilna on the other would become close neighbors very soon. In the following years the small principality of Osman Beg annexed the greater part of the Balkans and Anatolia. Meanwhile, the pagan Duchy of Lithuania extended its territory toward the Black Sea by conquering the huge East European steppe, largely inhabited by the Orthodox Ruthenians. The newly reunified Kingdom of Poland, cut off from the Baltic Sea by the Teutonic knights, also directed its expansion toward Ruthenia, whose native principalities had badly suffered from the Mongolian incursions in the previous century. In the years 1340–1349 Poland annexed western Ruthenia with the important commercial centers of Halyč and L'viv (Pol. Lwów). With the homage of the Moldavian hospodar Peter in 1387, Polish influence extended toward the Danube and the Black Sea. One year earlier, in 1386, Poland and Lithuania were unified under the same ruler, Ladislaus Jagiełło. Polish expansion directly followed the course of the international trade route connecting Europe with Central Asia and China and leading from Venice and Nuremberg through Cracow and Lwów to the Moldavian ports of Akkerman (Ital. Moncastro, Rum. Țetatea Alba, Ukr. Bil'horod) and Kilia. During the same period Caffa, the Genovese colony in the Crimea, was the most dynamic commercial center in the region.

Direct Polish-Ottoman relations were initiated after the delay caused by the battle of Ankara (1402) on the one hand, and the battle of Grunwald-Tannenberg (1410) on the other. After 1410, the danger posed by the Teutonic Order to Poland-Lithuania was removed, and the Ottomans managed to overcome the crisis caused by the invasion of Tamerlane.

While the struggle by the two sides for domination over the lucrative trade on the Black Sea could have formed a potential pretext for war between the two states, for a time, such an outcome was

not inevitable. An alliance against the common neighbor and rival in the area, the Kingdom of Hungary, was an alternative. Therefore, Polish-Ottoman relations in the fifteenth century were heavily dependent on the tenor of Polish relations with Hungary. During the reigns of Sigismund Luxemburg (1387–1437) and Albrecht Habsburg (1438–1439), these relations were cool, and often openly hostile. Nevertheless, the very first Polish embassy to the Ottoman court was dispatched in support of the Hungarian cause.

The Polish chronicle of Jan Długosz states that in 1414 King Sigismund of Hungary sent a letter from the Council of Constance, asking the Polish king for military assistance against the Ottomans. Instead, Ladislaus Jagiełło offered his mediation and sent two envoys, Skarbek from Góra and the Armenian, Gregory, to the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed Çelebi. The envoys were warmly received and the sultan agreed to conclude a truce with Hungary for six years. In the end, however, the distrustful attitude of some Hungarian magnates caused a breach in the negotiations.¹

The friendly relations initiated in 1414 were not forgotten at the Ottoman court. In 1439 a Turkish embassy arrived at Cracow with a proposal for an anti-Hungarian alliance. The death of Albrecht Habsburg and the election of the new Polish king, Ladislaus III, to the Hungarian throne in 1440 made this proposal obsolete.² Now, Poland had to engage herself on the Hungarian side though the idea of a crusade was not very popular among the nobles. Officially Poland did not take part in the Hungarian-Ottoman war and the crusade of Varna in 1444, but this crusade was led by the Polish king accompanied by numerous Polish volunteers.

The “Treaty of Segedin” rediscovered³

It would be hard to find a mediaeval topic that has involved so many discussions and emotions as the so-called Treaty of Segedin

¹ Jan Długosz, *Ioannis Długossii . . . Historiae Polonicae Libri XII*, vol. 4 (Cracow, 1877), pp. 181–83. The Ottoman sultan is called erroneously Cristen.

² Bolesław Stachoń, *Polityka Polski wobec Turcji i akcji antytureckiej w wieku XV do utraty Kili i Białogrodu (1484)* (Lwów, 1930), pp. 92–93.

³ This section is a shortened and revised version of the paper presented at the conferences in Varna (June 1994), Leipzig (October 1994), and Poznań (November 1994). I would like to express my gratitude to the scholars who discussed its working copy with me, especially Barbara Flemming, Pál Fodor, Aleksander Gieysztor, and Șerban Papacostea.

(1444), which had preceded the crusade of King Ladislaus. Debate commenced already in the very year of the battle of Varna, and since that time it has involved numerous distinguished participants from various countries. A turning point in this discussion was reached in 1937, when the Rumanian scholar, Francisc Pall, published the correspondence of the Italian Renaissance humanist, Ciriaco Pizzicolli.⁴ These letters brought to light invaluable material concerning the negotiations between the Christian rulers and the Ottomans that took place at Edirne in June 1444. Thereafter, it was impossible to deny the existence of at least a draft of a treaty, which was to be accepted by the sultan and by the king.

Even so, Oskar Halecki tried to diminish the importance of the negotiations in Edirne by stating that the treaty was never accepted by King Ladislaus.⁵ His rationally constructed arguments convinced Franz Babinger, who tended to accept Halecki's thesis in his article dated 1950.⁶ But, in 1952 Jan Dąbrowski published a detailed study of all the sources then available concerning the supposed treaty.⁷ Though acknowledging deficiencies in the primary evidence, Dąbrowski claimed that the treaty had both existed and been ratified by the Hungarian king. His argument, repeated in the Polish reedition of his study, has generally been accepted by the scholars who later studied various problems concerning the year 1444, such as Bistra Cvetkova in her monograph on Varna⁸ and Edward Potkowski.⁹

A few years prior to that, in 1949, a hitherto unknown Turkish chronicle, *Gazavât-i Sultân Murâd*, was found in an Anatolian village. In 1978 it was published by Halil Inalcık and Mevlûd Oguz.¹⁰ As

⁴ Francesco Pall, *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la Crociata contro i Turchi* (Valenii de Munte, 1937).

⁵ Oskar Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna. A Discussion of Controversial Problems* (New York, 1943), p. 52.

⁶ Franz Babinger, "Von Amurath zu Amurath. Vor- und Nachspiel der Schlacht bei Varna (1444)," *Oriens* 3 (1950): 229–65, esp. p. 239.

⁷ Jan Dąbrowski, "L'Année 1444," *Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, Classe de Philologie/Classe d'Histoire et de Philosophie* N° suppl. 6, 1951 (Cracow, 1952). Polish reedition: *Rok 1444. Spór o traktat szegedyński* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow, 1966).

⁸ Bistra Cvetkova, *Pametna bitka na narodite (Evropejskijat jugoiztok i osmanskoto zavo-
evanie-kraja na XIV i parvata polovina na XV v.)* (Varna, 1979), p. 288.

⁹ Edward Potkowski, *Warna 1444* (Warsaw, 1990); see also the article by Janusz Tazbir, "'Krzywoprzysięzca Władysław' w opinii potomnych," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 92 (1985): 511–31, esp. p. 530.

¹⁰ Halil Inalcık and Mevlûd Oguz, eds., *Gazavât-i Sultân Murâd b. Mehmed Hân. İzladî ve Varna Savaşları (1443–1444) Üzerinde Anonim Gazavât-nâme* (Ankara, 1978).

early as 1954, Inalcık had stressed the importance of this source for the treaty question. Unfortunately his arguments, published in Turkish and then in Serbo-Croatian in a Yugoslavian review, remained scarcely noticed for a number of years.¹¹

At the outset of our argument, the two main points made by Jan Dąbrowski should be noted:

- 1) Pizziccoli was not merely a humanist, but also a papal agent very well acquainted with the methods of obtaining secret materials. The documents found among his papers apparently originated from the Ottoman chancery.
- 2) The treaty of 1444 was in fact concluded not on 1 August at Segedin,¹² but on 12 June at Edirne. The king only had to confirm it by oath in the presence of the Ottoman envoy, Suleyman Baltaoglu.¹³

Dąbrowski assumed that the original copy of the treaty kept in the Hungarian Royal Chancery had apparently been destroyed after the resumption of the war. He tried to reconstruct its articles on the basis of the contemporary chronicles by Długosz and Thuróczy, and especially the letter to King Ladislaus sent by the Polish Royal Council from Piotrków and dated 26 August 1444.¹⁴ Here, it will be argued that the actual text of the treaty has been preserved and easily accessible for at least fifty years.

If one reconsiders the theses of Dąbrowski, the logical conclusion has to be drawn that the treaty itself must have been composed and ratified by the sultan already on or before 12 June 1444 at Edirne, to be given to the Hungarian envoy, Stoyka Gisdanich. If so, why was such an accomplished diplomat as Ciriaco Pizziccoli, who apparently bribed somebody in the Ottoman chancery, unable to obtain the text of the treaty? Instead, among his documents, one finds a letter of Sultan Murad II to King Ladislaus, dated 12 June 1444

¹¹ Inalcık, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar*, vol. 1 (Ankara, 1954), pp. 1–53; idem, “Pitanje segedinskog mira i kriza turske države 1444 godine,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 12–13 (1962–1963): 269–306; see also his short paper, “Byzantium and the Origins of the Crisis of 1444 under the light of Turkish Sources,” in: *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d’Études Byzantines, Ochride 10–16 Septembre 1961*, vol. 2 (Belgrade, 1964): 159–63.

¹² This traditionally held date and place of the royal confirmation were recently questioned by Pál Engel; see the discussion below.

¹³ Dąbrowski, *Rok 1444. Spór o traktat szegedyński*, pp. 16–17, 25–26.

¹⁴ Dąbrowski, *Rok 1444. Spór o traktat szegedyński*, p. 64.

and preserved in two different redactions in Latin.¹⁵ It seems that this last document is in fact not merely a “letter” but the lost Ottoman version of the Treaty of Segedin (or rather of Edirne).

In order to determine whether a given document is a treaty one needs to ask, what should an Ottoman treaty look like? As has already been indicated, the key word that expresses the Ottoman attitude toward an international treaty is *‘ahd*, meaning originally “oath” or “promise.” The ruler had to promise or swear that he or she would honor the recently concluded peace. Very few early Ottoman chancery documents have survived to our times, most are either later copies or translations. By the fifteenth century the Ottoman chancery, which had inherited much from the Seljukide model, adopted certain Byzantine and Italian models as well. Among the original documents issued at that time at Edirne one finds letters written in Persian, Turkish-Ottoman, Greek, Italian, and Church Slavonic. The form of the document was still developing. Thus, some early Ottoman treaties resemble simple letters. Even much later, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, European translators would enhance their translations of Ottoman treaty documents by assigning lofty titles and dividing them into articles, while the Ottoman original texts were more simple and compact. For instance, the first commercial privilege issued for English merchants by Murad III began with the words: “*Anletar vilayetinin kraliçesi olan Elzabet hükmü ki . . .*” that is, “the command to Elizabeth, who is queen of the domain of England.” Thus the English queen was addressed in the same manner as an Ottoman subject. Of course, the Latin translation of the text was much more sophisticated and conformed to European norms.¹⁶

Determination of the authenticity of the document of 1444 requires that we compare it with the first original Polish-Ottoman treaty preserved in the Polish archives. This document, issued in 1489, is provided with the imperial *tugra* of Sultan Bayezid II and is written in Latin. Of the two redactions of the document of 1444, the first one, preserved in Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, has been selected here

¹⁵ Published in: Pall, *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la Crociata contro i Turchi*, pp. 49–50, 55–56 and Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna. A Discussion of Controversial Problems*, pp. 88–90. Here republished as Document 1.

¹⁶ Skilliter, *William Harborne*, pp. 49–54, 211–14.

for examination. Though ornamented with Latin stylistic additions, it seems to be a more faithful rendition of the lost original, evidently composed in Turkish.¹⁷

Table 7. Comparison of the two documents:

The letter of Murad II to Ladislaus, the Hungarian and Polish king, issued on 12 June 1444 (as quoted by Ciriaco Pizziccoli): ¹⁸	The treaty of Bayezid II with the Polish king, Casimir, issued on 22 March 1489: ¹⁹
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Intitulatio

Amorath Beg, Sultam, Machmeth Beg magni olim regnatoris Asie filius, Magnus Asie Rex Thracumque et Macedonum Potentissimus Imperator

Intitulatio

Sultan Bayesith, Dei gratia Asie, Grece etc. Imperator Maximus

Inscriptio

Precellentissimo Principi Ladislao, Pannonie Polonieque Serenissimo Regi . . .

Inscriptio

Illustrissimus et Excellentissimus Dominus Chazimiro Rex Polonie

Expositio-narratio

(in reference to the royal envoy and his credentials)

Sthoyka, fidelem Celsitudinis Tue hominem, nuntium oratoremque legatum egregium, lubenter vidimus . . .

Expositio-narratio

(in reference to the royal envoy and his credentials)

spectabilem et generosum Nicolaum Firlei Dambrowycha in suum oratorem ad confirmandam amicitiam et pacem, que inter nos est. Venit igitur ad presentiam nostram dictus orator . . .

Dispositio

(decision to conclude the peace for ten years)

Que omnia lubens Regie Tue Fraternitatis gratia concedere hoc pacto decrevimus (and again) . . . hoc pacto firma rataque esse decrevimus

Dispositio

(decision to renew the peace for two years)

Quod a die hodierno usque ad duos annos inter nos et prefatum Illustrissimum Regem sit pax firma

Sanctio

(sultan's oath)

. . . Tuo coram oratore Sthoyka iuravimus, pacem ipsam firmam, veram, bonam atque tranquillam, absque dolo vel fraude X per annos stabilem observare.

Sanctio

(sultan's promise to keep the peace as long as the king does not violate it)

Sed sit pax et amicitia firma inter utramque partem iurantes per Deum, quod donec predictus Rex observabit dictam

¹⁷ For instance the king is addressed as "Tue" (<Tur. *senki*; in the second redaction it reads *Vestrae*), and Walachians are referred to as "*Flaccorum*" (<Tur. *Eflak*; in the second redaction it reads *Velacho*); see also Inalcik, "Pitanje segedinskog mira i kriza turske države 1444 godine," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 12–13 (1962–1963), p. 283.

¹⁸ See Document 1, version A.

¹⁹ See Document 2.

(table 7 cont.)

The letter of Murad II to Ladislaus, the Hungarian and Polish king, issued on 12 June 1444 (as quoted by Ciriaco Pizzicolti):

(in reference to the sultan's envoy dispatched to obtain the oath from the king)

... mittimus nostrum hunc fidelem, nobilem et perstrenuum virum Solimambegh, ut eius in conspectu Serenitati Tue placeat, Regio Tuo vestratumque religionis more, fideliter recteque iurare, absque ullo dolo vel fraude, quod ab hodierno die ad futurum usque decimum temporis annum, bonam, stabilem tranquillamque invicem pacem nobiscum habebitis atque eam constanter inviolabiliterque observabitis.

Datatio and locatio

Datum Hadr[ianupoli], nostro de more, XII Iunii MCCCCXLIII^o.

The treaty of Bayezid II with the Polish king, Casimir, issued on 22 March 1489:

fidem suam et pacem, nec ab ipso fiat aliquod contrarium, nos etiam, debeamus observare pacem nostram et fidem, nec fiet a nobis aliquod contra fidem et pacem predictam

Datatio and locatio

Ex Constantinopoli xxii Martii anno Jesus mcccclxxxviii

The conclusion appears obvious. If the document of 1489 is called a treaty, the text rendered by Pizzicolti is also a treaty. The strongest argument can be found in the text itself. The expression *hoc pacto*, repeated twice, makes reference to nothing else, but this very document. For so far as is known, no other document was issued by Murad at Edirne on 12 June 1444.

Though formal analysis of the document in question seems to confirm our thesis, it is no less important to examine its political content. Since all scholars studying the problem of the Treaty of Segedin have considered the document left by Pizzicolti merely a letter, they sought the conditions of the treaty in every other place except this document. Dąbrowski tried to reconstruct the peace terms on the basis of three sources: the Polish chronicle of Długosz, the Hungarian chronicle of Thuróczy, and the letter from the Polish Royal Council to King Ladislaus, dated 26 August 1444 in Piotrków. Since both chronicles were written much later, this last document was considered a basic source. Now, let us compare the peace terms listed in the document left by Pizzicolti with those itemized in the letter from the Royal Council, and the chronicle of Długosz:

Table 8. The peace conditions of 1444 as quoted in various sources:

- A. 12 June 1444—the document by Murad II quoted by Pizziccoli
 B. 26 August 1444—the letter from the Royal Council in Piotrków to King Ladislaus²⁰
 C. The chronicle of Długosz²¹

	A	B	C
1) Restitution of the Serbian possessions of George Branković and release of his sons	X	X	X
2) Evacuation of the Danubian fortress of Golubac	—	X	X
3) Vlad Dracul remains the Ottoman tributary, though being released from the duty of making a personal appearance at the court of the sultan	X	—	—
4) Ottoman evacuation of Albania (<i>sic!</i>)	—	X	— ²²
5) Payment of 100,000 florins to the king by the sultan	—	X	—
6) The sultan obliged to furnish 25,000 auxiliary troops for the king's military expeditions	—	X	—

The last three conditions contained in the letter from Piotrków, so credulously accepted by many scholars, must be disqualified as a mere example of wishful thinking by the members of the Polish Royal Council. Nobody has posed the question of how the Ottoman sultan could possibly collect one hundred thousand golden florins to send to Buda, not to mention the supposed Ottoman evacuation of Albania (to whom? to the Hungarian king?). Yet another question: if the sultan was to send twenty-five thousand soldiers to the king, how numerous was the whole Ottoman army in the midfifteenth century?

The most notable difference in the political contents of the three sources examined concerns the evacuation of Golubac, which is not mentioned in the sultanic document quoted by Pizziccoli. The sultan's approval of the restoration of Golubac is recorded in the aforementioned Turkish chronicle *Gazavât*,²³ and it actually occurred in August

²⁰ Published in: *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti* [vol. 1], no. 125, pp. 140–44.

²¹ Długosz, *Ioannis Dlugossii . . . Historiae Polonicae Libri XII*, vol. 4, p. 703. In the much less detailed chronicle by Thuróczy only the first “Serbian” article of the treaty is mentioned, see: Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. 1: *Textus*. Edited by E. Galántai and J. Kristó (Budapest, 1985), p. 250.

²² The Polish chronicle specified that only the part of Albania held previously by Branković was to be returned.

²³ Inalcık and Oguz, eds., *Gazavât-i Sultân Murâd b. Mehmed Hân. İzladi ve Varna Savaşları (1443–1444) Üzerinde Anonim Gazavâtname*, p. 32 (Tur. *Gügercinlik* is a translation of *Golubac*, lit. “pigeon house”).

1444. One possible explanation could be that the Ottomans did not want to write down such “details” in the treaty, as its vague contents could be useful in future disputes. Besides, the evacuation of the Danubian castles of George Branković—Semendria and Golubac—is tacitly implied in the first clause of the document. It is also likely that a separate detailed list of all the places to be returned to Branković was appended to the treaty or given directly to the Ottoman envoy, Suleyman Baltaoglu, who was sent to receive the royal oath and then to supervise the restitution of the Serbian castles.

Moreover, the document rendered by Pizziccolli contains one more condition not mentioned in other sources. In the fragment concerning the future relations between the sultan and the Wallachian hospodar, Vlad Dracul, it is provided that deserters and refugees from both sides be delivered on the basis of reciprocity.²⁴ This condition is one of the most typical elements of every Ottoman treaty. To sum up, the examination of political contents seems to further confirm the authenticity of the document left by Pizziccolli.

In conclusion, we may now ask if the treaty was concluded at Edirne on 12 June, what happened in Hungary in August? Five hundred years ago Długosz wrote that the king had confirmed the treaty by oath, but the words of the Polish chronicler were questioned both in the fifteenth and the twentieth century.²⁵ The ultimate solution must be found in the aforementioned chronicle *Gazavât-i Sultân Murâd*. The anonymous Ottoman chronicler states that after arriving at the royal palace the Ottoman envoy Suleyman Baltaoglu met with the king, Hunyady (referred to as “Yanko”) and the Serbian despot (i.e., George Branković). Then the chronicle reads: “*Bu mela’inler üçü dahi galiz yeminler idiüb ve ‘ahdnameleer yazılıub Baltaoglu’na virdiler.*” “All three accursed ones swore solemn oaths and wrote down the [text of the] ‘ahdname; [then they] gave it to [Suleyman] Baltaoglu.”²⁶ Thus, the very fact of the royal ratification of the treaty is confirmed by both Polish and Ottoman sources. Unfortunately, the royal document is

²⁴ “. . . si qui nostratum homines suis quibusque in locis aufugerint ad nos quam primum illos remittere debeat, quemadmodum et nos fugientes nostras ad partes suos quoscumque homines redere constituimus.”

²⁵ See Długosz, *Ioannis Dlugossii . . . Historiae Polonicae Libri XII*, vol. 4, p. 704 and Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna. A Discussion of Controversial Problems*, p. 37.

²⁶ Inalcık and Oguz, eds., *Gazavât-i Sultân Murâd b. Mehmed Hân. İzlati ve Varna Savaşları (1443–1444) Üzerinde Anonim Gazavât-nâme*, p. 35.

lost. But one can obtain a very precise idea as to its appearance. Among the rarest and most precious oriental manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, one finds the earliest extant Ottoman chancery manual, compiled in 1479 by Yahya bin Mehmed el-Kâtib. The manuscript contains a copy of a *name-i sevğend* or *sevğendname*, that is an "oath letter."²⁷ The document was issued in 1444 in Konya by Ibrahim the bey of Karaman. As we know, Sultan Murad concluded two treaties in this same year: the first one with the king of Hungary and the second one with the bey of Karaman. For the first treaty, the text of the Ottoman document has survived thanks to Pizzicolti, while the royal ratification is missing; for the second treaty the Ottoman document is lost, but the ratification issued by Ibrahim Bey is extant.²⁸ This short document begins with a statement:

I swear by God and by the Holy Qur'an that I shall not show any hostility, I shall not cause to show hostility, I shall not become partners of those and shall not help those who are enemies. I shall prevent as far as I am able those who wish to act with hostility toward Murad Beg's and his son Mehmed Beg's personal honor, lives, friends, countries, districts, cities, fortresses, towns, boundaries. . . .²⁹

It is worth noting that this document does not contain more precise conditions of the peace. Perhaps these conditions were already included in the treaty document issued earlier by the Ottoman sultan. Since the Ottoman words *'ahd* and *sevğend* have the same meaning, one can assume that the document issued by King Ladislaus and called *'ahdname* in *Gazavât* was very similar to the *sevğendname* issued by the bey of Karaman. Obviously the royal oath was not sworn on the *Holy Qur'an*, but on the *Bible*, that is, *vestratumque religionis more*, as required in the Ottoman document of 12 June.

²⁷ Şinasi Tekin, ed., *Menahicü'l-Inşa. The Earliest Ottoman Chancery Manual by Yahya bin Mehmed el-Kâtib from the 15th Century. Text in Facsimile with Introduction and Index*, (Roxbury, Mass., 1971), pp. 23–24 (Ottoman text), 31–32 (English translation), 134–36 (facsimile); for the original, see Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément turc, no. 660, fols. 55a–56b.

²⁸ A full list of the preserved documents and copies issued during the reign of Murad II was published by Barbara Flemming in "The Reign of Murad II: a Survey (I)," *Anatolica. Annuaire International pour les Civilisations de l'Asie Antérieure* 20 (1994): 249–67, esp. p. 261 (the letter of Murad II is quoted under an incorrect date: 12 July instead of 12 June 1444).

²⁹ Tekin, ed., *Menahicü'l-Inşa. The Earliest Ottoman Chancery Manual by Yahya bin Mehmed el-Kâtib from the 15th Century. Text in Facsimile with Introduction and Index*, p. 31.

Though since the publication of *Gazavât* the existence of the royal confirmation of the treaty has gradually come to be accepted by historians, the place and date on which it has been thought to take place was recently challenged by Pál Engel, who convincingly suggested that it took place not on 1 August at Segedin, but on 15 August at Várád (Rum. Oradea). While until recently it was assumed that the king must have ratified the treaty before his famous crusade manifest of Segedin dated 4 August, the Hungarian historian established on the basis of Venetian correspondence that peace negotiations were continued at Várád between 12 and 14 August.³⁰ Absolved in advance by the papal legate Cesarini, Ladislaus and Hunyadi swore false oaths in the presence of the Ottoman envoys on 15 August. Only the Serbian despot, George Branković, regarded his oath seriously and decided to honor the favorable conditions of the peace while the crusaders departed from Hungary to meet their fate at Varna.³¹

After Varna: The first Polish-Ottoman treaty of 1489

The death of King Ladislaus ended the fragile union between Poland and Hungary. The following years brought the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and successive wars with Venice. Poland fought a decisive war for access to the Baltic Sea (1454–1466), crowned by the incorporation of Western Prussia, including the city of Danzig (Pol. Gdańsk). This long and costly war on the north explains a weak Polish reaction to the fact that in 1456 the Moldavian prince, Peter (Petru) Aron, accepted Ottoman suzerainty. A peculiar Polish-Ottoman double suzerainty lasted in Moldavia during the reign of Peter's successor, Stephan the Great (1457–1504). The year 1475 brought the conquest of Caffa by the Ottomans and their unsuccessful effort to subjugate the Moldavian prince. In the following year

³⁰ Pál Engel, "János Hunyadi and the peace 'of Szeged' (1444)," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47 (1994): 241–57, esp. pp. 245–46.

³¹ The medieval Serbian chronicle mentions the conclusion of the treaty by Branković under the date of 15 August; see Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi* (Sr. Karlovci, 1927), p. 234. As the commonly held date of the royal ratification was 1 August, it led some scholars to believe that the despot concluded a separate treaty after the rupture of the Treaty of Segedin. The interpretation of Pál Engel clears up the confusion created by the two different dates by showing that it was not a separate treaty but the Treaty "of Segedin" itself, which was sworn by the despot on 15 August along with Hunyadi and the king.

the Polish envoy, Marcin Wrocimowski, tried in vain to protect Stephan from Ottoman vengeance. Finally, the Ottoman army left the principality and Polish-Ottoman relations remained peaceful. In the same period Polish relations with the new Hungarian king, Matthias Corvin (1457–1490), were characterized by high tension. This fact encouraged Ottoman diplomacy to come out with a new offer. In 1478 Ottoman and Crimean envoys arrived at Brest (Pol. Brześć Litewski) with gifts for King Casimir and a proposal to conclude an anti-Hungarian alliance. This second offer within forty years was kindly rejected, but his demonstration of the Christian loyalty did not save the Polish king from being excommunicated by the pro-Hungarian papal nuncio a few months earlier.³²

The death of Mehmed II and the change on the Ottoman throne brought to an end Polish-Ottoman peaceful relations. In 1484 Sultan Bayezid conquered the Moldavian ports of Kilia and Akkerman. This time Poland sent military aid to her vassal, but efforts to recapture the lost towns proved hopeless. Finally, the envoy Mikołaj Firlej was sent in 1489 to the Ottoman capital to conclude a truce for two years.³³ The *ahdname* was granted on 22 March, and some time later the king confirmed the truce in the presence of the Ottoman envoy, Isa.³⁴

The treaty of 1494

The death of King Casimir in 1492 and the accession of his son, John Albert, caused a delay in renewing the truce with the Ottomans. The Turkish embassy was detained in Poznań, while the new king received embassies from Maximilian Habsburg and Ladislaus of Hungary and considered the possibility of joint action against the Ottomans. As usual, the internal conflicts between the Christian rulers prevailed, and in 1494 Mikołaj Strzeżowski was sent to Constantinople

³² Stachoń, *Polityka Polski wobec Turcji i akcji antytyureckiej w wieku XV do utraty Kili i Białogrodu (1484)*, pp. 184–86.

³³ According to the royal instruction, the envoy was ordered to demand the restitution of the two castles to the Moldavian prince. If not granted, he was entitled to conclude a simple truce; see *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, [vol. 1], no. 248, pp. 291–93.

³⁴ See Document 2. The Ottoman envoy is mentioned in Bayezid's letter of 31 March 1489; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 6, no. 11, published in: *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. 3, no. 334, pp. 348–49. The text of the royal confirmation is lost.

to obtain a new truce.³⁵ An *ahdname* was granted on 6 April 1494, and the Ottoman envoy, Haydar, obtained the royal confirmation in Cracow, on 28 June.³⁶ For the first time, articles concerning trade and merchants had been inserted into the treaty along with the political clauses. In July 1494 the king sent his envoy, Ivaško, to supervise the release of the royal subjects captured by the Ottomans after the expiration of the two-year truce of 1489.³⁷

The Moldavian expedition of 1497 and the pacification of 1500–1503

John Albert did not give up his claim to the access to the Black Sea, which had been cut off by the Ottomans in 1484. In 1496 the king again sent Mikołaj Strzeżowski to Constantinople, proposing the conclusion of an “honest peace” (*treugae honestae*).³⁸ In the meantime, war preparations were begun on both sides. In 1497 both armies entered Moldavia. The unexpected change of sides by Stephan the Great and the poor organization of the royal expedition resulted in a disastrous defeat at Koźmin (Rum. Codrul Cosminului), on 26 October 1497. The Moldavian expedition of 1497 proved to be the last Polish offensive action against the Ottomans for almost a century. In the following years the king oscillated between the project of a new crusade, to be joined by Hungary, Venice, and the pope, and the more realistic option of concluding a new peace with the sultan.³⁹ In the meantime Tatar and Turkish raids ruined the province of Ruthenia. In 1499, the experienced envoy Mikołaj Firlej was sent to Constantinople and returned in February 1500 with Ottoman plenipotentiaries. In their presence the king swore an oath on 1 March and a short truce was concluded, which was to extend until 11 November.⁴⁰

³⁵ Fryderyk Papée, *Jan Olbracht* (Cracow, 1936), p. 63.

³⁶ See Documents 3 and 4.

³⁷ The text of the royal letter to Sultan Bayezid is published in: *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. 3, no. 406, pp. 421–22.

³⁸ Papée, *Jan Olbracht*, p. 132.

³⁹ This dilemma in the policy of the court in Cracow was recently reexamined in the article by Krzysztof Baczkowski, “Próby włączenia państw jagiellońskich do koalicji antytureckiej przez papieża Aleksandra VI na przełomie XV/XVI wieku,” *Nasza Przyszłość. Studia z dziejów Kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce* 81 (1994): 5–50; see also Janusz Smołucha, “Między Warną a Mohaczem. Zagrożenie tureckie w Polsce w świetle wybranych traktatów,” *Studia Historyczne* 38 (1995): 459–79.

⁴⁰ See Document 5.

While the Ottoman embassy was detained in Cracow, negotiations continued for an alliance with Hungary. Since 1490 the Kingdom of Hungary had been ruled by John Albert's brother, Ladislaus, but cooperation between the two Jagiellonians was seldom effective. Finally, in January 1501 a new royal envoy, Mikołaj Lanckoroński, was sent to Istanbul, and the Polish-Ottoman truce was sworn into effect by Sultan Bayezid on 19 July.⁴¹ Not by accident the truce was to be valid starting 13 May 1501, the very day King Ladislaus of Hungary declared his entrance into the anti-Turkish league.

The temporary truce, concluded by John Albert, was converted into a five-year treaty by his brother, Alexander, who ascended the Polish throne after John Albert's death in 1501. Mikołaj Firlej was again sent to Istanbul, where Bayezid granted an *'ahdname* on 9 October 1502. The royal ratification was issued in Vilna on 21 February 1503 and was given to the Ottoman envoy, Sinan.⁴²

In the meantime, Venice and Hungary had also become weary of the war against the Ottomans. In 1503 a seven-year truce was concluded between Sultan Bayezid and King Ladislaus of Hungary. The treaty was ratified in Buda on 20 August, and in Istanbul on 5 November (15 Djumada I 909 A.H.). The original Ottoman *'ahdname*, preserved in the Topkapı Museum Archives, states that on the request of the Hungarian king the pope, the emperor, and the rulers of France, Spain, England, Portugal, Poland, Venice, Italian principalities, Naples, Sicily, Rhodes, and Chios were also to be included in the treaty on condition that their envoys brought sealed documents of ratification to Istanbul within one year; only the pope was exempted from sending his envoy to the Ottoman court.⁴³ Apparently

⁴¹ See Document 6.

⁴² See Documents 7 and 8.

⁴³ "Mezkur kral murad idindiği Rim papa ve Rim kralı ve França ve İspanya ve Angliya ve Portugal ve Lih kralı ve . . . bu sulhda bile olmasını mezkur kral hatırıyçun kabul etdüm şol şart üzere ki zıkr olunan Hristiyan beglerinden . . . Rim papadan gayri . . . bir yıla dek yüce hazretime ilçisi ile mühürlü kagdı gele" (verses 39–44). The document is published in facsimile in: Gökbilgin, "Korvin Mathias (Mátyás)ın Bayezid II.e mektupları tercümeleri ve 1503 (909) Osmanlı-Macar muahedesinin türkçe metni," *Belleten* 22 (1958): 369–90 and Tables III–XI; see also Anafarta, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya) arasındaki münasebetlerle ilgili tarihi belgeler / Historical documents concerning relations between the Ottoman Empire and Lehistan (Poland)*, no. 3. The *'ahdname*, bearing the signature E. 7675 and provided with the imperial *tugra* must be a copy of the document given to Hungarian envoys or, possibly, it was held in the Hungarian archives and captured by the Ottomans after the conquest of Buda.

ratification of this document was not considered necessary by the Polish court, as Poland was already in possession of a five-year truce with Bayezid. In the same period, both sides cooperated in order to quiet the political situation in Moldavia, and in 1504 Bernard Goławiński was sent as a secret envoy to Bayezid, proposing a common action against the Moldavian hospodar Bogdan.⁴⁴

The truces of 1509, 1510, and 1511

In 1506 Sigismund, the younger brother of John Albert and Alexander, ascended the Polish throne. In spite of the fact that at that time he was already forty years old, Sigismund ruled for another forty-two years until his death in 1548. In Polish historiography he justly merited the nickname: "Sigismund the Old" (*Żygmunt Stary*) to distinguish him from his son, Sigismund August. His reign coincided with the "classical era" of the Ottoman empire under the rule of Suleyman the Magnificent. Friendly relations between these two rulers formed the basis of a political equilibrium that lasted in Central Eastern Europe throughout the sixteenth century.

In 1507 the new king notified Bayezid of his accession. His envoy, the Armenian Ivaško, was sent back with a safe-conduct for the royal ambassador, who was to arrive at the Porte renew the peace.⁴⁵ Only two years later, in 1509, the ambassador Jan Buczacki extended the peace for one year, thus making possible the coordination of Polish foreign policy with Hungary, whose seven-year truce with the Porte also expired in 1510.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1: *Półowa X w.–1572*. Edited by M. Biskup (Warsaw, 1980), p. 565.

⁴⁵ The original of Bayezid's letter addressed to the king, written in Italian and dated 8 May 1507, is preserved in AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 14, no. 31, see *KDT*, p. 31. A contemporary Polish translation was published in: *Acta Tomiciana*, vols. 1–2 (Poznań, 1852), Appendix to vol. 1, no. 12, p. 27.

⁴⁶ The text of the treaty is not extant. An almost two-year delay between the safe-conduct and Buczacki's embassy to Istanbul has led to confusion among scholars. Veinstein erroneously assumed that the peace was concluded in 1507 for five years; see Veinstein, "L'occupation ottomane d'Očakov et le problème de la frontière Lituano-Tatare 1538–1544," in: *Passé Turco-Tatar présent soviétique. Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, p. 126, n. 10. Julian Bartoszewicz and Bertold Spuler dated Buczacki's mission to Istanbul *before* and not *in* 1509; see Bartoszewicz, *Pogląd na stosunki Polski z Turcyą i Tatarami, na dzieje Tatarów w Polsce osiadłych, na przywileje tu im nadane, jako też wspomnienia o znakomitych Tatarach polskich* (Warsaw, 1860), pp. 129–47 and Spuler, "Die Europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden

In 1510 the royal secretary, Andrzej Zakrzewski was sent to obtain an extension of the peace.⁴⁷ For the Ottoman side, the *çavuş* Sinan was sent to Poland to witness the royal oath.⁴⁸ Along with the prolongation of the peace the main task of Zakrzewski was to free the Polish captives held in Ottoman lands. As the truce was prolonged just for one year, already in May 1511 the new envoy, the *starosta* of Trembowla (Ukr. Terebovlja) Janusz Świerczowski, left for Istanbul with the royal letters.⁴⁹ Świerczowski remained in Istanbul almost one year. By April 1512, he had managed to obtain an extension of the peace for another five years. In expectation of a new occupant on the Ottoman throne, the Polish envoy tried in vain to obtain confirmation of the truce by the future sultan, Prince Selim.⁵⁰ Indeed, within a few months Selim rebelled against his father and became the new Ottoman sultan.

von Belgrad (1739),” [pt. 5] *Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas* I (1936): 383–440, esp. p. 387. Only Roman Zelewski dated the new treaty 1509; see *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1, p. 619. The letter of King Sigismund to Ladislaus of Hungary dated 28 April 1510 and quoted by Zelewski simply states that the Polish-Ottoman treaty will expire on 19 June 1510 without any reference, however, to the date of its conclusion; see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 1, no. 40, pp. 62–63. Zelewski’s assumption was recently confirmed by Janusz Smołucha, who brought to light a hitherto unknown royal instruction, issued on Buczański’s departure in November 1508; see Smołucha, “Stosunki Polski ze Stolicą Apostolską na tle zagrożenia Europy chrześcijańskiej ze strony Turków Osmańskich od upadku Kili i Białogrodu do klęski pod Mohaczem.” Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Cracow, 1998, pp. 142–44, 322–24 and AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 2, fols. 61b–64b. Having obtained the new treaty, Buczański died while returning from Istanbul and was buried in Temesvár (Rum. Timișoara); see the letter from Stanisław Górecki to King Sigismund dated probably July 1509 in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 1, no. 27, p. 44.

⁴⁷ *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1, p. 619. The text of the royal letter addressed to Piotr Tomicki, dated 1 June 1510, which alludes to the new embassy as well as the text of the royal instruction given to Zakrzewski are published in: *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 1, nos. 53–54, pp. 77–78. Zakrzewski returned to Cracow on 15 October 1510, see *ibid.*, no. 70, p. 89.

⁴⁸ “*Oratore Maiestatis Vestre Synna Czyausz, quem novissime ad recipiendum iuramentum pacis et amicitie inscripte illuc direxerat,*” see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 1, no. 54, p. 77.

⁴⁹ Published in: *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 1, no. 244, pp. 194–95. According to Świerczowski’s *legatio*, the previous treaty of 1510 was due to expire on 1 August 1511.

⁵⁰ See the royal letters addressed to Jan Łaski and Mikołaj Firlej, published in: *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 2, nos. 49–50, pp. 63–66, esp. p. 65: “*Janussius Swirczewski ex Turcia reversus attulit nobis quinquennales cum Turco inducias, sed Selimbeg filius eius non est in eas inclusus.*” Fodor and Dávid state erroneously that the treaty was signed for ten years; see “Hungarian-Ottoman Peace Negotiations in 1512–1514,” in: Dávid and Fodor, eds., *Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent*, p. 15.

The truces of 1514 and 1519

After Selim's accession, Andrzej Zakrzewski was once more dispatched to Constantinople with a royal letter (dated 14 March 1513).⁵¹ The following year the envoy Jerzy Krupski arrived at Istanbul to obtain an extension of the peace for another three years. The royal instruction given to Krupski contained a ready formula for the proposed treaty, composed in the name of the sultan and written in Latin. The formula, prepared in the Polish chancery, referred in form and content to the earlier treaties. Krupski was ordered to see that the Ottoman document did not vary from that formula.⁵² The new treaty, whose text is not preserved, was scheduled to be effective starting 30 May 1514. In a separate firman, the sultan ordered the release of Polish prisoners and captives.⁵³

As the new truce was to expire in May 1517, a new envoy, Jakub Secygniowski, was duly sent to Istanbul for the purpose of obtaining a new treaty.⁵⁴ Selim's Egyptian expedition caused a delay of two years, during which time Secygniowski was detained in the Ottoman capital. Only in 1519 was he granted a new three-year truce by the sultan. Like Bayezid's *'ahdname* of 1502 the Ottoman document of 1519 is issued in Italian.⁵⁵

⁵¹ *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 2, no. 206, p. 179.

⁵² For this formula, preserved in *Acta Tomiciana*, see Document 9. The royal instruction for Krupski is dated 4 February 1514. Krupski's return to Poland is mentioned in July 1514. For this embassy, see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 3 (Poznań, 1853), nos. 17–19, pp. 22–26; no. 45, pp. 42–43; no. 51, pp. 57–58; no. 216, pp. 153–55; and Bartoszewicz, *Pogląd na stosunki Polski z Turcyą i Tatarami, na dzieje Tatarów w Polsce osiadłych, na przywileje tu im nadane, jako też wspomnienia o znakomitych Tatarach polskich*, p. 131.

⁵³ The treaty is mentioned in the imperial order dated at Akşehir the first decade of Rebi I 920 (26 April–5 May 1514), see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 15, no. 34, and *KDT*, p. 31.

⁵⁴ *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 4 (Poznań, 1855), nos. 271–72, pp. 207–208.

⁵⁵ See Document 10.

CHAPTER TWO

THE “CLASSICAL” AGE (1520–1617)

The truce of 1525

The accession of Suleyman the Magnificent to the Ottoman throne was followed by the Ottoman conquest of the key Hungarian bulwark—the fortress of Belgrade (1521). The Polish assistance to the last Jagiellonian on the Hungarian throne, King Ludwig II, led to a brief Polish-Ottoman war. In 1524 Turkish and Tatar soldiers appeared in the vicinity of Lwów. The unpopularity of the war among the nobility and the fear of a potential alliance between the Ottomans, the Crimean Tatars, and Muscovy caused Polish political circles to urgently seek a new peace.

In 1525 Stanisław Odrowąż was sent to Istanbul with the task of concluding a six-year truce, in which Hungary was to be included. His mission was only partially successful, as Suleyman granted a three-year truce to Poland only. This settlement sealed the fate of Hungary, left alone to face the Ottomans in the decisive battle of Mohács in 1526.¹

The peace agreement of 1525 is the first Ottoman *‘ahdname* addressed to the Polish king to be composed in Turkish. It was apparently prepared by the great reformer of the Ottoman chancery, the new *re’isü ’l-küttab* Mustafa Celâlzade. While new in form, this *‘ahdname* did not differ in content from the previous Polish-Ottoman treaties.²

The truce of 1528

In spite of his military successes, political and financial reasons prevented Suleyman from incorporating Hungary into his empire as a new regular province. Instead, he confirmed the palatine of Transylvania, John Zapolya, as the new Hungarian king and Ottoman vassal. Zapolya’s position was challenged by Ferdinand Habsburg,

¹ See *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 7 (Poznań, n. d.), no. 47, pp. 279–81; *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1, pp. 646–47; Pajewski, *Stosunki polsko-węgierskie i niebezpieczeństwo tureckie w latach 1516–1526* (Warsaw, 1930).

² See Document 11 and Part I (chapter 3).

who was supported by a portion of the Hungarian nobles. Under these circumstances the position of Poland became critical in the Ottoman-Habsburg struggle for Hungary. Despite the fact that Zapolya's case was popular among the Polish nobility and that a few years later he became Sigismund's son-in-law (1539), the king could not openly challenge the Habsburgs, for fear of a Habsburg-Muscovian alliance against Poland-Lithuania. Nevertheless, he secretly supported Zapolya. The fragile neutrality of Poland became even more questionable when Zapolya petitioned the king for refuge when forced to leave Hungary by the Habsburg party.³

In these circumstances, a prolongation of the Polish-Ottoman truce for another five years was easily obtained in Istanbul by Jan Tęczyński in October 1528.⁴ The following year, when Suleyman decided to support Zapolya's case and besieged Vienna, Poland was secure from an Ottoman attack.

The first "eternal peace" of 1533

The common anti-Habsburg policy in Hungary formed a firm basis for friendly relations between the Porte and Poland for almost a century. In January 1533 a treaty with an unprecedented clause was obtained in Istanbul by the Polish envoy, Piotr Opaliński. According to the new *'ahdname*, the peace was to be observed until the death of one of the two rulers.⁵ As in 1511, Polish diplomacy wanted to go even further and to extend the peace to the successors of both rulers—Prince Selim and Sigismund August, the latter crowned in 1529 as the king of Poland and co-ruler with his father. In May 1533 Jan Ocieski left for Istanbul with two versions of the royal ratification: the first one containing both rulers and their sons, and the second, mentioning only the rulers.⁶ While only the first version

³ Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "Suleimans Angriff auf Europa," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1974): 163–212, esp. pp. 191–92, 210; *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1, pp. 647–54.

⁴ See Document 12. The imperial *salvus conductus* for the Polish envoy issued on 22 March 1528, and the royal instruction for Tęczyński were published in: *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 10 (Poznań, 1899), no. 147–48, pp. 154–57.

⁵ See Document 13. The royal instruction for Opaliński, dated at Cracow 2 October 1532 was published in: *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 14 (Poznań, 1952), no. 456, pp. 689–99.

⁶ See the letter from Piotr Tomicki to Jan Ocieski, discussed above in Part I (chapter 6) and published in: *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 15 (Wrocław, 1957), no. 248, pp. 340–41.

is today preserved in a contemporary copy, apparently the Ottomans accepted the second one, because after Sigismund's death his son had to obtain a new *'ahdname* from Sultan Suleyman.⁷ The article concerning Wallachia and Moldavia contained in the Ottoman text was deliberately omitted in the Polish ratification because Poland still claimed her suzerainty over Moldavia.⁸

The replacement of shortlived truces by a perpetual peace with a Muslim neighbor may be considered proof of the doctrinal independence of Polish diplomacy of that time. A few years earlier, Poland had also been the first European state to acknowledge the Lutheran principality in Prussia, in spite of the violent Catholic reaction in Vienna and Rome.⁹ By granting an "eternal peace" to the nontributary Christian neighbor the Ottomans also departed from Islamic principles concerning relations with the "infidels."¹⁰

Aside from Hungary, Polish-Ottoman cooperation on a limited basis was also undertaken in Moldavia. After Hospodar Peter Rareș attacked Poland in 1530, claiming that he was acting with Ottoman consent, Suleyman repudiated this claim and acquiesced in the Polish revenge expedition of 1531. In 1538 Polish and Ottoman troops entered Moldavia. Peter Rareș was dethroned and fled to Transylvania. While Polish-Moldavian border disputes were resolved in favor of Poland, the Ottomans strengthened their control over the principality and annexed Tighina (Tur. Bender) and Budjak. Furthermore, the Black Sea steppes between the rivers Dniester and Boh with the fort of Očakiv (Tur. Özü) were incorporated by the Porte. This resulted in the first Polish-Ottoman demarcation of 1542. Because the sides were unable to reach agreement on the eastern section of the border in the vicinity of the river Boh, negotiations were broken off and the matter remained unresolved for the next hundred years.¹¹

⁷ For the first version, see Document 14.

⁸ *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1, p. 657.

⁹ *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1, p. 659.

¹⁰ For the "occidentalization" of Ottoman diplomacy and propaganda during the first period of Suleyman's reign, see Gülrü Necipoglu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin. A Quarterly Published by The College Art Association of America* 71 (1989): 401-426.

¹¹ See Part I (chapter 5) and the article by Veinstein, "L'occupation ottomane d'Očakov et le problème de la frontière Lituano-Tatare 1538-1544," in: *Passé Turco-Tatar présent soviétique. Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, pp. 123-55.

In sum, during the reign of King Sigismund Poland managed to maintain friendly relations with the Porte and even obtained a privileged status in Ottoman diplomacy. At the same time, political and commercial advantages had to be paid for by relinquishing political influence in Hungary and Moldavia.

The 'ahdname of 1553

After Sigismund's death in 1548 solemn condolences were sent to his son by Suleyman personally, and by his wife, Hurrem Sultan (also known as Roxelana because of her Ruthenian origins).¹² Though the border skirmishes in the Ukrainian steppes and the initial rapprochement with the Habsburgs by the new king resulted in the temporary deterioration of Polish-Ottoman relations and a delay in renewing the peace, finally in August 1553 the royal envoy Stanisław Tęczyński obtained a new "eternal" peace from Sultan Suleyman.¹³ One of its clauses stipulated the cessation of border raids by the Tatars in exchange for annual "gifts"¹⁴ to be delivered by the Polish side to the Crimean khan. Royal ratification of this treaty was issued on 12 March 1554 in Lublin.¹⁵

In addition to submitting his ratification by means of an Armenian named Nicholas, the king requested for extra copies of the *'ahdname*, endorsed with imperial *tugras*. The request was granted and three additional Turkish copies of the *'ahdname*, issued in Amasya in December 1554, were delivered to the Polish envoy.¹⁶

The 1564 'ahdname of Prince Selim

In 1564, Polish diplomacy achieved its long-awaited goal. Prince Selim granted capitulations to the royal envoy, Jerzy Jazłowiecki,

¹² The original copy of Hurrem Sultan's letter is preserved in AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 68, t. 110, no. 218, see *KDT*, p. 103.

¹³ For a detailed account of the events leading to the conclusion of the new treaty, see Andrzej Tomczak, "Z dziejów stosunków polsko-tureckich za Zygmunta Augusta 1548–1553," in: *Księga pamiątkowa 150-lecia Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 1958): 441–78. Only Polish translations of the lost original of this treaty are extant in Warsaw. Fortunately two contemporary Turkish copies are preserved in London and in Venice. See Document 15 and Part I (chapter 3).

¹⁴ In the Ottoman text: "*adetler*;" in the royal ratification: "*stipendium*."

¹⁵ See Document 16.

¹⁶ Two of these copies are preserved; see Document 17.

during his father's lifetime. Thus, the Polish-Ottoman peace was secured in the event of the death of Sultan Suleyman. By that time, after Prince Bayezid's rebellion and execution, Selim was the sole unchallenged heir to the Ottoman throne. As early as the negotiations with Shah Tahmasp concerning Bayezid's arrest and delivery, Selim had enjoyed an unprecedented position and was allowed by his father to conduct foreign policy on his own.¹⁷ Selim was also authorized to provide the documents issued from his chancery with his own *tugra*. One such document, provided with the *tugra* of Prince Selim, is preserved in Warsaw.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the sole record of the treaty concluded between the Polish king and the Ottoman prince is preserved only in a Latin copy.¹⁹

Royal confirmation of the treaty was issued in Piotrków on 30 April 1565 and taken to Istanbul by Mikołaj Brzeski.²⁰ In addition to his official task, Brzeski delivered a secret royal proposal of an alliance against Muscovy. The proposal was rejected because Suleyman was engaged in preparing for a new campaign against the Habsburgs.²¹

The 'ahdname of 1568

After Sultan Suleyman's death and Selim's enthronement in 1566, the treaty concluded with Prince Selim had to be confirmed by Sultan Selim. Because the former envoy to Selim and the anticipated ambassador, Jerzy Jazłowiecki, fell ill, Piotr Zborowski was sent to the Ottoman capital in 1568. His mission was endangered at its very outset, as the arrival of the Polish ambassador to Istanbul coin-

¹⁷ According to Petra Kappert, "*Es ist wohl das erste Mal, da ein osmanischer Herrscher schon in seiner Prinzenzeit beginnen konnte, für seine später auch weiter verfolgte Aussenpolitik den Grundstein zu legen,*" see Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul, 1976), p. 140. Though already in 1446 the Venetians had concluded parallel treaties with Murad II and his son, Mehmed II, that event was preceded by the official abdication of Murad, revoked only later under foreign threat and internal political pressure by the janissaries; see Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomacy," p. 120.

¹⁸ AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 70, t. 214, no. 412 (*KDT*, pp. 182–83); this *tugra* is published in: Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Plate VI, no. 7.

¹⁹ See Document 18. Kappert erroneously assumes that the only *'ahdname* issued by Selim before his accession was his treaty concluded with Shah Tahmasp; Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, p. 145.

²⁰ See Document 19.

²¹ See Pajewski, *Projekt przymierza polsko-tureckiego za Zygmunta Augusta* (Warsaw, 1935), pp. 3–4.

cided with the news of a Polish raid against the Ottoman fort of Očakiv.²² Finally, tensions were eased and the Ottoman border commanders were ordered to forestall any revenge action to facilitate negotiations with the Polish envoy.²³ Zborowski's instruction was furnished with a ready formula of the imperial oath, according to which Selim was to swear in the presence of the royal envoy.²⁴ The main issues of the embassy concerned the Polish relations with Moldavia and Crimea. The envoy was to demand that Moldavian hospodars be appointed by Polish kings. Wholly unrealistic, this proposal received no consideration by the Ottoman chief negotiator, Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollu. The Polish proposal of abolishing the clause concerning the mutual delivery of refugees was also rejected.²⁵

Another misunderstanding concerned the gifts delivered to the khan, regarded as an obligatory tribute by the Ottomans, but as a gratuitous stipend or salary by the Poles. A striking difference was then found between the Ottoman text of the *'ahdname* granted to Tęczyński in 1553 and the Latin text of the royal ratification from 1554. The Ottoman text reads:

Henceforth, as long as the customary payments [*'adetler*], which used to be given since olden days, are paid on time by the king to the Tatar khan, [and] as long as the king does nothing contrary to the treaty, no meddling or interference, harm or damage should be done to the dominions and subjects of the king by the khan and the Tatar army.²⁶

²² "Relacya poselstwa pana wojnickiego królowi j. mości w Warszawie (Piotra Zborowskiego syna Marcina, który posłował do Turcyi w r. 1568)," in: Kraszewski, *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcyi*, pp. 65–82, esp. pp. 66–67; BA, MD 7, p. 512, no. 1473.

²³ See the imperial order to the Moldavian hospodar, dated 29 Zilkade 975 (26 May 1568) and registered in the *mühimme defteri*, BA, MD 7, p. 516, no. 1482.

²⁴ "*Ego Sultan Selim Imperator Turcarum etc. iuro, quod omnia descripta in istis litteris foederum, tenere et servare, sine aliqua violatione volo et promitto. Ita me Deus adiuvet et Machmeth, et nihil a me foederibus hisce contrarium exhibet, ille autem, qui transgressus fuerit hoc iusiurandum, dabit illi dominus convenientem retributionem, sitque dignus eius poenae*," see Pajewski, "Legacja Piotra Zborowskiego do Turcji w 1568 r. Materjały do historii stosunków polsko-tureckich za panowania Zygmunta Augusta," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 12 (1936), p. 40.

²⁵ This clause was considered unequal by the Polish side, because numerous Moldavian nobles and even several Moldavian hospodars found refuge in Poland while "nobody important has deserted from our side," as is expressed in the royal letter addressed to Zborowski, dated 7 December 1567; see Pajewski, "Legacja Piotra Zborowskiego do Turcji w 1568 r. Materjały do historii stosunków polsko-tureckich za panowania Zygmunta Augusta," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 12 (1936), pp. 48–49; cf. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 3, p. 523.

²⁶ *Tatar hanı canibine ma dam ki kral canibinden kadimü'l-eyyamdan vire-geldikleri 'adetlerin*

The same paragraph in the royal ratification is completely different:

Caesar Przekopcepcensis durante hoc foedere nulla damna ditionibus nostris inferre debebit. Nos vero stipendium solitum, ut nobis contra hostes nostros assistat, dare illi debebimus.²⁷

As might easily be anticipated, the text of the new treaty was based on the previous imperial *‘ahdname* and not on its Latin ratification. In regard to the Polish request, the Ottomans agreed only to refer in the new document to the sons of the khan and other members of the Giray family, who had previously claimed that only the khan was bound by the Polish-Ottoman treaties.²⁸ An imperial order was also issued, specifying that not only the captives of Polish origin, but also the Ruthenian (i.e., Ukrainian) subjects of the Polish king were to be set free and delivered to the royal envoy after the new treaty was concluded.²⁹

During Zborowski's embassy, the Italian project of opening the Black Sea to the shipping of Polish grain and wood to Italy was presented for consideration by the Polish and Ottoman authorities. The Ottomans were not alone in regarding this idea with hesitation. The project of developing Dniester trade was also abandoned in Poland, because the Royal Council regarded it as an invitation for Turkish galleys.³⁰ The stalemate in negotiations did not discourage Zborowski from securing the commercial interests of his own family. The envoy's brother, Krzysztof Zborowski, was allowed to send wood and wooden articles on his ships by the Dniester and sell them in the Ottoman provinces.³¹ It is uncertain whether or not use was made of this privilege in the years that followed.

Pajewski's judgment of Zborowski's embassy as a failure seems

vakı ile eda ideler kiral tarafından ‘ahda muhalif bir iş sadır olmayınca han canibinden ve Tatar leşkerinden kralın memleketine ve adamlarına dahl u ta‘arruz olunmayub zarar u ziyan irişdirmeyeler, see Document 15.

²⁷ See Document 16.

²⁸ See Document 20; cf. *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1, pp. 698–701.

²⁹ “*Lih ve Lehe tabi‘ olan Rus ta‘ifesinden oldukları . . . ilçiye teslim olunub . . .*,” BA, MD 7, pp. 638–39, nos. 1778 and 1781, orders to the bey of Akkerman and to the kadis, dated 23 Muharrem 976 (18 July 1568).

³⁰ On this matter, see Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, “Imperium Osmańskie w XVI wieku—kilka uwag o potencjale demograficznym i gospodarczym,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 78 (1987): 375–94, esp. p. 392.

³¹ BA, MD 7, p. 643, no. 1791, the imperial order to the *sancakbey* of Akkerman, given to Zborowski's servant on 27 Muharrem 976 (22 July 1568).

unjustified.³² Polish claims concerning Moldavia and Crimea were unrealistic, as Poland was definitely the weaker partner in the mutual relations. As the Ottoman attitude toward *'ahdnames* was highly conservative, the previous treaties of 1553 and 1564 were rigidly observed as the basis for a new one. Nevertheless, the Ottomans authorized a few small corrections in favor of the Polish side. In sum, notwithstanding border conflicts and raids, peace and friendly relations were preserved.

On his return, Zborowski was accompanied by the *çavuş* Hasan, who personally delivered the new *'ahdname* to the Polish king and apparently received the royal oath. In October 1568 Hasan left for Istanbul, provided with royal letters.³³

In 1569 the Ottomans undertook a campaign against Muscovy, whose main target was the reconquest of Astrakhan. Poland was invited to join in, but the proposal was politely rejected. The royal envoy, Andrzej Taranowski, was allowed to participate in the campaign as an observer.³⁴

In the same year, facing the prospect of the king from the Jagiellonian dynasty dying without heir, the deputies of Poland and Lithuania formed the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth, replacing the hitherto existing merely personal union. It resulted in the fundamental principle that the new king would be elected by all the members of the nobility of the two states.

The 'ahdname of 1577

The death of Sigismund August in 1572 opened the first interregnum, followed by the second one after the short reign of Henri de Valois. In 1576 Stephan Báthory, the palatine of Transylvania and Ottoman vassal was elected to the Polish throne through the strong support wielded by Ottoman diplomacy.³⁵ His defeated rivals—the

³² Pajewski, "Legacja Piotra Zborowskiego do Turcji w 1568 r. Materiały do historii stosunków polsko-tureckich za panowania Zygmunta Augusta," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 12 (1936), p. 30; see also *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1, p. 716.

³³ The *'ahdname* was delivered in a brocade bag (Pol. *w złotogłowym worku*), see Kraszewski, *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcji*, p. 72. The royal letter addressed to the sultan, dated 21 October 1568, is published in: *ibid.*, pp. 78–79. It is unknown whether the royal ratification of the treaty was issued, as it is not preserved.

³⁴ *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1, p. 703. Taranowski's relation is published in: Kraszewski, *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcji*, pp. 41–63.

³⁵ On the role of Ottoman diplomacy in the Polish elections, see Kemal Beydilli,

Habsburgs—as well as papal diplomacy tried to present him as an Ottoman puppet, which resulted in the isolation of Poland during the first years of Báthory's reign. In this situation Ottoman support and good relations with the Porte were crucial for the new king. In 1577 Jan Sienieński easily obtained in Istanbul the new *'ahdname* from Murad III.³⁶ Its contents were negotiated with the grand vizier, Mehmed Sokollu. The royal ratification was issued in Marienburg (Pol. Malbork) on 5 November 1577 and given to the Ottoman *çavuş*, Ahmed.³⁷

The good Polish-Ottoman relations soon enabled Báthory to play a mediatory role in European diplomacy. His secret support facilitated the mounting of the first English mission to the Porte in 1578. The English envoy, William Harborne, traveled to Constantinople through Hamburg, Poland, and Moldavia, in order to conceal his mission from the Habsburgs.³⁸

In the last years of Báthory's reign rumours about his projects for a Holy League, and a crusade against the Ottomans spread across Europe. The question of the sincerity of the royal plans has been discussed by many scholars. While Ludwik Boratyński in his classical monograph supported the thesis of Báthory's serious involvement in anti-Turkish plans, more recently Kazimierz Dopierała raised serious doubts about the real intentions of the king.³⁹ The problem still remains unresolved in the historiography. It seems reasonable to

Die Polnischen Königswahlen und Interregnen von 1572 und 1576 im Lichte osmanischer Archivalien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der osmanischen Machtpolitik (Munich, 1976); Pajewski, *Turcja wobec elekcji Batorego* (Cracow, 1935); and Wojciech Hensel, "Uwagi o stosunkach polsko-tureckich w XVI wieku do panowania Stefana Batorego," in: *Stosunki polsko-tureckie. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Instytut Orientalistyczny i Towarzystwo Polska Turcja w 1988 roku*. Edited by T. Majda (Warsaw, 1995): 19–29.

³⁶ See Document 21.

³⁷ See Document 22. In a contemporary Ottoman register this envoy is called Erdellü Ahmed (i.e., Ahmed, the Transylvanian), BA, MD 31, p. 63, no. 161. Apparently the choice was not accidental, as the envoy could discourse with Báthory in Hungarian without interpreters. For a detailed chronology of the Polish and Ottoman missions and negotiations in the years 1577–1579, see Kazimierz Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją za Stefana Batorego* (Warsaw, 1986), pp. 47–96, 169–70. Dopierała erroneously considers the *'ahdname* of 1577 to be the first "eternal" treaty, and calls it unilateral, neglecting the existence of earlier "eternal" treaties and the royal ratification of 1577; see *ibid.*, p. 60.

³⁸ Skilliter, *William Harborne*, pp. 39–45.

³⁹ Cf. Boratyński, *Stefan Batory i plan ligi przeciw Turkom (1576–1584)* (Cracow, 1903) and Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją za Stefana Batorego*, pp. 145–56.

assume that Báthory dreamed about the revival of the Kingdom of Hungary under his rule. Yet, he was undoubtedly far too familiar with the power of the Porte, and much too pragmatic as far as European diplomacy was concerned to believe that such a project would be realistic. Rather, expressing his pious intentions in the presence of the papal nuncio he tried to alter his image from that of an "Ottoman puppet" and even to gain the support of papal diplomacy in his conflict with the Habsburgs.

The 'ahdname of 1591

After Báthory's death in 1586, Sigismund Vasa, the nephew of the late Polish king Sigismund August and the son of John III of Sweden was elected in 1587. His candidacy was supported by the Porte, as the Ottomans did not want to see a Habsburg or a Muscovian prince on the Polish throne. The initially good relations soon deteriorated due to the proCatholic and proHabsburg stand of the new king, and the delay in sending a great embassy to Istanbul. In addition, the ambassador Paweł Uchański, who was eventually sent to the Porte, died upon his arrival to Istanbul in March 1590.⁴⁰ The threat of a campaign, expressed by numerous Ottoman dignitaries in Istanbul, caused a temporary panic in Poland. In the end, peace was preserved and the new envoy, Jan Zamoyski, brought back the new *'ahdname* in 1591.⁴¹ The royal ratification was issued on 15 January 1592 in Wiślica.⁴²

During this political crisis, Poland found powerful advocates in Istanbul. Not only were the Jewish merchants active in the "Polish" trade interested in keeping the peace, but Queen Elizabeth of England also offered her mediation. For England the import of Polish grain was crucial in her war against Spain, who constituted the common enemy of the sultan and the queen.⁴³

⁴⁰ *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2: 1572–1795. Edited by Z. Wójcik (Warsaw, 1982), p. 71.

⁴¹ See Document 23. This envoy should not be confused with the grand hetman and chancellor, Jan Zamoyski, who negotiated the treaty of Cecora in 1595.

⁴² See Document 24.

⁴³ Richard Knolles, *The Turkish History* (continued by Paul Rycaut), vol. 1 (London, 1687), p. 709; see also the letter by Sinan Pasha to Queen Elizabeth from 12 June, published in: Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. 6 (Glasgow, 1904), pp. 69–73. My regards go to Aleksander

The truce of 1595 and the 'ahdnames of 1597 and 1598

One hundred years after the Polish-Ottoman war over Moldavia, international conflict in the Danube area once more revived: In 1593 the great Habsburg-Ottoman war commenced. In 1594 the hospodar of Wallachia, Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul), rebelled against the Ottomans, drawing support from both Transylvania and Moldavia. In response, the Ottoman-Crimean Tatar troops entered Moldavia with the aim of turning the principality into a regular Ottoman province. Poland responded by placing a new hospodar, Jeremy (Jeremia) Movila on the Moldavian throne. His position was secured by a military expedition led by the Polish grand hetman and chancellor, Jan Zamoyski. In October 1595 the two armies met on the river Prut at Țuțora (Pol. Cecora). In view of the upcoming Ottoman confrontation with the Habsburgs, the easing of tensions in Ottoman-Polish relations was crucial to the Porte. The Ottoman commander and the would-be governor of Moldavia, Ahmed Bey, therefore concluded an agreement with Zamoyski. The documents of truce were issued and exchanged on 22 October 1595. Apart from Ahmed Bey and Zamoyski, the documents were signed by the Crimean khan, Ghazi Giray, by his *kalga*, Feth Giray, and, on the Polish side, by Zamoyski's deputy, the field hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski, and two commissioners—Stanisław Gólski and Jan Tomasz Drohojowski.⁴⁴ Movila was confirmed on the Moldavian throne, and one of the commissioners, Stanisław Gólski, was to be sent to Istanbul as the new Polish ambassador.⁴⁵ According to the royal instruction issued

Halenko for drawing my attention to this matter. On Jewish mediation, see Janina Morgenszttern, "Pośrednictwo Żydów w nawiązywaniu nieoficjalnych kontaktów dyplomatycznych między dworem polskim i tureckim w 1590 r.," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 40 (1961): 37–49, esp. pp. 43–45.

⁴⁴ See Documents 25–26; for further details, see Józef Sas, "Wyprawa Zamoyskiego na Mołdawię," *Przegląd Powszechny* 14 (1897), vol. 4, pp. 74–89, esp. pp. 82–83; Józef Jasnowski, "Dwie relacje z wyprawy Zamoyskiego pod Cecorę w r. 1595.," *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojсковy* 10 (1938): 240–50; Miron Costin, *Chronicon terrae Moldaviae ab Aarone principe*. Edited by E. Barwiński (Bucharest, 1912), pp. 3–5. This agreement is also mentioned in the second article of the Polish document of the truce of 1617 (see Document 31). It states that in 1595 "written records were exchanged by both sides" (*dane były z obu stron skrypty*).

⁴⁵ On these matters, see also the letters of Ahmed (promoted by that time from a bey to the honorary title of a pasha), sent in 1597 to King Sigismund and to Zamoyski; AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 78, t. 484, no. 809 and k. 71, t. 278, no. 516, *KDT*, pp. 230–32. Reminding of his previous services in the negotiations, Ahmed Pasha asked Zamoyski for a recommendation to the sultan, suggesting that

before his departure in 1597, the envoy was ordered to demand that the sultan address the Polish king in his letters as a "padishah" (lit. *patysza* in the Polish text), that is an equal, sovereign ruler.⁴⁶ In November 1597 Gólski obtained an *'ahdname* from the new sultan, Mehmed III.⁴⁷ On his return journey, the envoy was accompanied by the Ottoman *çavuş*, Pir Ali.

In a letter under separate cover carried by the said *çavuş*, the Porte confirmed Movila in his post and invited the Polish king to join the Ottomans in their campaign against the Habsburgs. The contents of the *'ahdname* were basically identical with that of 1591 however. Dissatisfied, Poland sent a new envoy, Jan Szczęsny Herburt, to Istanbul in May 1598 in the hope of obtaining a "better" treaty.⁴⁸ Herburt brought two versions of the royal confirmation. The first version contained several Polish "amendments" to the treaty, while the second one merely confirmed the articles of the document issued by the sultan.⁴⁹ A new *'ahdname* was obtained by Herburt in August 1598. In addition to confirming Movila and his son on the Moldavian throne, the sultan openly encouraged Sigismund to conquer three Hungarian fortresses held by the Habsburgs—Kassau, Huszt, and Munkács⁵⁰—and confirmed their future possession by the Polish king.⁵¹

The royal document of 1606 and the 'ahdname of 1607

In consequence of Habsburg-Ottoman war on the one hand and the Polish engagement in Sweden and Muscovy on the other at the

he be given the governorship of Silistra for life and the head command of the Ottoman troops on the Polish border.

⁴⁶ For Gólski's instruction, see AGAD, Libri Legationum 27, fols. 59a–61b.

⁴⁷ See Document 27.

⁴⁸ A confused chronology of these events is given in *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 73–74. The differences in content of both *'ahdnames* are neglected there, so that Herburt's mission is explained as a response to the fear of further Tatar incursions into Poland. Like Gólski, Herburt also participated in Zamoyski's campaign of 1595 and the following negotiations, but his name does not appear among the signatories of the truce.

⁴⁹ See the royal instruction to Herburt dated 8 May 1598, AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 27, fol. 66b.

⁵⁰ Today Košice is located in Slovakia, and Xust and Mukačevo in Ukrainian Transcarpathia. The wish that the sultan not occupy these fortresses claimed by Poland is expressed in the royal instructions for Gólski (1597) and for Herburt (8 May 1598), see AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 27, fols. 59a–61b, 65a–67a; published in: Ilie Corfus, ed., *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVI-lea* (Bucharest, 1979), nos. 199–200, pp. 379–90.

⁵¹ See Document 28.

beginning of the seventeenth century, Polish-Ottoman relations were still good in spite of the conflict of interests in Moldavia. With the accession of the new sultan, Ahmed I, in 1603, the peace had to be renewed. In April 1606 Sigismund III confirmed the conditions of the *'ahdname* of 1598 in a new document delivered to the Porte by the royal envoy, Adam Stadnicki. The document was issued in two versions, of which only one version has survived.⁵²

After the Habsburg-Ottoman Truce of Zsitvatorok was signed in October 1606, the new Polish ambassador, Mikołaj Daniłowicz, was sent to Istanbul, where he obtained the new *'ahdname* dated 15 July 1607.⁵³

⁵² See Document 29 and the royal instruction to the envoy dated 3 April 1606, AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 288, no. 533.

⁵³ See Document 30.

CHAPTER THREE

A STORMY PERIOD (1617–1703)

The rise of the Cossack question and the pacification of 1617–1619

During the first two decades of the seventeenth century, Cossack activity in the Black Sea gained unprecedented importance. Raiding into the core provinces of the Ottoman empire, the Cossacks disrupted economic activity. In 1606 the Cossacks plundered Varna, in 1613—the Crimean shores, and in 1614—Sinop. Finally, in 1615 the Cossacks burned and pillaged a few villages in the neighborhood of Istanbul. This time not only the Ottoman economy, but the very prestige of the padishah suffered as well.

Moreover, the proCatholic and proHabsburg policy of Sigismund III served to raise tensions between the two states. According to a secret clause in the Polish-Habsburg treaty of 1613, the king and the emperor pledged to furnish mutual assistance in quelling insurrections and granted permission to their counterpart to recruit mercenaries in each other's territories. As a result, Polish mercenaries called *lisowczy*¹ fought on the Habsburg side against the Hungarian rebel and the proOttoman prince of Transylvania, Gábor Bethlen.

The immediate cause of the war was the private involvement of some Polish magnates in Moldavia. In 1615 Prince Samuel Korecki, the son-in-law of the former Moldavian hospodar Jeremy Movila, entered Moldavia in cooperation with George Homonnay, the Hungarian magnate and opponent of Gábor Bethlen to secure the Moldavian throne for Jeremy's son, Alexander Movila. Though this action was not officially supported by the king, the Ottomans considered it a *casus belli*.

In 1617, Iskender Pasha, the governor of Bosna, was dispatched toward the Polish border at the head of Ottoman troops. When the two armies met on the river Dniester, the Polish field hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski sent his envoy, Piotr Ożga, to the Turkish camp for negotiations and a truce was concluded. The Polish document, dated 23

¹ Their name was derived from that of their commander, Colonel Aleksander Lisowski.

September 1617, was prepared in two versions, Polish and Turkish, and sealed by Hetman Żółkiewski and the leading magnates present in the Polish camp near the Podolian town Jaruha (Pol. Jaruga).² The Turkish *temessük* was issued by Iskender Pasha in the Ottoman camp situated on the Moldavian shore of the Dniester. Poland promised to destroy the Cossacks and halt their raids into the Black Sea region, to prevent private raids by Polish magnates into Moldavia and Wallachia, and to refuse to extend any help and support to George Homonnay and Radu Şerban, the former Wallachian hospodar. In return, the Tatar raids into Poland were to be stopped, provided that the king would send annual gifts to the khan.³

After the truce was concluded, Piotr Ożga was sent to Istanbul to receive a formal *ahdname*. This last document was granted in May 1619 by the new sultan, Osman II, and brought to Warsaw in September 1619.⁴ The royal ratification was issued in Warsaw on 2 December 1619 and taken to Istanbul by the new envoy, Samuel Otwinowski.⁵

The war of 1620–1621 and the pacification of 1621–1624

In November 1619 the diversion of the Polish *lisowczycy* in Slovakia forced the Ottoman protégé, Gábor Bethlen, to raise the siege of Vienna. Meanwhile, the resumption of Cossack raids in the Black Sea prompted the flight of Otwinowski in 1620, who escaped from Istanbul for fear of being imprisoned.⁶ This time, war seemed inevitable.

The same year, the Moldavian hospodar Casper Graţiani (Grazziani) rebelled against the Porte. In support, Stanisław Żółkiewski, pro-

² In Polish historiography the Treaty of Jaruga is alternatively called the Treaty of Busza (Ukr. Buša), after a nearby fort.

³ See Documents 31–32; on this pacification, see also Zdzisław Spieralski, *Awanturnicy moldawskie* (Warsaw, 1967), pp. 158–67; and the article by Dmytro Doroşenko and Jan Rypka, “Polsko, Ukrajina, Krym a Vysoká Porta v první pol. XVII stol.,” *Časopis Národního Musea* 110 (1936): 19–49, esp. pp. 25–27. The negotiations are described in detail in “Transakcyja Jaśnie Wielmożnego Stanisława Żółkiewskiego . . . z Skinder Baszą Hetmanem Cesarza Tureckiego . . .,” published in: *Zbiór pamiątek historycznych o dawney Polsce*, vol. 6 (Lwów, 1833), pp. 5–107; for further details, see also Part I (chapter 4).

⁴ See Document 33 and *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, p. 78. Two letters by Ożga to Hetman Żółkiewski, dated 26 April and 25 May 1619 and reporting his mission, have been published in: *Zbiór pamiątek historycznych*, vol. 6, pp. 290–95.

⁵ See Document 34.

⁶ Józef Tretiak, *Historia wojny chocimskiej (1621)* (Cracow, 1921), p. 31; *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, p. 79.

moted in 1618 to the post of Crown grand hetman, entered Moldavia at the head of his troops. Surrounded in the former camp of Zamoyski at Țuțora by the prevailing forces of Iskender Pasha, the Polish army was defeated on its retreat. Żółkiewski was killed in battle while numerous nobles and soldiers, including Żółkiewski's deputy, the newly appointed field hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, and the future Cossack leader, Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj, were taken prisoner.⁷

The Polish-Ottoman war of 1620 affected Habsburg-Ottoman relations, and the Protestant-Catholic confrontation in Europe as well. Deprived of Ottoman support, Gábor Bethlen was unable to join the protestant forces in the Battle of the White Mountain (Bílá Hora), fought on 8 November 1620. According to one Polish historian, the Catholic victory at White Mountain was made possible by the battle of Țuțora.⁸

The following year the entire Ottoman army under the command of the young sultan, Osman II, set out on campaign against "Lehistan." Faced with the absence of both Crown hetmans due to the death of Żółkiewski and the captivity of Koniecpolski, the diet appointed the Lithuanian grand hetman, Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, as head commander of the Polish-Lithuanian army. While the Ottomans were assisted by the Crimean khan, the Ukrainian Cossacks under Petro Konaševyč-Sahajdačnyj joined the army of Chodkiewicz.

In September 1621 the Polish-Lithuanian-Cossack army successfully resisted Ottoman assaults in a fortified camp constructed near Hotin. Even the death of Chodkiewicz on 24 September did not break the defence. Finally two envoys, Jakub Sobieski and Stanisław Żórawiński, were sent to the Ottoman camp. On 1 October they were received by the grand vizier, Dilaver Pasha. The lack of a professional interpreter seriously hampered the negotiations. Żórawiński spoke in Polish to a certain Simon, who repeated his words in Rumanian to the Wallachian hospodar, Radu Mihnea. Then, the hospodar translated these words into Turkish.

Work on the final version of the treaty lasted a few days. The text of the Polish document was ready on 7 October and then

⁷ For a detailed description of this campaign, see Ryszard Majewski, *Cecora. Rok 1620* (Warsaw, 1970); and the chapter titled, "Żółkiewski pod Cecorą," in: Pajewski, *Buńczuk i koncerz. Z dziejów wojen polsko-tureckich* (Warsaw, 1978), pp. 62–85.

⁸ Franciszek Suwara, *Przyczyny i skutki klęski cecorskiej 1620 r.* (Cracow, 1930), p. 133. Majewski disagrees with this thesis, see idem, *Cecora. Rok 1620*, p. 54.

translated into Turkish. Sobieski read it aloud to a certain Wallachian, who then translated it into Greek. Then a Greek interpreter translated it to a Turkish scribe, who prepared the Turkish copy. Finally, the documents were signed and exchanged on 9 October 1621. As can be seen from the final Turkish text, the Polish document, signed by the two envoys, was translated and inserted *in extenso* into the Ottoman document issued by Dilaver Pasha. Some important clauses were altered or appended in the Ottoman version, including the provision concerning the payment of a tribute (*pişkeş*) by the Polish king. In the Commonwealth, this article was never accepted and caused numerous misunderstandings in subsequent negotiations.⁹ In regard to the Polish demand that the Ottoman document be issued in the name of the sultan, the grand vizier replied that as the king was not present in the Polish camp, a formal *‘ahdname* could only be obtained later by a Polish ambassador.¹⁰

According to the treaty, Cossack raids into the Black Sea area as well as the incursions by Tatars and Moldavians into the Commonwealth were to be stopped. Poland was to cease interfering in Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and Hungary. Polish relations with the Crimean khans and the Moldavian hospodars were to remain as regulated in the previous treaties. Finally, commissioners for the two sides were to be appointed to undertake a demarcation of the borders. To obtain a formal *‘ahdname*, a royal ambassador was to be sent to Istanbul. Until his arrival, the royal secretary, Stanisław Suliszowski, was to remain at the imperial threshold and accompany the Ottoman army on its retreat.¹¹

⁹ See Documents 35–36. The consent of the Polish envoys for a tribute payment is also noted in a contemporary Ottoman chronicle, see Yaşar Yücel, ed., *II. Osman adına yazılmış Zafer-nâme* (Ankara, 1983), pp. XXI, XXXII, 181.

¹⁰ The best description of the negotiations is contained in the diary of Jakub Sobieski. Its fragment, covering the period between 25 September and 15 October 1621 and including the texts of the instruction given to the commissioners, the Polish document of truce, and the Polish translation of the Ottoman document is published in: Adam Naruszewicz, *Historia J. K. Chodkiewicza wojewody wileńskiego hetmana wielkiego W. Ks. Litewskiego*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1837), pp. 267–96. For the whole text of Sobieski's diary, see Żegota Pauli, ed., *Pamiętniki o wyprawie chocimskiej r. 1621 Jana hrabi z Ostroroga, Prokopa Zbigniewskiego, Stanisława Lubomirskiego i Jakóba Sobieskiego* (Cracow, 1853), pp. 105–182 and 33–36 (the Polish document of truce). See also Tretiak, *Historja wojny chocimskiej (1621)*, pp. 177–91; Pajewski, *Buńczuk i koncerz. Z dziejów wojen polsko-tureckich*, pp. 103–105; Leszek Podhorodecki and Noj Raszba, *Wojna chocimska 1621 roku* (Cracow, 1979), pp. 240–57.

¹¹ See Documents 35–36. In the Ottoman text an additional clause was entered,

Thanks to an unprecedented mobilization of troops and resources during this major Polish-Ottoman confrontation, the territorial integrity of the Commonwealth remained untouched, and the river Dniester (Tur. Turla) was reconfirmed as the border between the two states. In the same year (1621), however, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden took advantage of the Polish-Lithuanian engagement on the Ottoman border and conquered the Baltic city of Riga.

In 1622 Krzysztof Zbaraski was sent to the Porte as a great envoy.¹² Before his departure, news of the deposition and murder of Osman II reached Warsaw. Zbaraski finally made his departure from Poland in September 1622. The long negotiations with the new grand vizier, Gürcü Mehmed Pasha, proved fruitless. Only after the latter's dismissal was an agreement reached with his successor, Mere Huseyn Pasha. The ambassador was asked to present the previous *'ahdnames*, which he had prudently taken along with him from Poland. When the original *'ahdname* of Sultan Suleyman and the old letters of Sultan Bayezid were read in the presence of the Ottoman dignitary, the grand vizier was deeply moved and tears are reported to have appeared in his eyes.¹³ Zbaraski was even asked to lend these documents

providing that if any Polish fort had been built within Ottoman territory, it should be destroyed. From the Polish standpoint, this article was unnecessary, as no Polish fort had been built on the Ottoman lands. This problem was to reappear in the future negotiations of 1630s.

¹² On the embassy of Zbaraski, see Podhorodecki and Raszba, *Wojna chocimska 1621 roku*, pp. 272–303 and Victor Ostapchuk, "The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier and the Relations of the Porte with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy, 1622–1628" [hereafter, "The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier"]. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Harvard University, 1989, pp. 23–48. Two contemporary relations from this embassy were written by Zbaraski himself [published in: "Poselstwo Krzysztofa Xięcia Zbaraskiego do Turcyi w roku 1622," *Dziennik Wileński/Historia i literatura*, vol. 3 (1827): 3–27, 101–25, 237–73, 339–71] and by Samuel Twardowski ["Przeważna legacya . . . Krzysztofa Zbaraskiego," published in: Twardowski, *Poezye* (Cracow, 1861): 1–186]. Another relation from this embassy, written by the seventeenth-century historian, Samuel Kuszewicz, is based on the versified narration by Twardowski [see the Polish translation from the Latin original entitled "Poselstwo xięcia Zbaraskiego do Turek w r. 1622" and published in: *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawney Polsce*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1822): 300–340]. See also the treatise by Zbaraski entitled "Relation of the Rule of the Turkish Monarchy," published by Janusz Wojtasik, "Uwagi księcia Krzysztofa Zbaraskiego, posła wielkiego do Turcji z 1622 r.—O państwie otomańskim i jego siłach zbrojnych," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 7, pt. 1 (1961): 321–46.

¹³ "Solimanowe tam pacts czytano; pokazywałem jeszcze od Bajazeta starodawne listy, gesto mu się łzy puszczały, kiedy te listy tamtych Cesarzów czytano," see "Poselstwo Krzysztofa Xięcia Zbaraskiego do Turcyi w roku 1622," *Dziennik Wileński/Historia i literatura*, vol. 3 (1827), p. 346.

to the Ottoman chancery. For a special council (*müşavere*), convened a few days later to approve the peace, Zbaraski brought a whole bag of the old treaties, which he emptied in the presence of the grand vizier. Along with the document of Sultan Suleyman, the *'ahd-name* of Mehmed III from 1598, and the truce document from Hotin were read aloud before the council.¹⁴ Mere Huseyn Pasha stressed that the document of Sultan Suleyman had a much greater value than the *'ahdnames* of his successors, adding with a smile that the former sultan had "a clever beard."¹⁵ In February 1623 Zbaraski obtained the new *'ahdname*, issued in the name of Sultan Mustafa.¹⁶

The feeble-minded Mustafa I, Osman's uncle, did not remain on the Ottoman throne for long. With the accession in August 1623 of Osman's brother, Murad IV, the necessity once more arose of obtaining a new *'ahdname*. In addition, the contents of the document brought by Zbaraski were criticized in Poland as unsatisfactory.¹⁷ An Armenian interpreter, Krzysztof Serebkowicz, was consequently sent to the Ottoman capital in the same year.¹⁸ Though the new *'ahdname* was easily obtained in October 1623, its contents differed little from those of the previous treaty.¹⁹ Serebkowicz returned to Poland accompanied by the *çavuş*, Abdi, who—after receiving the royal confirmation

¹⁴ "Miałem nie małą torbę pakt, tamżem je wysypał przed nie, powiadając, iż te papiery mówić za mnie będą. . . . Rzekł potym, żeby pakta Solimanowe czytano: i tak je Kanclerz począł czytać, z wielkim podziwieniem wszystkich, bo oni mało co koło tego się rozumieją; potym czytano Herburtowe, a naostatek Chocińskie," see "Poselstwo Krzysztofa Xięcia Zbaraskiego do Turcyi w roku 1622," *Dziennik Wileński/Historia i literatura*, vol. 3 (1827), p. 348.

¹⁵ "Poselstwo Krzysztofa Xięcia Zbaraskiego do Turcyi w roku 1622," *Dziennik Wileński/Historia i literatura*, vol. 3 (1827), p. 352.

¹⁶ See Document 37.

¹⁷ General disappointment with the treaty brought by Zbaraski did not discourage Twardowski from glorifying the diplomatic talents of his patron. According to his versified relation, no pact has ever been seen in the Polish archives that would better protect the honor of the nation and of the crown: "*Pakta przywiózł, nie przeto ze złotem pisane/Ale jakie podobno nie były widziane/W polskim nigdy archiwne, tak zupełnie coby/Narodu i koronnej przestrzegły ozdoby*," see "Przeważna legacya . . . Krzysztofa Zbaraskiego," in: Twardowski, *Poezye*, p. 180.

¹⁸ According to the correspondence between the royal chancery and Serebkowicz the envoy was ordered to demand the cancellation of the article concerning Transylvania and the sentence stating that the peace was granted on the request of the Poles, see *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, p. 82.

¹⁹ See Document 38 and Abrahamowicz, *KDT*, p. 251. The most disputed article—that which forbade the king to help the emperor against Gabor Béthlen—was amended only to the extent that the Transylvanian prince was not mentioned by name in the new document.

of the treaty, dated 1 April 1624—returned to Istanbul with the new Polish envoy, Krzysztof Kielczewski.²⁰

The negotiations of 1630

The years following the campaign of Hotin proved that by signing a treaty neither the Ottoman nor the Polish authorities were able to put a stop to the raids of their Cossack and Tatar subjects. Even expeditions directed against the Cossacks by the Ottoman admiral, Hasan Pasha, did not pacify the Black Sea frontier.²¹

In 1628 the governor of Buda, Murtaza Pasha, was appointed governor of Silistra and Očakiv, and sent with his army to the frontiers of the Commonwealth in order to coordinate action with Hasan Pasha.²² In spring 1630 the two Ottoman commanders repeatedly urged the Polish grand hetman and the former captive from Țuțora, Stanisław Koniecpolski, to organize a common action against the Cossacks to preserve the Polish-Ottoman peace.²³ On 9 September 1630 an agreement, consisting of seven articles, was reached between Koniecpolski and Murtaza Pasha. According to this agreement, it was resolved that the Cossacks should be removed from their islands on the river Dnieper, the Tatar prisoners in Poland should be released, and the Ottoman and Polish troops gathered on the borders should be disbanded. In exchange for the customary gifts, the Tatars should be restrained from attacking the Commonwealth, and separate orders were to be issued to the Nogay chieftains Kantemir, Aytemir, and Orak Mirza and the inhabitants of Akkerman, so that they would not inflict damage on Poland. This issue was of special importance for Poland because most Tatar incursions of that period originated

²⁰ See Document 39; cf. Ostapchuk, "The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier," pp. 60–61; Abrahamowicz, *KDT*, p. 254; *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, p. 82.

²¹ The Ottoman-Cossack confrontation of the years 1623–1629 is described and analyzed in the article by Dorošenko and Rypka, "Polsko, Ukrajina, Krym a Vysoká Porta v první pol. XVII stol.," *Časopis Národního Musea* 110 (1936), pp. 32–46 and, more recently, in Berindei, "La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1 (1977), pp. 293–302 and Ostapchuk, "The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier."

²² The Ottoman province of Očakiv (Tur. Özü, the last term refers to the river Dnieper as well) was also called the province of Silistra, because its governor (*beylerbeyi*) usually resided in this Danubian town.

²³ For the correspondence of Murtaza Pasha and Hasan Pasha with Koniecpolski, see Abrahamowicz, *KDT*, pp. 260, 269–73.

in the region of Budjak and Akkerman, and were organized by these three *murzas*.²⁴

Simultaneously with the border negotiations, a royal envoy, Aleksander Piaseczyński, departed for Istanbul in the spring of 1630 for the purpose of obtaining a new *'ahdname*. At first Murtaza Pasha, who as the former governor of Buda was accustomed to dealing with foreign envoys, wanted to detain Piaseczyński and discuss all the matters in the name of the Porte, but he was persuaded that "he had to deal with the Poles and not the Hungarians" and that "the Polish envoys were always received in Constantinople."²⁵ Finally Piaseczyński was permitted to continue his journey and arrived at Istanbul.

In his response to the king, dated the third decade of Muharrem 1040 A.H. (30 August–8 September 1630), Sultan Murad stated that issuance of a new *'ahdname* was unnecessary, as the old one from 1623 was still valid, on condition that its articles were observed.²⁶

Instead, in the absence of the grand vizier, who was leading the Persian campaign, five articles specifying the conditions for the preservation of the peace were agreed on between Piaseczyński and the grand vizier's deputy, the *kaymakam* Redjeb Pasha. These articles were written down in a separate *temessük*. The conditions of peace were similar to those agreed on between Koniecpolski and Murtaza Pasha, with two notable additions: the third article stipulated that no Polish interference would be tolerated in Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and the first article expressed a proposal to remove the Tatars from Budjak to the Crimea in exchange for the removal of the Cossacks from the Dnieper islands. The articles were transcribed in the documents exchanged between Piaseczyński and Redjeb Pasha and repeated in the letters of Redjeb Pasha addressed to the king.²⁷

²⁴ See Document 40; cf. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 5, pp. 127–28; Dorošenko and Rypka, "Polsko, Ukrajina, Krym a Vysoká Porta v první pol. XVII stol.," *Časopis Národního Musea* 110 (1936), p. 47. The "articles" (*mevadd*) agreed on between Koniecpolski and Murtaza Pasha are mentioned in the latter's correspondence with the Crown chancellor, Jakub Zadzik, see Abrahamowicz, *KDT*, p. 279.

²⁵ See the relation from Piaseczyński's embassy in Adam Walaszek, ed., *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański w I połowie XVII w. (Muratowicz, Piaseczyński, Lubieniecki)* (Cracow, 1980): 49–88, esp. pp. 55 and 79.

²⁶ *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 82–83. For Murad's letter, see Abrahamowicz, *KDT*, pp. 274–75.

²⁷ See Document 41 and the letters of Redjeb Pasha to the king and Chancellor

Conflict and peace in 1632–1634

In 1632 Sigismund III died, after a reign of forty-five years. Though Poland-Lithuania was no longer a hereditary monarchy, his son, Ladislaus IV was easily elected to the throne. The interregnum was utilized by the czar as an opportunity to break the truce of Divilino (1619) and to besiege the fortress of Smolensk. In the same year the governor of Silistra, Murtaza Pasha, was replaced by Abaza Mehmed Pasha.²⁸ The new governor began his post on the Polish frontier by conducting the long-awaited demarcation, as required by the Truce of Hotin (1621), which was carried on by the deputies of both sides, probably in the late spring of 1633.²⁹ The situation on the Polish-Ottoman border was sharply deteriorating, however. Already in the spring of 1633, the Budjak Tatars led by Kantemir raided the southern provinces of the Commonwealth, and in October 1633 Abaza Mehmed Pasha crossed the Dniester and camped near the fortress of Kamieniec Podolski. As his forces were inadequate to besiege the fortress, he attacked the nearby camp of Polish troops headed by Hetman Koniecpolski. After an indecisive battle, the pasha returned to Moldavia.³⁰

The question of whether Abaza Mehmed Pasha was acting with the formal support of the Porte remains unresolved. While the idea of an alliance with Muscovy against the Commonwealth, advocated by Protestant participants of the Thirty Years' War, was popular in some circles on the Bosphorus, there were still many Ottoman officials who wished to preserve the peace. The capitulation of the Russian army at Smolensk in February 1634 and the Polish-Russian Peace of Polanovo, concluded in June 1634, sealed the fate of Abaza Mehmed. While he claimed to be a victor in the campaign of 1633 and even detained the Polish envoy, Aleksander Trzebiński, who was

Zadzik, *KDT*, pp. 275–78. On the procedure of negotiations, see Walaszek, ed., *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański w I połowie XVII w. (Muratowicz, Piaseczyński, Lubieniecki)*, pp. 80 and 83.

²⁸ See the letter of Abaza Mehmed Pasha to Chancellor Zadzik, sent in June 1632 from Nikopol, informing of his appointment to the governorship of Silistra, *KDT*, p. 280. His nickname—Abaza—referred to his Abkhazian origins.

²⁹ See Document 42. For the problem of the precise dating of this demarcation, see Part I (chapter 5).

³⁰ Five Turkish letters describing the events of October 1633 were intercepted by a Polish reconnaissance party and are preserved, see *KDT*, pp. 282–86. On the Polish-Ottoman war of 1633–1634, see Leszek Podhorodecki, "Wojna polsko-turecka 1633–1634 r.," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 20 (1976): 23–72.

sent to the Porte in spring 1634, the pasha was finally recalled and executed. The former governor of Silistra and Koniecpolski's partner in negotiations, Murtaza Pasha, was appointed anew commander (*serdar*) on the Polish border with the task of leading the negotiations.³¹ In his letters of April 1634, Murtaza Pasha notified the king and Chancellor Zadzik that his servant Shahin Agha had been sent to Poland with the returning envoy, Trzebiński.³²

By 19 August 1634, the conditions of peace had been negotiated between Shahin Agha and Hetman Koniecpolski. Shahin Agha confirmed that contrary to earlier charges circulating on the Bosphorus since 1621, no Polish forts had been constructed on Ottoman soil. As a free nation the Poles should not be required to pay a tribute, but instead they should send the customary gifts (*hedaya*) to the Crimean khan. The Tatars should be removed from Budjak, and no official post there should be awarded to Kantemir Pasha, Aytemir Murza, and the other *murzas*. Similar measures should be taken by the Polish authorities against the Dnieper Cossacks. Freedom of trade was guaranteed and the articles of the previous *'ahdnames* were reconfirmed. The last article, perhaps reflecting the personal experience of Shahin Agha from his travels in the Commonwealth, stated that Ottoman envoys should not be refused accommodation on the pretext that a given town or village was private rather than royal property. The negotiated articles were recorded in a special document (*temessük*), signed and sealed by Shahin Agha and given to the hetman.³³ On 8 September 1634 these conditions were officially confirmed by Murtaza Pasha. Another *temessük*, bearing the seal and signature (*pençe*) of Murtaza Pasha was sent to Koniecpolski.³⁴ In October 1634 the royal envoy, Jakub Zieliński, obtained a new *'ahdname* in Istanbul. Apart from the articles just negotiated by Koniecpolski and Shahin Agha, the document referred in form and content to the "classical" documents issued in the time of Sultan Suleyman, and not to the former *'ahdname* of Murad IV from 1623.³⁵

³¹ Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 5, pp. 175–79. For a detailed, though not always accurate biography of Murtaza Pasha, see Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 4, p. 360.

³² See *KDT*, pp. 289–91.

³³ See Document 43.

³⁴ See Document 44.

³⁵ See Document 45; cf. the commentary of Abrahamowicz in *KDT*, p. 298.

While the head Ottoman negotiator of 1634, Murtaza Pasha, died the following year as the governor of Erevan, his apprentice and client, Shahin Agha, was rewarded for his services with the post of agha of janissaries and, later on, with the title of pasha.³⁶

The new treaty was ratified by King Ladislaus in March 1635, and the royal document was given to *Çavuş* Feridun and Ali Agha, who had accompanied Zieliński to Warsaw.³⁷ On their return journey to Istanbul, the Ottoman functionaries were accompanied by the new Polish envoy, Aleksander Otwinowski.

The 'ahdname of 1640

In 1636 Jerzy Kruszyński was sent to Istanbul in order to settle minor matters.³⁸ The next embassy of Wojciech Miaskowski was delayed on account of the Persian-Ottoman war and Murad's absence from the Ottoman capital. When Miaskowski was finally to depart in February 1640, he learned of Murad's death. Consulting with the king and Hetman Koniecpolski, the ambassador was ordered to go ahead with his mission in order to receive an *'ahdname* from the new sultan, Ibrahim.³⁹

Miaskowski brought with him the *temessüks* issued by Shahin Agha and Murtaza Pasha and the previous *'ahdname* of 1634 and requested that the new one be issued in the same form.⁴⁰ Besides the grand vizier, a chief figure in the negotiations on the Ottoman side was

³⁶ For a short biography of Shahin Agha, see Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol. 3, p. 133. In a Polish relation from the embassy of 1640 the former negotiator Shahin Agha is referred to as the pasha of Bosnia; see Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, p. 86.

³⁷ The document is not preserved, but it is mentioned in the royal letter to Murad IV; see AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 32, fol. 487b.

³⁸ The diary of Kruszyński's embassy by Stanisław Oświęcim is published in: Klemens Kantecki, *Z podróży Oświęcima. Turcja-Francja-Niemcy-Włochy* (Lwów, 1875), pp. 1–54; see also *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, p. 109 (the envoy is erroneously called Krasieński) and Bartoszewicz, *Pogląd na stosunki Polski z Turcją i Tatarami, na dzieje Tatarów w Polsce osiadłych, na przywileje tu im nadane, jako też wspomnienia o znakomitych Tatarach polskich*, p. 139.

³⁹ Two relations from this embassy, by Miaskowski himself and by Zbigniew Lubieniecki, were published in: Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*; Lubieniecki's relation is also published in: Walaszek, ed., *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański w I połowie XVII w. (Muratowicz, Piaseczyński, Lubieniecki)*, pp. 89–139.

⁴⁰ I.e., Documents 43, 44, and 45; see Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, pp. 64 and 139.

the interpreter of Hungarian origin, Zulfikar Agha. During negotiations, the grand vizier, Kara Mustafa Kemankeş, accused the Commonwealth of constructing the new Dnieper fortress, Kudak, on Ottoman territory. Miaskowski replied that Kudak was built on the Polish side of the border to prevent Cossacks from further raids on Ottoman territory. Having no map at his disposal, he proved his arguments by tracing the Polish-Ottoman border in sand with a staff.⁴¹ Apart from raising various issues concerning their mutual relations, the Polish ambassador tried to intervene in favor of the Franciscan monks in Jerusalem, recently deprived of the keys to the Holy Sepulchre, which had been given to the Greeks. Like other ambassadors from the Catholic countries, he obtained only promises to investigate the matter.

To Miaskowski's great disappointment, the new *'ahdname*, dated to the third decade of Muharrem 1050 A.H. (13–22 May 1640), was based not on the document of 1634, but on the Murad's *'ahdname* of 1623.⁴² The article prohibiting any Polish involvement in Transylvania, which had irritated the Polish nobility in 1623 and was omitted in the document of 1634, was again inserted in the *'ahdname* of 1640. After Miaskowski's intervention, the grand vizier assured the ambassador of his good intentions, blaming the chancery clerks for the distortions in the text. As the time of departure was coming, the poor ambassador had to accept this explanation, in his frustration heaping blame on "the vizier, this illiterate idiot, who neither reads nor writes, but who governs the world."⁴³ Later on, in his official relation to the king and to the diet, Miaskowski repeatedly complained of the incompetence and unreliability of the Armenian interpreters.⁴⁴

After the new *'ahdname* was brought to Poland, the royal confirma-

⁴¹ Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, p. 64.

⁴² Cf. Documents 38, 45, and 46. Abrahamowicz correctly noticed that the document of 1640 was different from that of 1634, but he wrongly assumed that this document was based on the *'ahdname* of Mustafa I issued in February 1623 (see *KDT*, p. 313; for the *'ahdname* of Mustafa I, see Document 37); whereas in the *'ahdname* of 1640 direct reference can be found to the document issued previously by "Ghazi Sultan Murad Khan," see Document 46.

⁴³ *A sam wezyr idiota, litery nie zna, ani czyta, ani pisze, a światem rządzi*, see Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, p. 95.

⁴⁴ Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, pp. 84–95, 101.

tion was issued in Warsaw on 3 September 1640 and delivered to the Ottoman *çavuş*, Mehmed.⁴⁵

Not only the distant problem of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, but also the much closer matter of the Tatar raids into the border territories of the Commonwealth remained unresolved. Already by 1643 a new envoy, Mikołaj Bieganowski, was sent to Istanbul with official complaints.⁴⁶

Polish-Ottoman relations in the midseventeenth century

The years between 1648 and 1667 marked the most serious political crisis to convulse the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth up to that time. The Cossack uprising led by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, which erupted in 1648, had evolved by 1654 into a Polish-Russian war over Ukraine. The Swedish attack on the Commonwealth in 1655 also initiated the Second Northern War. In this situation, the position of the Porte proved to be critical in maintaining political equilibrium in Eastern Europe. While initially the Crimean Tatars and, consequently, the Porte gave support to the Cossacks in the hope of winning a new vassal on the northern shores of the Black Sea, Xmel'nyc'kyj's union with Russia of 1654 forced the Ottomans to change their policy.⁴⁷

The proHabsburg stance of Poland during the Thirty Years' War resulted in the Ottoman rapprochement with nonCatholic Sweden and Muscovy. While in the 1640s the Ottomans still recognized the claims of the Polish Vasas to the throne in Stockholm, addressing King Ladislaus IV as "the heir and the future king of Sweden,"⁴⁸

⁴⁵ See Document 47. *Çavuş* Mehmed was accompanied to the Ottoman capital by the Polish interpreter, Prandota Dzierżek, see *KDT*, p. 314.

⁴⁶ *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, p. 110.

⁴⁷ On the Ottoman-Cossack relations in 1648–1653, see Jan Rypka, "Aus der Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bogdan Chmelnicki," in: *Ž dejin Východní Evropy a Slovanstva. Sborník venovaný Jaroslavu Bidlovi* (Prague, 1928): 482–98; idem, "Weitere Beiträge zur Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmel'nyčkyj," *Archiv Orientální* 2 (1930): 262–83; Omeljan Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch—ukrainische Bündnis (1648)," *Oriens* 6 (1953): 266–98; Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, "Comments on Three Letters by Khan Islam Geryy III to the Porte (1651)," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 14 (1990): 132–43; Omeljan Pritsak, "Šče raz pro sojuz Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho z Tureččynoju," *Ukrajins'kyj Arxeohrafičnyj Ščoričnyk* (new series) 2 (1993): 177–92. For the period 1654–1657, see Gennadij Sanin, *Otnošenija Rossii i Ukrainy s Krymskim xanstvom v seredine XVII veka* (Moscow, 1987) and Jaroslav Fedoruk, *Mižnarodna dyplomatijska i polityka Ukrainy 1654–1657*, pt. 1: *1654 rik* (L'viv, 1996).

⁴⁸ "Tysecya vilayetinin varisi ve kralı olacak," see Document 46.

Sweden gradually gained a privileged position in Istanbul next to the other Protestant states, England and the Netherlands. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Polish appeal for assistance against Sweden, Muscovy, and the Cossacks brought to Istanbul in the spring of 1656 by Wojciech Bieniewski was met with a cool response.⁴⁹

A Polish-Crimean alliance had been formed without Ottoman consent already in 1654. The prolonged war against Venice and the internal struggle for custody over Sultan Mehmed IV, who was in his minority, prevented the Porte from any greater engagement in Eastern Europe. For their part, the Tatars decided to come to the aid of the weakened Commonwealth against her enemies. Both the autocratic Muscovy and the absolutist and militarized Sweden were considered in the Crimea to pose a much greater threat as potential neighbors than the Commonwealth.⁵⁰

The accession of Mehmed Köprülü to the grand vizierate in September 1656 brought a significant change in Ottoman foreign policy and the direct military involvement of the Porte in the Second Northern War.⁵¹ After the Transylvanian prince, George Rákóczi II, rebelled against the Porte and concluded an anti-Polish alliance with Sweden in December 1656, the governor of Očakiv, Melek Ahmed Pasha, was ordered to march into Poland with his troops and the Crimean army to assist the Polish king against his enemies. The immediate Polish-Crimean victory over Rákóczi led to the decision that the involvement of the Ottoman troops was no longer necessary.⁵²

In 1658 Sebastian Machowski was sent to Istanbul with the official acknowledgment of gratitude for Ottoman help against Rákóczi.⁵³ In 1660 the Commonwealth concluded the Peace of Oliva with Swe-

⁴⁹ For this embassy, see Ludwik Kubala, *Wojna szwedzka w roku 1655 i 1656 (szkiców historycznych serya IV)* (Lwów, [1914]), pp. 305, 482–83.

⁵⁰ On the Polish-Crimean alliance, see *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 198–99; Bogdan Baranowski, “Tatarszczyzna wobec wojny polsko-szwedzkiej w latach 1655–1660,” in: *Polska w okresie drugiej wojny północnej 1655–1660*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1957): 453–89, esp. pp. 468–71; Leszek Podhorodecki, *Chanat krymski i jego stosunki z Polską w XV–XVIII w.* (Warsaw, 1987), pp. 187–209.

⁵¹ For a recent English monograph on this war, see Robert Frost, *After the Deluge. Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War 1655–1660* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁵² Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 5 (Istanbul, 1315/1897), pp. 103 and 126. On the Ottoman reaction to Rákóczi’s defeat, see the letter of the Polish envoy, Mariusz Jaskólski, from Istanbul, dated 18 August 1657 and published in: Kubala, *Wojna brandenburska i najazd Rakoczego w roku 1656 i 1657 (szkiców historycznych serya V)* (Lwów, [1917]), pp. 433–35.

⁵³ *KDT*, pp. 340–43.

den, and in 1667 the Polish-Russian war was ended by the Truce of Andrusovo. According to the truce, Smolensk was ceded to the tzar, and Ukraine was divided between Poland and Russia along the Dnieper.

While both new rulers—Mehmed IV and John Casimir of Poland—had ascended their thrones in 1648, a formal Polish embassy was sent only in 1667 to the Porte to renew the peace concluded twenty-seven years earlier between Mehmed's father, Ibrahim, and John Casimir's brother, Ladislaus IV.

The 'ahdname of 1667

News of the Truce of Andrusovo was received in Istanbul with anxiety. The Porte feared the possible alliance of Warsaw and Moscow against herself, or at least against her Crimean vassal.⁵⁴ To appease these fears, the great embassy of Hieronim Radziejowski was sent to the Porte. The magnate, infamous for his treason during the Swedish war of 1655–1660, had recently been pardoned by the king and offered a chance for rehabilitation. Because the grand vizier, Ahmed Köprülü, was absent from Istanbul and commanding the Ottoman troops in the siege of Candia, negotiations were carried out with the *kaymakam*, Kara Mustafa Pasha, which took place not in Istanbul, but in the favorite seat of Mehmed IV, Edirne. Radziejowski's position was uneasy from the very outset, as the Porte formally demanded that the Commonwealth annul its peace with Russia and attempted to pressure and even humiliate the ambassador. At a certain point the proud magnate was forced to leave his lodging and move to a simple caravanserai. In August 1667 he fell ill and died. After the negotiations were resumed by the embassy's secretary, Franciszek Wysocki, the new *'ahdname* was granted with surprising ease within a few days. The document, bearing for the first time in Ottoman-Polish relations the form of an imperial diploma (*nişan*), repeated the articles of the *'ahdname* granted in 1640. Apparently, the Porte, still engaged in the Venetian war over Crete, was unwilling to start a new war.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ On Polish-Russian relations between 1667 and 1672, see the monograph by Zbigniew Wójcik, *Miedzy traktatem andruszowskim a wojną turecką. Stosunki polsko-rosyjskie 1667–1672* (Warsaw, 1968).

⁵⁵ See Document 48. On Radziejowski's mission, see Leopold Hubert, "Zatargi

The Ottoman conquest of Podolia and the Treaty of Buczacz (1672)

While signing the Truce of Andrusovo, the Commonwealth and Muscovy consciously disregarded the third party concerned, the Ukrainian Cossacks, whose territory they were dividing. After almost crushing the Commonwealth in 1648, drawing Russia into the war, and then steering a course between Poland, Russia, Sweden, and the Ottoman state, the Cossacks had been striving for twenty years to gain as much independence as possible. Now, both Warsaw and Moscow, having attained a respite from external problems, hoped to pacify their respective parts of Ukraine. These plans, however, were thwarted by the Cossack leader Hetman Petro Dorošenko. Disillusioned with both the Commonwealth and Muscovy, Dorošenko sent envoys to Bahçesaray and Istanbul, offering to accept the sultan's suzerainty in return for Ottoman protection and military assistance.⁵⁶

The idea was not entirely novel, since Hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj himself had striven to win Ottoman support during the Cossack-Polish war of 1648–1651. The meagre results of those efforts were due mainly to the cautious politics of the Porte. This time however, the Ottomans decided to move into the Eastern European sphere. While the war over Ukraine between the Commonwealth and Muscovy caused a temporary suspension of Cossack activity in the Black Sea, the possibility of its resumption must have worried Ottoman statesmen. As late as 1676 the Venetian *bailo* in Istanbul, Giacomo Quirini stressed the strategic importance of the Black Sea and cited events in the past when because the galleys saw action on the Black Sea against the Cossacks they could not be used against the Venetians in the Mediterranean.⁵⁷ After the 1667 truce between Moscow and Warsaw, it was likely that both sides would try to channel the energy

z Turcyą w 1667 roku i poselstwo Hieronima Radziejowskiego,” in: *Pamiętniki Historyczne*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1861): 89–151; Adam Kersten, *Hieronim Radziejowski. Studium władzy i opozycji* (Warsaw, 1988), pp. 572–96. The fragments of Wysocki's relation from this embassy are published in: Adam Przyboś and Roman Zelewski, eds., *Dyplomaci w dawnych czasach. Relacje staropolskie z XVI–XVIII stulecia* (Cracow, 1959), pp. 319–36.

⁵⁶ On Petro Dorošenko, see Dmytro Dorošenko, *Het'man Petro Dorošenko. Ohljad joho žyttja i polityčnoji dijaľ'nosti*. Edited by V. Omel'čenko (New York, 1985).

⁵⁷ “Da questo mar Nero dipende la difesa e la conservazione del mar Bianco,” see Nicolò Barozzi and Guglielmo Berchet, eds., *Le Relazioni degli stati Europei lette al senato dagli ambasciatori Veneziani nel secolo decimosettimo*, serie V: *Turchia*, pt. 2 (Venice, 1871), p. 168.

of the “unemployed” Cossacks by encouraging them to resume their raids on the Black Sea.

The Ottomans thus found themselves in a delicate position. Their traditional policy in Eastern Europe was based on maintaining an equilibrium between the main northern rivals, Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy. At that moment they seem to have made a desperate decision to prevent future Cossack attacks, even at the expense of further weakening the Commonwealth in the face of Russia. While the direct destruction of the Cossacks appeared unattainable, taking them under protection and directing their attacks northward seemed a feasible course. The main initiator of this policy was the *kaymakam*, Kara Mustafa Pasha, who directed state affairs in Istanbul while Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü was still involved in the conquest of Crete. As early as 1668, Kara Mustafa had warned the Polish king against violating the freedom of the Cossacks, who had asked the Ottoman sultan for protection.⁵⁸

To control the Cossacks, however, a regional stronghold ruled directly from Istanbul was requisite. In 1670, a Polish emissary warned the king of the impending Turkish capture of the fortress of Kamieniec Podolski.⁵⁹ The location of Kamieniec in the province of Podolia endowed it with immense strategical importance for securing Ottoman rule not only over Ukraine, but also Moldavia. According to Metin Kunt, a parallel role was played by the new Ottoman provinces of Yanova (Rum. Ineu) and Varad (Rum. Oradea) in relation to Transylvania.⁶⁰ In times of crisis and the unreliable allegiance to the Porte of Transylvania and the Danubian principalities—Moldavia and Wallachia—such bulwarks were indispensable. Seizing Podolia would also enable the Ottomans to strengthen their control over the Crimean khanate. Two main Tatar attack routes into the Commonwealth territories, the Volos’kyj (Pol. Wołoski) and Kučmans’kyj (Pol. Kuczmański < Tur. Göçmen yolu) trails ran across this province.

⁵⁸ Kara Mustafa’s letter to the Polish king dated 15 March 1668 is preserved in AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 76, t. 452, no. 758; see also the relation by Giacomo Quirini in: Barozzi and Berchet, eds., *Le Relazioni degli stati Europei lette al senato dagli ambasciatori Veneziani nel secolo decimosettimo*, serie V: *Turchia*, pt. 2, p. 356 and the article by Colin Heywood, “Kara Mustafa Pasha,” *EI*², vol. 4 (Leiden, 1973): 589–92.

⁵⁹ *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 2: *Acta Joannis Sobieski*, vol. 1, pt. 1. Edited by F. Kluczycki (Cracow, 1880), pp. 609–610.

⁶⁰ Metin Kunt, “17.yüzyılda Osmanlı kuzey politikası üzerine bir yorum,” *Bogaziçi Üniversitesi dergisi. Beşeri Bilimler-Humanities* 4–5 (1976–1977): 111–16.

To these strategic reasons, one can add a few more classic explanations of the Ottoman attack against the Commonwealth: the necessity of maintaining discipline in the army by means of frequent campaigns and the eagerness of Sultan Mehmed IV (who had never taken part in a campaign personally) to become a Muslim ghazi at the expense of a weak neighbor.

On 6 September 1669, the Venetians signed articles of capitulation at Candia, marking the successful conclusion of the long, twenty-five year Ottoman campaign to conquer the island of Crete. Three months earlier, the Ukrainian hetman Petro Dorošenko was accepted as a vassal by the Ottoman Porte and granted a diploma, horse-tail, tambour, and banner—symbols of imperial investiture.⁶¹ In 1670 the Commonwealth broke relations with Dorošenko and in 1671 the Crown grand hetman Jan Sobieski invaded Cossack Ukraine. In October 1671 the sultan warned the Polish king against attacking the Cossacks, and Halil Pasha, the governor of Očakiv, was sent to aid Dorošenko. Preparations for the war began. In his last letter to the Crown vice-chancellor, Jędrzej Olszowski, Ahmed Köprülü reiterated the reasons for the war: “You claim Ukraine as your hereditary property. In fact, the only real owner of all things is [God] the Highest Lord of the two Worlds.” Then the argument was put forward that the Cossacks, as a free people, had once accepted the king’s patronage on condition that he respect their rights. The king had broken the agreement and for the past twenty years he no longer possessed the status of the legal ruler of Ukraine.⁶² Continuing, the grand vizier stated that every nation may ask for the padishah’s protection, as had the Cossacks, and that the padishah does not reject such requests.⁶³ The Polish counterargument that every ruler has the right to suppress his rebellious subjects was in vain.

⁶¹ The original diploma granted to Dorošenko by the sultan is dated to the first decade of Muharrem 1080 (1–10 June 1669); RGADA, fond 89, opis 2, no. 36. A contemporary Russian translation of this diploma is published in: *Akty otnosjaščiesja k istorii Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii*, vol. 12 (St. Petersburg, 1882), pp. 755–59; see also *Silahdar tarihi*, vol. 1, p. 565. For the significance of the horse-tail, tambour, and banner, see Zdzisław Zygmunt, *Ottoman Art in the Service of the Empire* (New York, 1992).

⁶² This rationale was clearly borrowed from the Cossack envoys to Istanbul, since it does not reflect the traditional Ottoman concepts of relations between ruler and subjects.

⁶³ Letter quoted in the chronicle of *Silahdar* (*Silahdar tarihi*, vol. 1, pp. 569–72); a copy of a contemporary Polish translation in AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, dz. II, ks. 22, pp. 819–21.

The Commonwealth was completely unprepared for the war. Jan Sobieski, head of the “French faction,” was in a sharp conflict with the newly elected proHabsburg king Michał Wiśniowiecki (1669–1673). Sobieski warned of the danger and asked for money to raise an army, but his opponents claimed that such an army could overthrow the king, and that the Turks were only a pretext. In a final effort to save the peace Franciszek Wysocki, the secretary of Radziejowski’s mission of 1667, was again sent to the Porte in January 1670. Wysocki carried an official royal document, confirming the conditions of the *‘ahdname* granted to John Casimir in 1667.⁶⁴ This document was not accepted by the Porte, however. Wysocki’s sharp conflict with the Ottoman dragoman, Nicussios Panaiotti, made the situation even worse. When in March 1672 Wysocki was released without letters, the Ottoman army was already prepared for the campaign.⁶⁵

The Ottoman army departed Edirne on 4 June 1672 and reached Kamieniec on 18 August. After being subjected to nine days of heavy bombardment, the Poles decided to surrender. On the following Friday, 2 September, Mehmed IV celebrated the *cuma namazı* (Friday congregational prayers) in the former Catholic cathedral. The aforementioned governor of Očakiv, Halil Pasha, became the first governor (*beylerbeyi*) of the new province (*eyalet*).⁶⁶

While the Muslim army continued its march toward Lwów, the Porte seemed to be satisfied with the conquest of Kamieniec. The Polish commissioners, Jan Franciszek Lubowicki, Gabriel Silnicki, and Jan Szumowski, were received in the Ottoman camp near the town of Bučač (Pol. Buczacz). After negotiations with the *kaymakam* and third vizier, Kara Mustafa Pasha, the peace was concluded. While the Latin document was signed by the Polish commissioners on 16 October 1672, the Ottoman *temessük* was provided with the seal and *pençe* of the grand vizier Ahmed Köprülü on 18 October and given to the commissioners the following day.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ See Document 49. For a discussion of this document, see Part I (chapter 6).

⁶⁵ On Wysocki’s mission, see Ilona Czamańska, “Czy wojna z Turcją w 1672 roku była nieunikniona? Poselstwo Franciszka Kazimierza Wysockiego do Turcji w latach 1670–1672,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 92 (1985): 769–90; see also Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet Kamieniecki 1672–1699* (Warsaw, 1994), p. 53.

⁶⁶ Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet Kamieniecki 1672–1699*, pp. 56–60; on the Polish defence of Kamieniec, see Janusz Woliński, “Oblężenie Kamieńca w 1672 roku,” in: *Ż dziejów wojen polsko-tureckich* (Warsaw, 1983): 21–50.

⁶⁷ See Documents 50–51; for the commissioners’ relation, see “Diaryusz Legacyi

According to the treaty the province of Podolia was ceded to the Ottoman empire; Cossack Ukraine under Doroženko maintained autonomy under Ottoman protection; and the Lipka Tatars, who had settled in Lithuania in the fifteenth century, and recently rebelled against the Commonwealth, were to be allowed to emigrate to Ottoman lands with their families and property. The most humiliating article required that the Commonwealth pay a yearly tribute to the sultan, though the word *harac* was mercifully replaced by *pişkeş*. Nevertheless, the Polish king legally became an Ottoman vassal.

Five days later the *temessük* issued by the grand vizier was confirmed by the formal '*ahdname* of Sultan Mehmed IV, which was composed in the form of a *nişan*. The document, containing the four articles of the *temessük* and all the clauses of the previous '*ahdname* of 1667, was dated 23 October 1672 and granted to the aforementioned Polish commissioners.⁶⁸

The resumption of war and the Truce of Żurawno (1676)

The defeat of 1672 caused a temporary general reconciliation among the opposing political parties in the Commonwealth. The diet rejected the Treaty of Buczacz and voted new taxes. The army was increased to over fifty thousand men and, as a result, in November 1673 Sobieski was able to defeat the army of Huseyn Pasha at Hotin. This victory brought him the Polish crown after the death of King Michał.

After the inconclusive campaigns of 1674 and 1675, in September 1676 the new Ottoman commander (*ser'asker*), Şeytan Ibrahim Pasha, besieged the royal army enclosed in the fortified camp at Żurawno (Pol. Żurawno). As both sides were ready for negotiations, six Polish commissioners were sent to the Ottoman camp.⁶⁹ Initially the Commonwealth wanted to regain as much Podolian and Ukrainian ter-

Ichmć PPw Wołyńskiego i Czernichowskiego Kasztellanów y Je°mć Pa Jana Szomowskiego, Podskarbiego Nadwornego Koronnego, Commisarzów do traktatu pokoju z Portą Otomańską wyprawionych in Anno 1672" in: *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 2: *Acta Joannis Sobieski*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 1099–1119.

⁶⁸ See Document 52.

⁶⁹ The commissioners were Prince Konstanty Wiśniowiecki, Jerzy Wielhorski, Tomasz Karczewski, Franciszek Kobylecki, Stanisław Dąbrowski, and Jan Telefus. The seventh commissioner, Jan Karwowski, had been previously sent to the Moldavian hospodar and thus was present in the Ottoman camp.

ritory as possible, while the Ottomans hoped for a future common action against Muscovy. The final conditions, negotiated on 14 October, confirmed the Treaty of Buczacz with only two notable exceptions—the tribute was abolished and two Ukrainian castles, Bila Cerkva and Pavoloč (Pol. Biała Cerkiew and Pawołocz), were left to the Poles. The Polish document written in Latin was issued on 15 October but, as several differences between the Polish version and the Ottoman draft were found, the *temessüks* were exchanged on 17 October.⁷⁰

The Truce of Żurawno had to be confirmed in a formal *‘ahdname*, granted by the sultan. Şeytan Ibrahim Pasha led the Polish commissioners to believe that their ambassador in Istanbul would obtain much better peace conditions than those agreed at Żurawno. Immediately after signing the truce, Andrzej Modrzejewski was appointed “small envoy” (*internuntius*) and accompanied the Ottoman army to Istanbul, charged with the task of dealing with the Ottoman authorities until the arrival of the great Polish embassy.

The ‘ahdname of 1678 and the Ottoman-Russian war over Ukraine

It is a great irony that Sobieski spent almost his entire reign in war against the Ottomans, as he was one of the few statesmen to realize the importance of a Baltic policy for the Commonwealth and the gravity of the threat posed by its former tributary, Hohenzollern Prussia, which had gained independence in 1657. The new king hoped that after signing the new treaty the Commonwealth would be able to attack Brandenburg-Prussia, in accordance with a secret alliance with Louis XIV.⁷¹

To the great embassy to Constantinople, Sobieski appointed his confident and ally, the palatine of Chełmno (Germ. Kulm), Jan Gniński. The embassy left Warsaw in May 1677. Contrary to expectations, the mission of Gniński proved to be very difficult. The new

⁷⁰ See Documents 53–54. The Ottoman *temessük* is erroneously dated the second decade of Shaban (19–28 October). The commissioners’ relation on the negotiations and their instruction is published in: Janusz Woliński, “Materiały do rokowań polsko-tureckich r. 1676,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 29 (1930–1931): 382–413; see also Zbigniew Wójcik, *Rzeczpospolita wobec Turcji i Rosji 1674–1679* (Wrocław, 1976), pp. 67–75.

⁷¹ On the East European policy of Louis XIV, see Jean Béranger, “Louis XIV, l’Empereur et l’Europe de l’Est,” *XVII^e siècle. Revue publiée par la Société d’Étude du XVII^e siècle* 31 (1979): 173–94.

grand vizier, Kara Mustafa Pasha, was notorious for his crude manners toward European envoys and his treatment of Gniński was long remembered in Poland. The oral promises given by Şeytan Ibrahim Pasha at Žuravno lost their weight, as the latter fell in disgrace after the failure of the Muscovian campaign of 1677. The new treaty, granted finally in April 1678, was in fact a confirmation of the Treaty of Buczacz, with the exclusion of tribute and the concession of Bila Cerква and Pavoloč left in Polish hands. Several minor articles took into account Polish requests concerning the Ottoman province of Podolia. The inhabitants of Kamieniec and other Podolian localities were allowed to return to their homes. Nobles were allowed to collect their own taxes and to pay them in lump sum. The Catholic community in Podolia should enjoy freedom of worship, and at least one Catholic church in every *sancak* center was to be restored. The border of Ottoman Podolia was to be set by the commissioners of both sides. Finally, the Lipka Tatars, who were fluent in Polish and Ruthenian, knew the country, and were notorious for their raids into their former homeland after the emigration to the Ottoman domains, were not allowed to settle in Podolia.⁷² A few more “exotic” articles were added as well, providing for free trade in the Mediterranean by the ships of the royal city of Danzig (Pol. Gdańsk) and their protection from the Muslim corsairs of the Barbary Coast. In regard to the conflict over the Holy Sepulchre, which had been granted to the Greeks in the first half of the seventeenth century, the Porte confirmed the traditional rights of the Franciscan monks in Jerusalem, but the Polish and Ottoman interpretation of this article differed substantially. Contrary to Polish expectations, the Holy Sepulchre was never restored to the Catholics.⁷³

⁷² On Ottoman rule in Podolia, see my aforementioned monograph *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet Kamieniecki 1672–1699* (Warsaw, 1994).

⁷³ See Document 55. Gniński’s report on his mission was read in the diet in 1679. It is published, along with the diary and the collection of letters, in the monumental volume edited by Franciszek Pułaski, *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego wojewody chełmińskiego do Turcji w latach 1677–1678* [hereafter, *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego*] (Warsaw, 1907). On this embassy, see also Demetrius Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1734–1735), pp. 283–87; Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 6, pp. 340–41; and especially Wójcik, *Rzeczpospolita wobec Turcji i Rosji 1674–1679*, pp. 93–142. The Latin document published by Hammer as “Pohlischer Friedensvertrag vom Jahre 1678” is in fact the text of the Polish *temessük* of Žuravno (see Document 53), confirmed by Gniński with his own signature on 6 March 1678 and presented to the Porte, see Hammer, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, pp. 726–29.

By the time Gniński returned from Istanbul in 1678, it was too late to attack Prussia. In the same year, the Treaty of Nijmegen was signed and Louis XIV was no longer interested in an alliance with Warsaw.

Sobieski was not the only one to be disappointed with Ottoman policy. The year 1676 marked the end of the political career of Petro Dorošenko. The Ukrainian hetman accepted the sultan's suzerainty in the hope that the Ottomans would help him expel the Russian garrison from Kiev and restore his rule over Left-Bank Ukraine, held by the proMuscovite hetman Ivan Samojlovych. But, the Ottomans were not eager to wage war against Russia. Rather, they strengthened their control over Podolia and tried to garrison their troops in Ukrainian towns. The Poles still held the important Ukrainian fortress of Bila Cerkva. In time, this led to popular discontent with the proOttoman policy of the hetman. In 1674 the Ottomans had to help Dorošenko quash his own rioting subjects, who were assisted by the Russians. The massacre in Uman' (Pol. Humań) ordered by Kara Mustafa did not serve Ottoman popularity well in Ukraine. In the end, the disillusioned hetman tendered the insignia he had obtained from the sultan to Moscow and was granted asylum by the tsar. One of the most gifted Ukrainian leaders of the seventeenth century, Dorošenko, who had started his career under Xmel'nyc'kyj, left the country falling further into "ruin."⁷⁴ Ukraine now ceased to exist as a significant independent political center until its reemergence under Ivan Mazepa at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The Ottomans replaced Dorošenko with Jurko, the son of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, who had been released for this purpose from the Istanbul prison of Yedikule.⁷⁵ The new hetman, whose stature was no match as a statesman for either his father or Dorošenko, was treated with contempt by the Ottomans, and often by his own subjects as well.⁷⁶ The position of the new hetman was in no manner

⁷⁴ "The Ruin" (Ukr. *Rujina*) is a historical term coined by Ukrainian historiography to refer to the period between the death of Xmel'nyc'kyj (1657) and the end of the seventeenth century.

⁷⁵ See the letter dated 26 Zilkade 1087 (30 January 1677) from Kara Mustafa to the *kaymakam*, Osman Pasha, ordering him to find the "giaour, being the former Cossack hetman" (*sabkan Kazak hetmanı olub . . . bir kafır*) and if alive, to send him immediately to Edirne; in: Franz Babinger, ed., *Das Archiv des Bosniaken Osman Pascha. Nach den Beständen der Badischen Landesbibliothek zu Karlsruhe* (Berlin, 1931), p. 47.

⁷⁶ See Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński, *Ostatni Chmielnuczenko* (Poznań, 1919), pp. 133–39.

comparable to that of Dorošenko. For his entire tenure as hetman, Jurko Xmel'nyč'kyj was subject to control by the Ottoman governor of Kamieniec and the Ottoman garrisons stationed in almost every important Ukrainian town. Deposed in 1681, Xmel'nyč'kyj was shortly reinstalled as Ukrainian hetman in 1685 and finally executed in Kamieniec.⁷⁷

The effort to regain control over Right-Bank Ukraine and to install Jurko Xmel'nyč'kyj as hetman led the Ottomans to war with Russia. After an unsuccessful campaign in 1677, the Ottomans expelled in 1678 the Russian garrison from Čyhyryn, the traditional seat of the Ukrainian hetmans. The war was concluded with the twenty-year Truce of Bahčesaray, concluded in January 1681, confirmed one month later by the grand vizier and, finally, the official *'ahdname* granted by Mehmed IV in April 1682. This was the first formal treaty between the Ottomans and Muscovy. The treaty divided Ukraine along the Dnieper river, with Kiev left in Russian hands.⁷⁸ The Ottomans granted their part of Ukraine to the Moldavian hospodar George Duca, who during two successive years of peace was quite successful in restoring the economy of the province.⁷⁹

The Polish-Ottoman demarcation of 1680

It was not till two years later that the Polish-Ottoman demarcation set forth in the *'ahdname* of 1678, was carried out. There are several reasons for this delay. The Ottomans were engaged in the second Čyhyryn campaign of 1678, and detained Gniński until the Poles evacuated their garrisons in Bar, Medżybiż, Kal'nyk, and Nemyriv in September 1678. In 1679 the new treaty was ratified by the diet. Only in July 1680 Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa notified the Polish

⁷⁷ Samujil Velyčko, *Letopys sobytij v JugozaPADnoj Rossii*, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1851), p. 549; Dr. Antoni J. [Rolle], *Opowiadania historyczne*, pt. 1 (Lwów, 1878), p. 115.

⁷⁸ See Moscow, RGADA, fond 89, opis 3, no 2-3 (a copy of the *'ahdname* is also published in: Feridun Bey, *Münşe'atü's-Selatin*, vol. 2, pp. 396-99); N.A. Smirnov, *Rossija i Turcija v XVI-XVII vv.*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1946), pp. 165-67; Christa Hilbert, "Osteuropa 1648-1681 bei den zeitgenössischen osmanischen Historikern (Ukraine-Polen-Moskau)." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Göttingen, 1948, pp. 94-96.

⁷⁹ See the letter by Samuel Proski, the Polish resident in Istanbul, in: Ambroży Grabowski, ed., *Starożytności historyczne polskie*, vol. 2 (Cracow, 1840), p. 526. Velyčko quotes a letter from Duca to Samojlovič, in which the former accused the hetman of the Left-Bank Ukraine of arresting the peasants who wanted to cross the Dnieper and settle on the Right Bank (*Letopys sobytij v JugozaPADnoj Rossii*, vol. 2, pp. 528-29).

king that the Ottoman commissioners were ready to start the demarcation and requested that royal delegates be appointed.⁸⁰ The chief commissioner on the Ottoman side was the governor of Očakiv and the chief commander (*ser'asker*) on the northern front after Şeytan Ibrahim's failure, Kör Huseyn Pasha. The second high official appointed to the demarcation was the governor of Kamieniec, Defterdar Ahmed Pasha, who did not take part in negotiations personally but who controlled them from his seat in Kamieniec. From the Polish side a leading role was played by two men, the castellan of Braclaw, Colonel Jerzy Wielhorski, and the standard-bearer (*chorąży*) of Sanok, Colonel Tomasz Karczewski. These were the same men who had affixed their signatures for the Commonwealth on the Truce of Żurawno in 1676. On 14 October 1680 a Polish copy of the protocol of demarcation was signed and delivered to Kamieniec by the deputies Siekierzyński, Sławiński, and the interpreter Spendowski. After a few days they returned with the Ottoman copy, dated to the third decade of Ramadan 1091 (15–24 October 1680).⁸¹

The great war of 1683–1699, the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) and its confirmation

The following two succeeding years (1681–1683) marked a period of peace unique in seventeenth-century Eastern Europe. Kara Mustafa, however, had already begun preparations for another great campaign against the Habsburgs. On the part of the Commonwealth as well the peace with the Ottomans was considered temporary. Though the peace of 1678 concluded by Gniński was accepted by the diet, it had provoked feelings of humiliation and being under threat. The border of Ottoman Podolia was only one hundred kilometers from Lwów, and Ottoman Slovakia was only two hundred kilometers from Cracow. There was another factor in the internal policy of the Commonwealth which, combined with Catholic propaganda, compelled the king to join the Habsburgs in 1683. Nobles from the lost territories preserved their provincial dietines and their seats in the

⁸⁰ Kara Mustafa's letter dated the second decade of Djumada II 1091 (9–18 July 1680), AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur, k. 77, t. 480, no. 804–806 (Turkish original, Latin copy, Polish translation).

⁸¹ See Documents 56–57; for more details on this demarcation, see Part I (chapter 5).

diet. With their famous right of *liberum veto*, these men could paralyze every legislative or fiscal decision. Every diet held in the second half of the seventeenth century began with the reassurance that the so-called *exulantes* would regain their provinces. In short, all external and internal factors inexorably led Sobieski to Vienna in 1683.⁸²

Despite the impressive allied victory of 1683 and the formation of the Holy League in 1684, the Poles were unable to regain the fortress of Kamieniec until the Treaty of Karlowitz. Two Polish expeditions to Moldavia (in 1686 and 1691) had also proved fruitless. In order to secure the czar's participation in the Holy League, a permanent peace with Muscovy, containing the Polish relinquishing of Kiev, was signed in 1686 by Ambassador Krzysztof Grzymułtowski.

After Sobieski's death, the elector of Saxony and the former commander of the imperial troops, Friedrich August Wettin (henceforth August II of Poland), was elected to the Polish throne in 1697. In September 1698, after a series of Ottoman military defeats in their struggle against Austria, Venice, and Russia, negotiations began between the envoys of the Holy League and the Ottoman plenipotentiaries—the *re'isü'l-küttab* Mehmed Rami and the chief dragoman Alexander Mavrocordato.⁸³ The negotiations took place on a stretch of the neutral territory between the Danube and the Sava rivers, near the village of Karlowitz.⁸⁴ Diplomatic mediation (*tavassut*) was provided by the envoys of the Protestant states—Lord William Paget from England and Jacobus Collier from the Netherlands. According to Colin Heywood, "congress diplomacy, which had evolved rapidly in Europe after the end of the Thirty Years' War was for the first time applied to a settlement involving an Islamic state."⁸⁵

The task of Stanisław Małachowski, the Polish envoy to Karlowitz, was very difficult. Poland was considered the weaker partner by her allies and her role at Vienna was soon forgotten. While all the other participants generally accepted the principle of *uti possidetis*, this principle was rejected by Polish diplomacy because it would not restore

⁸² For the biography of the Polish king, see Zbigniew Wójcik, *Jan Sobieski 1629–1696* (Warsaw, 1983).

⁸³ On Mehmed Rami, see Rifaat Abou-el-Haj, "The Reisülküttab and Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Princeton, 1963.

⁸⁴ Karlovci Sremski in Serbia. On the Ottoman province (*sancak*) of Sirem (Srem), see Bruce McGowan, *Sirem sancagi mufassal tahrir defteri* (Ankara, 1983).

⁸⁵ Heywood, "Karlofça," *EI*², vol. 4 (Leiden, 1973): 657–58.

Kamieniec to the Commonwealth, not to mention Polish ambitions in Moldavia.⁸⁶ While the preliminary instructions of the Porte anticipated the demolition of the fortress of Kamieniec and the restitution of the whole of Podolia to the Commonwealth, excessive demands by the Poles concerning Moldavia caused the Ottoman stance to become rigid. Finally, under the pressure of other participants, the Ottoman envoys agreed to return Kamieniec intact in exchange for several forts in northern Moldavia, held by Polish troops. On 26 January 1699, a series of Ottoman treaties with Austria, Venice, Poland-Lithuania, and Russia (the two-year truce only) was signed by the respective ambassadors.⁸⁷

The Polish-Ottoman *temessüks*, signed at Karlowitz, had to be ratified by the king and confirmed with a formal *‘ahdname* by the sultan. The Ottoman evacuation of Kamieniec was scheduled to be completed by 15 May 1699. In the same month a great Polish ambassador should have been sent to Istanbul. As the results of Małachowski’s mission were sharply criticized in Poland, to his great disappointment this function was entrusted to his rival, Rafał Leszczyński. The demoralized Małachowski died soon afterwards.

Since the preparation of the great embassy required time and money, Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski was appointed as a “small envoy” and sent to Istanbul with the royal confirmation of the treaty, dated 1 March 1699.⁸⁸ Surprisingly, the Porte did not accept the royal ratification, stating that it was issued only in the name of the king, without mentioning the name of the Commonwealth. The Porte required that the document be once again formally confirmed in the name of the Commonwealth by the Polish royal chancery.⁸⁹ A new

⁸⁶ The best studies on Polish-Ottoman negotiations at Karlowitz are: Władysław Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792* (Warsaw, 1936), pp. 34–39; and Rifaat Abou-el-Haj, “Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1967): 498–512. Both authors unfortunately are guilty of neglecting the sources and realities of the other side. For the report from Małachowski’s mission by his secretary, Andrzej Gorkowski, see *Relacya poselstwa Jaśnie Wielmożnego JMci Pana Stanisława Małachowskiego, wojewody poznańskiego do traktatu karłowickiego, oraz różnych kommissyi po tym traktacie nastąpiionych* (Warsaw, 1778), pp. 1–56. The report by the Ottoman negotiator, Mehmed Rami, is preserved in the Istanbul University Library; see Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, T. [Türkçe Yazmalar] 3514 (“Mukaleme-i Rami Paşa,” cited by Abou-el-Haj as “*Karlofça mukalemesi*”).

⁸⁷ For the Polish-Ottoman texts in Latin and Turkish, see Documents 58–59.

⁸⁸ See Document 60.

⁸⁹ Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, p. 41. In fact the royal document,

document, with a slightly amended preamble and conclusion, was issued on 24 August 1699 and sent to Istanbul.⁹⁰ Though seemingly artificial and formal, this conflict fairly reflected the growing tension between the ambitious young king, who tried to govern in Poland as he used to in his native Saxony, and the Polish-Lithuanian nobility attached to its traditional political system. Paradoxically, in this struggle between royal absolutism and noble democracy, the Porte supported the republican system of the Commonwealth.

The delayed evacuation of the Ottoman garrison in Kamieniec was concluded on 22 September 1699. Then, in October 1699, the imperial *'ahdname* was issued by Sultan Mustafa II and granted to Rzewuski, because the great embassy of Leszczyński had not yet arrived.⁹¹

In April 1700 the great ambassador Rafał Leszczyński entered the Ottoman capital at the head of his huge suite. As the *'ahdname* had been already granted to Rzewuski, only minor matters were settled during this embassy. Not surprisingly, Leszczyński's efforts to reinterpret certain clauses of the Treaty of Karlowitz in favor of the Commonwealth were in vain.⁹²

After twenty-seven years of wars the previous Polish-Ottoman border was restored. The provinces of Podolia and the Right-Bank Ukraine were restored to the Commonwealth. In Polish historiography, the conquest of Podolia in 1672 has been considered a grave

dated 1 March, was confirmed by the vice-chancellor Karol Tarło on 24 April 1699; see Document 60. This conflict is fairly described in the correspondence of the French ambassador de Castagnères dated 30 June 1699 in Pera: "*cet envoyé [Rzewuski] est retenu à Andrinople pour quelque difficulté qui a donné lieu à plusieurs conférences qu'il a eu avec les ambassadeurs médiateurs chez Milord Paget, sur laquelle on doit écrire de nouveau en Pologne. On dit que cette difficulté est fondée sur ce que la ratification de la paix qu'il a apportée n'est signée que du Roy de Pologne, la Porte prétendant qu'elle soit signée par le Grand Chancelier par mandement de la République, M^r Rzewouski dit au contraire que le Grand Chancelier ayant mis le sceau de la République au bas de la ratification, il estoit inutile qu'il signait au nom de la République. Que cette formalité ne se pratique point en Pologne et que les actes envoyez autresfois à la Porte en pareil cas ont esté expédiés dans la même forme que la ratification qu'il a apportée;*" see Paris, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance politique, Turquie, no. 32, fols. 243b-244a.

⁹⁰ See Document 61 and its discussion in Part I (chapter 6).

⁹¹ See Document 62.

⁹² On Leszczyński's embassy, see Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683-1792*, pp. 45-51 and Józef Dunin Karwicki, "Opisanie wjazdu do Stambułu Rafała Leszczyńskiego . . . Posła Wielkiego od Naj. Króla Jegomości Polskiego i Rzeczypospolitej, do Porty Otomańskiej i relacya solennej jego audyencyi u Cesarza Tureckiego w 1700 roku," *Biblioteka Warszawska* (1882), vol. 3: 353-70.

error by the Ottomans because it impelled the Commonwealth toward an alliance with the Habsburgs and provoked a long and exhausting war in which the real winners were the Habsburgs and the Russians.⁹³ Yet, on the other hand, during the twenty-seven years of its existence, the Ottoman province of Podolia proved to be very useful as a northern bulwark of the empire, assuring Moldavian and Crimean loyalty to the Porte. The Cossacks—the main reason for its foundation—ceased to threaten the Ottoman Black Sea. How useful Kamieniec had been was seen after 1699 when Hotin, first as a *nahiye* and then as an independent *sancak*, was taken away from the Moldavian hospodar to replace Kamieniec.

The demarcation of 1703

According to the treaty of 1699, the prewar border between the two states was to be reestablished. The demarcation effected seventy years earlier by the commissioners appointed by Abaza Mehmed Pasha and Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski served as the basis. Several factors, including the palace revolution in Istanbul and the accession of the new sultan, Ahmed III, caused a delay in executing the demarcation. It was not till 1703 that Yusuf Pasha, the governor of Očakiv, sent a commissioner named Ibrahim. The Crown grand hetman Hieronim Lubomirski appointed three commissioners—Marcin Chomentowski, Jan Koniecpolski and Stefan Humiecki.

The commissioners met on the river Dniester. The task was much easier than in the demarcation of 1680, as the old prewar border ran along the Dniester and further on turned to northeast, passing through thinly populated steppes. The most serious dispute arose over two settlements situated on the left bank of the Dniester—Raškiv and Kam'janka. These settlements and the neighboring area had previously been pawned by Aleksander Koniecpolski, the palatine of Sandomierz, to Rosanda, the daughter of the Moldavian hospodar Basil (Vasile) Lupu in return for sixty thousand florins. When the Moldavian heirs of Rosanda demanded the whole area, Jan

⁹³ According to Zbigniew Wójcik, the consequence of the “ill-fated, short-sighted, self-exalted, and aggressive policy of the Porte” brought the Polish troops to Vienna, *Rzeczpospolita wobec Turcji i Rosji 1674–1679*, p. 191; see also Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, “Tło polityczne i ekonomiczne wyprawy wiedeńskiej Kara Mustafy,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 89 (1983): 21–54, esp. p. 36.

Konieczpolski, the commissioner and at the same time Aleksander's heir, presented receipts establishing that the debt had been already paid by his predecessors.⁹⁴ After the demarcation was concluded, the Ottoman *temessük* written in Turkish was signed on 12 October, and the Polish copy, written in Latin, on 14 October 1703.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ For a short biography of Rosanda, who married Tymiš, the son of the Cossack leader, Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj, see Spieralski, *Awantury mołdawskie*, pp. 177–90. Jan Konieczpolski inherited the domains of his cousin, Aleksander, after the latter's son, Stanisław died without heir in 1682.

⁹⁵ See Documents 63–64. For more details on this demarcation, see Part I (chapter 5). The relation from this demarcation, read by Stefan Humiecki at the diet in 1718, was published in the same year in: Humiecki, *Relacya Kommissyi in Anno 1699, circa Evacuationem Kamieńca odprawionej, iako y innych Komissyi, requentibus annis expedyowanych. . . . Na seymie Walnym Grodzińskim in Anno 1718* [(Lwów, 1718)], fols. 20a–28b. The same relation is published in: *Relacya poselstwa Jaśnie Wielmożnego JMci Pana Stanisława Małachowskiego, wojewody poznańskiego do traktatu karłowickiego, oraz różnych komissyi po tym traktacie następujących*, pp. 99–112.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INTERRUPTED CENTURY (1704–1795)

The Great Northern War, the campaign of Prut, and the temessük of 1714

Before the demarcation of 1703 was concluded, the Commonwealth was drawn into the Great Northern War. In 1704 the Swedish army entered Poland and the new king, Stanisław Leszczyński, was elected with Swedish support by a fraction of the nobility. Two years later, August II Wettin abdicated after a series of defeats. The situation was reversed following the Battle of Poltava in 1709. While August II returned to the Polish throne with Russian support, Leszczyński with his protector, Charles XII of Sweden, found refuge in the Ottoman fortress of Bender. In 1711 Peter the Great entered Moldavia, but his army was besieged by the Ottomans.¹ On 22 July 1711 an armistice was signed in the Ottoman camp by the Russian envoys and the grand vizier, Baltacı Mehmed Pasha.² The Russians promised to evacuate Poland and Right-Bank Ukraine and restore the fortress of Azov (Tur. Azak) to the Porte. Considering the sorry plight of Peter's army, the conditions were very mild. After the fall of the grand vizier, charged with corruption and treason, the armistice was nullified by the Porte in December 1711. After a renewed armistice in April 1712 and its second violation in November, a peace of twenty-five years was finally concluded in June 1713 in Edirne.³ The

¹ On the Prut campaign, see Akdes Nimet Kurat, *İsvaç kralı XII. Karl'ın Türkiyede kalışı ve bu sıralarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Istanbul, 1943); Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay, "La campagne de Pierre le Grand sur le Prut d'après les documents des Archives Ottomanes," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 7 (1966): 221–33; Svetlana F. Oreškova, *Russko-tureckie otnošenija v načale XVIII v.* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 93–137.

² For the text of the Ottoman *temessük*, dated 6 Džumada II 1123, see BA, Name-i Hümayun, no. 6, pp. 217–18; published in Latin transcription in: Kurat, *İsvaç kralı XII. Karl'ın Türkiyede kalışı ve bu sıralarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, pp. 454–55.

³ The Russian copy was dated 13 June 1713 (24 June according to the New Style), see Oreškova, *Russko-tureckie otnošenija v načale XVIII v.*, p. 184. For the Ottoman text dated 3 Džumada II 1125 A.H. (27 June 1713), see BA, Name-i Hümayun, no. 6, pp. 279–87. It is also published in Latin transcription based on the chronicle of Silahdar in: Kurat, *İsvaç kralı XII. Karl'ın Türkiyede kaldığı zamana ait metinler ve vesikalar. Ekler I* (Istanbul, 1943), pp. 99–107.

treaty was ratified by Tsar Peter in July, and in November 1713 the formal *'ahdname* was issued by Ahmed III.⁴

While the Ottomans treated August II as a Russian puppet, they continued to support Leszczyński and even revived the idea of creating a vassal Cossack state in Ukraine under the proOttoman hetman Pylyp Orlyk. When the great ambassador, Stanisław Chomentowski, was sent to Istanbul in the spring of 1712 with the task of settling the conflict, he was initially treated merely as an envoy of the elector of Saxony rather than of the Polish king.⁵ Over the course of Chomentowski's mission in Istanbul, which lasted over two years, the changing political situation led him to be eventually acknowledged as the ambassador of the Commonwealth and, finally, the envoy of the Polish king, August II.

Even after the ratification of the Russian-Ottoman treaty, in autumn 1713 the Porte tried to force the Polish envoy to give up the Right-Bank Ukraine. Finally, on 22 April 1714, the *temessüks* were signed and exchanged between Chomentowski and the grand vizier, Damad Ali Pasha. On 24 April, the ambassador was received by Sultan Ahmed III, but no *'ahdname* was granted. The treaty of 1699, which had been granted by Mustafa II, was regarded as valid by his successor.⁶

⁴ For the Turkish translation of Peter's ratification dated 8 July 1713 (19 July according to the New Style), see BA, Name-i Hümayun, no. 6, p. 299. For the Ottoman text dated the second decade of Shawwal 1125 (31 October–9 November 1713), see BA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye 83/1 (*Rus ecnebi defteri*), pp. 32–38; cf. BA, Name-i Hümayun, no. 6, pp. 301–310, and BA, Name-i Hümayun, no. 1, pp. 14–16 (only the articles of peace). On the Ottoman-Russian negotiations of 1711–1713, see also Oreškova, *Russko-tureckie otnošenija v načale XVIII v.*, pp. 138–87.

⁵ In his discussions with Ottoman dignitaries, Chomentowski reminded them that the Treaty of Karlowitz, still valid at that time, was concluded by the Porte with August II, and not with Leszczyński; see Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 69–73. Besides Chomentowski, who served as the official ambassador of the Commonwealth, Franciszek Goltz, the courtier of August II, was also sent to the Porte as his personal deputy.

⁶ See the diary of Chomentowski's mission, AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 79, t. 572, no. 953, fol. 31a; on the documents of peace from 1714, see also Part I (chapter 4). Apart from the diary, a versified account of this mission was written by the Jesuit chaplain of the embassy, Franciszek Gościecki. While rich in details, this relation contains an apparent error in chronology, for the last dispute with the grand vizier over Ukraine is placed by the author not in winter 1713/14, but between April and August 1714. Consequently, according to Gościecki the *temessüks* were signed and exchanged not in April 1714 but in August 1714, during the last audience with the grand vizier; see Gościecki, *Poselstwo wielkie Jasnje Wielmożnego Stanisława Chomentowskiego . . . przez lata 1712, 1713, 1714 odprawione* (Lwów, 1732), pp. 253–54, 296–302, 309–310, 321. Yet, the original *temessük* preserved in the Polish archives is dated 7 Rebi II 1126 A.H., that is, 22 April 1714; see Document 65.

The *temessük* of 1714 consisted of two short clauses. The second one, granting free passage through Polish territory to Charles XII, soon became outdated, as the king of Sweden found his way home from the Ottoman refuge through Germany. The first clause of the *temessük* is a significant example of the new attitude of the Porte toward its northern neighbor. It simply states that any reference to Poland in the Russian-Ottoman treaty of 1713 should also be observed by the Polish king and the Commonwealth.⁷ The most important portion (Article 1) of the Treaty of Edirne concerning Poland stated that:

The czar of Muscovy should remove his troops from Poland within two months of the date of this *temessük*. No Muscovian troops should remain in Poland. Before and after signing these articles [the czar] should not give reason and excuse for their remaining [in Poland], by saying: "I cut the pay of the aforementioned soldiers. They are not my soldiers [any more];" he should certainly withdraw them from Poland within two months and he should not interfere in the matters of the Poles. Henceforth, he should not send his troops to Poland under any pretext; and he should completely withdraw his hand from Poland. . . .⁸

It would be hard to find a better example of the decline of the international position of the Commonwealth at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Even the potential ally in the confrontation against Russia treated Poland in a patronizing manner, if not with contempt. Nevertheless, the Ottomans defended Polish sovereignty in their attempt to transform the Russian satellite into a neutral buffer state.

In August 1714 Chomentowski was received by the sultan for his audience of departure. While the new *'ahdname* was not granted, two articles of the *temessük* of 22 April were repeated in the imperial letter addressed to the king.⁹ The ambassador returned to Poland in

⁷ See Document 65. In the *temessük* even the correct date of the Russian treaty document is given (13 June = 24 June 1713 according to the New Style).

⁸ "Birinci madde. Moskov çarı Leh içinden 'askerini tarih-i temessükden iki aya degin ihrac eyleye Leh içinde Moskov 'askerinden kimesne kalmaya ve bu mevaddin imzasından evvel yahud sonra 'asker-i mesfurun 'ulufesini ben kat' ildim benim 'askerim degildir deyü kalmalarına 'illet ve bahane itmeyüb elbette iki aya degin Leh içinden ihrac eyleye ve Lehlünün umurına karışmaya ve bir dirlü bahane ile 'askerini bundan sonra Leh memleketine göndürmeyüb Leh memleketinden külliyyet ile el çeke," BA, Name-i Hümayun, no. 6, pp. 279–87, esp. p. 281; cf. Kurat, *İsveç kralı XII. Karl'ın Türkiyede kaldığı zamana ait metinler ve vesikalar. Ekler I*, p. 102.

⁹ For a copy of this letter, dated the second decade of Shaban 1126 (22–31 August 1714), see BA, Name-i Hümayun, no. 6, pp. 336–37. Another copy is preserved in TSMA, E. 2623.

October 1714.¹⁰ Having resolved the conflict in the north, the Porte declared war against Venice in December 1714.

Polish-Ottoman relations in the eighteenth century

The great Russian statesman of the seventeenth century, Afanasij Ordin-Naščokin, formulated three main strategic goals for the Russian empire: to reach the Baltic coast, to reunite the old Ruthenian lands by incorporating the Belarussian and Ukrainian provinces into Muscovy, and finally, to open the Black Sea. In 1721 the first goal was accomplished at the cost of Sweden. The second would be achieved at the cost of Poland-Lithuania and the third at the cost of the Ottomans and their Crimean allies.

It would be unfair to assert that Ottoman statesmen were unaware of the common danger. The Porte tried to preserve Polish independence vis-à-vis Russia, but this policy was inconsistent and brought no significant results. After the death of August II in 1733, Stanisław Leszczyński was elected to the Polish throne for the second time. Unlike in 1704, he was supported by the majority of the Polish nobility. Meanwhile, an agreement was reached between Vienna and Petersburg to ensure the election of the son of August II to the Polish throne. The election of August III by a minority of the nobles took place under the protection of Russian troops, which entered Poland. Because Leszczyński was supported by Paris, the War of the Polish Succession broke out in Poland and Western Europe. The Ottomans sympathized with Leszczyński but, being at war with Persia since 1723, they were unable to provide military support.

In the pacification of 1735, August III was confirmed on the Polish throne, while Leszczyński was compensated for his resignation by the Duchy of Lorraine. Now, war was commenced between the Ottoman empire and Russia, who since 1737 was assisted by Austria. The new Polish king, urged by the Habsburgs, was considering joining the war and reviving the Holy League with Vienna and Petersburg, but war against the Ottomans was unpopular in Poland. Meanwhile, the Russian troops used the territory of the Commonwealth as a base in their campaign against the Ottoman fortress of Hotin. The

¹⁰ See the report on his return in AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 79, t. 666, no. 1235.

Treaty of Belgrade, concluded in 1739, opened the way to an unprecedented long period of peace in Ottoman relations with Europe.

The peace of 1735 did not end political unrest in Poland. When in 1742 Paweł Benoe was sent to Istanbul as a small envoy, along with the official royal instruction of the pro-Russian August III, he carried a secret instruction by the grand hetman Józef Potocki, proposing a common action against Russia. This schizophrenic policy so much confused and irritated the grand vizier, Hekimzade Ali Pasha, that he is reported to have asked: "what can be done with a nation where one needs to cover thirty thousand heads with one cap to enforce any decision?!" The Porte demanded in vain that a great Polish embassy be sent in order to clarify the matter.¹¹

A similar event occurred after the death of Sultan Mahmud I in 1755. Jan Klemens Branicki, the new grand hetman, defying the king, sent his own deputy, Colonel Karol Malczewski, to Istanbul. In order to frustrate the hetman's plans, the long-awaited great royal embassy, headed by Jan Mniszech, was immediately dispatched in pursuit. Both gentlemen spent the following year in Istanbul trying to discredit each other to the considerable confusion of the Ottomans as to who was the real Polish ambassador. In the end, the funds and the aristocratic origin of Mniszech prevailed, and his rival was sent back to Warsaw without an audience of departure.¹²

In 1763, the Ottoman ambassador Resmi Ahmed passed through Polish territory on his way to Berlin. His comments on the local realities were quite negative. According to the Ottoman observer, the only reason the Commonwealth was still in existence was that its neighbors could not agree on its fate.¹³

In 1764 the last Polish king, Stanisław Poniatowski, was elected with the open support of Empress Catherine II and the Russian troops, present at the election. Though urged by Polish dissidents, who repeatedly sent envoys to Istanbul, the Porte failed to move against Russia. After a long term of detention at the border, Tomasz

¹¹ *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, p. 383; Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 149–53, the vizier's statement is based on Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 8, p. 45.

¹² Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 157–61; on Mniszech's embassy, see the unpublished account written by his son, Michał, "Journal du voyage du Comte Michel Mniszech à Constantinople l'an 1755," AGAD, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich, sign. 79.

¹³ *Sefaretname-i Ahmed Resmi* (Istanbul, 1303/1885–1886), pp. 27–28.

Aleksandrowicz, the envoy of the new king, bringing notification of his accession, was received at the Porte.

In 1768 the nobles opposed to the rule of the “Russian” candidate, and foreign interference in Poland, formed a confederacy in Bar. Not accidentally the seat of the rebellion was established in a town situated close to the Ottoman border. Notwithstanding the strongly Catholic and even xenophobic accent of the movement, the confederates sought support in Istanbul and Paris. On this occasion, support was granted. After an ultimatum was issued requiring the withdrawal of Russian troops from Poland, the campaign known as the “Polish war” (*Leh seferi*) was declared by the Porte. This war proved to be disastrous for both states. In 1772 the first partition of Poland was declared, and in 1774 the humiliating Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca was imposed upon the Porte.

In 1775 the Ottoman ambassador, Abdulkерim Pasha, accompanied by his secretary, Nahifi Mehmed Efendi, was sent to Russia with the task of confirming the new treaty. Traveling through the territories of the Commonwealth, the Ottoman envoys were accompanied by Russian escort, who tried to prevent them from making any contact with the Poles. The only Polish nobles with whom the Ottomans managed (or were allowed) to speak were very well-disposed toward Empress Catherine, who, they believed, had protected Poland against Austrian claims during the partition. Yet, the Ottoman envoys were not blind. According to their report: “Russian troops are in every town and city within Poland. In the places in which they are located they said: ‘We are guests. This area is not under our jurisdiction.’ Nevertheless, such sovereign matters as the arrest and confinement of criminals, the assignment of police to patrols in various areas and regions, and defence and protection, were in the hands of the Russians.”¹⁴

During the years 1768–1772, the regular Ottoman army and a considerable number of Polish partisans fought against Russia.¹⁵ Nevertheless, when one looks closer at these events, the complete lack of coordination between the Polish and Ottoman troops is striking. The

¹⁴ Norman Itzkowitz and Max Mote, *Mubadele. An Ottoman-Russian Exchange of Ambassadors* (Chicago-London, 1970), p. 119.

¹⁵ Among the leaders of the confederates was a future participant in the American Revolution, Kazimierz Pułaski. For Russian-Ottoman warfare, see the forthcoming monograph by Virginia Aksan, *The Ottoman Warfare 1700–1870*.

two “sick men of Europe” were facing challenges from more efficient absolutist states alone. The best Russian diplomats and generals covered themselves with glory both in Poland and the Ottoman empire, but they really never had to fight on two fronts. The article on “Russian methods of conquest” still remains to be written.¹⁶

The last embassy and the project of a Polish-Ottoman alliance

In 1776 Karol Boscamp, the royal envoy of Dutch origin, was sent to the newly acceded sultan, Abdulhamid. Taking charge of Polish diplomacy, the Russians tried to utilize it as an extra diplomatic channel to promote their own interests. Therefore they did not oppose the development of Polish activity in Istanbul. For his part, the Polish king tried to rule in a more independent fashion than his imperial protectress might wish. With his support, the Polish Oriental School was opened in Istanbul with the task of preparing qualified interpreters of Oriental languages. Since 1778, Polish semiofficial residents had been appointed in Istanbul to promote commercial relations. These residents were Antoni Dzieduszycki (1778–80), Stanisław Pichelstein (1780–85), and Kajetan Chrzanowski (1785–90).¹⁷

At that time two political blocs strove for domination in Europe: one in the north—Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Prussia—and one in the south—France, Austria, and Russia. The East European states fighting against Russia could hope for the support of the northern bloc. In 1787 began the last dramatic period in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth.

In response to the Russian annexation of the Crimea in 1783, the Porte declared war against Russia in 1787. The Russians were soon joined by their Austrian allies. As Sweden was also at war with Russia, the new situation served to loose Russian control over Poland. The king offered Empress Catherine Polish assistance in the war, hoping by these means to strengthen the army and his own political

¹⁶ Cf. the classic article by Halil İnalcık, “Ottoman methods of Conquest,” *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 103–130; see also my paper “Ottoman Diplomats on Eighteenth-Century Poland: Contempt or Discouragement,” read at the First Skilliter Library Colloquium on Ottoman History: “The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century”; the abstract was published in: *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* XVI/2 (1992): 202–203.

¹⁷ On Polish life in eighteenth-century Istanbul, see Jan Reychman, *Życie polskie w Stambule w XVIII wieku* (Warsaw, 1959).

authority. The project was rejected by the empress, for fear that a strong Polish army could be equally used against Russia. Meanwhile, in 1788 the Prussian proposal for an anti-Russian alliance reached Warsaw and was warmly received by the opposition, in the hope of shaking off Russian control. According to the plan of the Prussian minister, Ewald Friedrich von Hertzberg, the Porte should cede Moldavia and Wallachia to the Habsburgs in return for a guaranty of keeping her remaining possessions in Europe. In return for the Danubian principalities, Austria should restore Galicia (annexed in 1772) to Poland, while Poland should pay the Prussian king for his "good services" with the two cities of Thorn (Pol. Toruń) and Danzig (Pol. Gdańsk). This plan was obviously kept secret, so as not to irritate the Polish and Ottoman allies.¹⁸

In December 1788 the diet, assembled in Warsaw, appointed new ambassadors to the European courts. The role of the king in these nominations was severely limited by the opposition. During secret negotiations with Prussia, Piotr Potocki, the former confederate of Bar, was sent to Istanbul. His embassy coincided with the accession of the new sultan, Selim III. Potocki departed in August 1789 and traveled through Dresden, Munich, Venice, and Corfu to avoid the area of warfare. In March 1790 the Polish embassy entered Istanbul.¹⁹ To the disappointment of the Ottoman negotiators, the preliminary instruction did not allow Potocki to conclude a military alliance. Furthermore, the Ottoman-Prussian alliance, concluded in January 1790 and ratified by Friedrich Wilhelm II in June, was treated by Prussian officials merely as a political measure in their negotiations with

¹⁸ On Prussian-Ottoman and Prussian-Polish relations in 1787–1792, see Johann W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. 6 (Gotha, 1859), pp. 606–841; *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 611–24; Kemal Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı-Prusya İttifâkı (Meydana geliş-Tahlili-Tatbiki)* (Istanbul, 1984).

¹⁹ On the Polish-Ottoman relations of that time and Potocki's embassy, see *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 654–86; Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja 1683–1792*, pp. 277–96; Józef Dutkiewicz, *Polska a Turcja w czasie sejmu czteroletniego 1787–1792* (Warsaw, 1934). The documents and letters from Potocki's dossier are published in: Kazimierz Waliszewski, ed., *Ostatni poseł polski do porty ottomańskiej. Akta legacji stambulskiej Piotra Potockiego starosty szczyrzeckiego z Archiwum Roskiego zebrał i wydał* [hereafter, *Ostatni poseł polski*], vols. 1–2 (Paris, 1894). The original correspondence of Potocki, published by Waliszewski, along with the original Ottoman treaty proposals, is preserved in Bibl. Czart., ms. 846. The whole dossier of the Ottoman foreign office, containing the correspondence with the Polish residents and Potocki between 1786 and 1792, is preserved in BA, A. DVN. DVE [Bab-i Asafi Divan-i Hümayun. Düvel-i Ecnebiye Kalem], 171.

Austria.²⁰ In July 1790 a Prussian-Austrian agreement was reached without the firing of a single shot. The new emperor, Leopold II, promised to wind up the war against the Ottomans. With the conclusion of the Swedish-Russian peace in August 1790, the military confrontation in Eastern Europe was limited to the Ottoman-Russian theatre of war. Fearing isolation, Warsaw finally instructed Potocki to conclude an alliance with the Porte, providing that Prussia could enter the war against Russia and that Poland could obtain favorable commercial privileges in Istanbul. While the first provision was not dependent on the negotiating parties, the excessive Polish demands concerning trade privileges were used by both sides to drag out the negotiations in the face of the deteriorating international situation.²¹

The project of a Polish-Ottoman alliance was negotiated between Potocki and the *re'isü'l-küttab* Mehmed Raşid in the autumn of 1790 and then renegotiated several times, but it was never ratified. The project, preserved in French and Turkish versions, reflects eighteenth-century "modern" diplomatic language, different from that of the *'ahdname* of 1699, still considered valid in that time. In addition to the defensive treaty, two separate secret articles of an offensive alliance were composed.²²

When the liberal constitution, framed to strengthen Polish sovereignty, received a vote of approval by the diet on 3 May 1791, the point of no return in Polish relations with Russia was reached. Three months later the Porte, exhausted by the long war, concluded an armistice with Russia, transformed into the Peace of Jassy (Rum. Iași) in January 1792. In the changed situation, Potocki tried to conclude a purely commercial treaty, but his proposals were rejected.²³

²⁰ Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. 6, pp. 750, 781–91. The Ottoman copy of the Prussian-Ottoman alliance dated 16 Djumada I 1204 (1 February 1790) was published by Beydilli based on the copy preserved in BA, Hatt-i Hümayun, 1417; see Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı-Prusya Ittifâkı (Meydana geliş-Tahlili-Tatbiki)*, pp. 144–48. In the third article, Poland and Sweden are identified as allies.

²¹ For the detailed project of commercial capitulations, prepared in French by Potocki and consisting of 11 articles, see Waliszewski, *Ostatni poseł polski*, vol. 1, pp. 330–65.

²² See Documents. 66–69. According to marginal notes left by Potocki, the articles of the prospective treaty were negotiated in French, though they were intended to fit in form and language with typical Ottoman chancery formulas. The new diplomatic language of the Ottoman-Western relations is also reflected by the fact that in the documents of 1790 the former Treaty of Karlowitz is referred to as "*mün'akid olan*" (concluded) and not "*ihsan olunan*" (granted); see Document 67.

²³ For the new projects of a treaty, composed by Potocki in 1792, see Waliszewski, *Ostatni poseł polski*, vol. 2, pp. 150–58.

In the spring of 1792 the Russian army, withdrawn from the Ottoman front, entered Poland. A few months later the second partition of Poland was resolved. Opposed to the new pro-Russian government in Poland, Potocki did not return to Warsaw and chose to emigrate. In October 1792 the last Polish ambassador departed from Istanbul, leaving Kajetan Chrzanowski as a resident.²⁴ After the latter's death, this function was taken over by the former dragoman, Franciszek Chabert. The Polish agency in Istanbul was officially liquidated in 1793.

In 1794 the insurrection led by Tadeusz Kościuszko broke out in Poland. Piotr Crutta, a former student of the Oriental School in Istanbul, was then sent as an emissary to the Porte to seek Ottoman support. The fall of the insurrection and the third partition of Poland closed the chapter of official relations between the two states. Concurrently, the first Polish emigrants began arriving at Istanbul.²⁵

²⁴ See the note sealed by Potocki (dated 29 Safer 1207 = 16 October 1792), informing the Porte on the closure of his mission, BA, A. DVN. DVE, 171, no. 79.

²⁵ On the activity of Polish political agents and emigrants in Istanbul in the years 1794–1797, see Reychman, *Życie polskie w Stambule w XVIII wieku*, pp. 220–41.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATS: ENVOYS, ÇAVUŞES, AND DRAGOMANS

The Commonwealth

The organization of Polish-Lithuanian diplomacy has been a source of confusion both to contemporaries and modern scholars. Apart from the king and four chancellors,¹ other political bodies and dignitaries played an active role in foreign relations as well. After 1573, the king no longer possessed the authority regarding matters of war and peace without consultation with the senate. The senate council (*Rada Senatu*), consisting of a few senator-residents was continually present at the court. Along with royal instructions, the envoys sent to foreign rulers received their credentials from this body. A century later, restriction on the royal powers so increased that the king was forbidden to send and receive envoys on his own.²

The diet, consisting of two chambers, played a minor role in foreign diplomacy due to its irregularly scheduled meetings, inertia and internal conflicts. But, in a few cases, special commissioners were appointed by the diet for negotiations with foreign powers, as in the case of the negotiations at Hotin in 1621. The commissioners, proportionally elected from among the members of both chambers, were responsible to the diet.³

A special role in the relations with the Ottomans, Crimea, Moldavia, and Wallachia was played by the Crown hetmans. In 1595 Jan Zamoyski, who had managed to combine in his hands the two most important Crown dignities—that of the chancellor with that of the grand hetman—was allowed to conduct war against the Ottomans and the Tatars on his own authority and, in an emergency, to conclude a peace without consulting the diet.⁴ The first Polish-Ottoman truce based on provisional *temessüks* was thus negotiated and concluded

¹ Namely the chancellor and vice-chancellor of the Crown (i.e., Poland), and the chancellor and vice-chancellor of Lithuania.

² Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, pp. 258, 313.

³ Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, pp. 222–27, 267.

⁴ Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, pp. 151–52.

by Zamoyski in the same year. This precedent was followed by Zamoyski's successors in the hetman's office, Stanisław Żółkiewski and Stanisław Koniecpolski, who concluded respective truces in 1617 and 1634. The hetmans were also authorized to send their own envoys and to keep their agents in the neighboring countries mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph.

Polish historians have often compared special role of the Crown hetman in the foreign relations of the Commonwealth with the role of the governor of Buda in Ottoman relations with the Habsburgs or even with that of the finance minister in French relations with the Levant.⁵

Due to the limits imposed on the executive power of the king, the degeneration of the decision-making process and the repeated conflicts among the king, the magnates, and the nobility, this extremely refined check-and-balance system began to paralyze the foreign policy of the Commonwealth in the seventeenth century. Restrained by political opponents in the diet, Jan Sobieski initiated a secret royal policy, resulting in the "illegal" treaties of 1675–77, concluded with France and Sweden without notifying the diet. Such a policy was more efficiently led by August II, who had at his disposal the developed network of Saxonian agents at the European courts. Yet, even the Wettins, while preferring to rely on Saxonian diplomats in their relations with the West, left relations with the Muslim Orient to official Polish diplomacy.⁶

The Ottomans were not unfamiliar with the political system of the Commonwealth. In the seventeenth-century diplomatic correspondence of the Porte, the Polish envoys were usually referred to as the representatives of "the Polish king and the republic" (*Leh krala ve cumhuri*). This Turkish expression reflected the official title of the envoys, defining themselves as *Regis Poloniae . . . et Reipublicae legati*.⁷ The republican ideology and terminology is reflected especially in the correspondence of Ottoman border commanders, familiar with the customs and language of their Polish partners. The Porte even knew how to use the ideology of the Polish nobility against the Commonwealth itself. In the declaration of war sent to Warsaw in the spring of 1672, Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü stated that the Polish king

⁵ Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, pp. 153, 274–75.

⁶ Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, pp. 261, 430.

⁷ Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, pp. 310–12.

was no longer the rightful ruler of the Cossacks, because he had violated their rights twenty years earlier. Every nation has the right to rise against an unjust ruler, as had the Cossacks, who petitioned the great Ottoman padishah for refuge.⁸

The events of 1714, 1742, and 1755, described above, show the rising discontent of the Porte regarding relations with her northern neighbor. In 1714 three diplomats represented King August in Constantinople—the official Polish ambassador Stanisław Chomentowski, the royal envoy Franciszek Goltz, and the secret agent Johann Spiegel. If we add the agents of the grand hetman Adam Sieniawski, the confusion of the Porte seems justifiable.

The first mention of a permanent Polish residency at Constantinople can be found in an article agreed on in the negotiations of 1621;⁹ however, two years later this article was nullified on Polish request. Explanation of this move was given in the royal instruction to Ambassador Zbaraski, which stated that as the Polish commercial relations with the Levant were less intensive than those of the Western countries, an expensive residency in Istanbul was deemed superfluous. In fact, the Polish foreign missions of that period bore only a temporary character, and the only permanent foreign agency in Poland was that of the papal nuncio. The institution of permanent Polish residencies at foreign courts was introduced only a few years later under King Ladislaus IV.¹⁰ It is ironic that in the subsequent period the Polish position on this matter was reversed, but the Porte had now become reluctant to maintain a Polish resident in Istanbul. Thus, the first Polish residency was organized only in the second half of the eighteenth century. In sum, for the greater part of the described period diplomatic relations between Istanbul and Cracow (then Warsaw) were maintained by temporary embassies, lasting from a few weeks to a number of months.

Though a Polish envoy sent to a Western European court was simply referred to as *nuncius* or *orator*, in her relations with the Porte, the Crimea, and Muscovy, Poland devised a much more complicated hierarchy. Most Polish historians agree that this hierarchy was modeled on Ottoman diplomacy.¹¹

⁸ See Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet Kamieniecki 1672–1699*, p. 52.

⁹ See Documents 35–36. This article does not appear in the *ahdname* of 1623.

¹⁰ Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, pp. 173, 249–50.

¹¹ Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, pp. 45, 104, 173.

Before an embassy entered Ottoman territory, an advance courier was dispatched to obtain a safe-conduct for the royal envoy and his suite. Usually an escort was provided and a certain amount of money, called *ta'şin*, was given to the envoys to cover their food and accommodation expenses.¹² According to their rank, Polish envoys sent to the Porte were referred to as “great envoys” (Lat. *nuncius* or *magnus orator*, Pol. *poseł wielki*, Tur. *büyük elçi*) and “small envoys” (Lat. *internuncius*, Pol. *poseł mały*, Tur. *küçük elçi*). The small envoys settled only the minor matters that had arisen in the interval between “regular” embassies. In the sixteenth century, Polish envoys were most often recruited from among the members of the senate, the royal secretaries and the courtiers. Many of them gained considerable experience by participating in missions sent to the same court several times.

While some ambassadors' suits attained a considerable size already by the sixteenth century, the pomp of the great Polish embassies reached its peak in the following period. Along with the famous embassies of Jerzy Ossoliński to Rome (1633), and Krzysztof Opaliński to Paris (1645), the entrance of the great embassy of Krzysztof Zbaraski to Istanbul belonged to one of the famous spectacles of the epoch. Such embassies resulted in tremendous costs for both sides. While the royal treasury along with the diet had to assign suitable sums for customary gifts and representation, the *ta'şin* supplied by the Porte must certainly have been much greater than in the case of a small embassy. When in December 1622 Zbaraski entered the Ottoman capital at the head of a thousand horsemen, his servant was asked in a tone of irony by the grand vizier whether his lord wanted to conquer Constantinople or rob the imperial treasury.¹³ This type of humor must have amused the Ottoman dignitaries, because in 1678 Kara Mustafa reportedly commented on the great embassy of Jan Gniński, consisting of “only” 450 men, that if the ambassador “meant to use so numerous a band to take Constantinople, his followers were very few; but if he intended to salute the lofty

¹² Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, pp. 42, 415; *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1, p. 576.

¹³ “Poselstwo Krzysztofa Xięcia Zbaraskiego do Turcyi w roku 1622,” *Dziennik Wileński/Historia i literatura*, vol. 3 (1827), p. 101; quoted also by Ostapchuk, “The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier,” pp. 25–26. According to various reports, the train of Zbaraski consisted of 700 to 1200 men, cf. *ibid.*, p. 24, n. 5 and *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, p. 141.

threshold of the Sublime Port, he had brought too many with him.”¹⁴

The rising cost of great embassies in the seventeenth century led to the selection of great magnates for these functions, because only they could bear the tremendous expense of representation. The sums invested during the term of the embassy were usually repaid by the diet only after its return, sometimes many years afterwards. This produced a tendency to entrust the handling of political matters to the “cheaper” small envoys. For instance, when the *‘ahdname* brought by Zbaraski was received with disappointment, the Armenian interpreter Krzysztof Serebkowicz was sent in the same year as a small envoy to obtain a new version. In 1667, after the death of the great envoy, Hieronim Radziejowski, the *‘ahdname* was given to his secretary, Franciszek Wysocki. In 1699, after signing the Treaty of Karlowitz, the Porte waited in vain for the arrival of a promised great embassy. Finally the *‘ahdname* was given to a small envoy, Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski, while the great embassy of Rafał Leszczyński made its appearance only the following year. It should be noted here that small envoys of humble origins as well as secretaries appointed to great embassies, were often better trained and more professional diplomats than their aristocratic colleagues.¹⁵

In the eighteenth century, a new term appears in the hierarchy of the envoys. In 1755 the envoy of the grand hetman, Karol Malczewski, was referred to in the Ottoman documents as a “middle envoy” (*orta elçi*).¹⁶ The same rank was given in 1765 to the royal *internuncius*, Tomasz Aleksandrowicz, sent to the Porte by the newly elected king Stanisław Poniatowski.¹⁷ Apparently the title of a “small envoy” was replaced in the Ottoman protocol by the more venerable “middle envoy.”

When Piotr Potocki was sent to the Porte in 1789, for financial reasons and to his great dismay he was not appointed as a great envoy, but merely as an extraordinary envoy. This unusual term was initially confusing for the Porte. The savings on the Polish side was

¹⁴ Demetrius Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 287. According to Cantemir the embassy consisted of 700 men. For more precise calculations, see Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, p. 335.

¹⁵ On the role of secretaries, see Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, pp. 331–34.

¹⁶ BA, Cevdet Tasnifi, Hariciye, 5965.

¹⁷ BA, A. DVN. DVE 168, no. 60. The document originates from the time when the envoy was detained at the border. On Aleksandrowicz, see *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 541–43.

soon reciprocated, and Potocki received a smaller *ta'yin* than the previous Polish great envoy to Istanbul of 1755, Jan Mnischech.¹⁸ In the Ottoman documents of that time Potocki is consequently referred to as a "middle envoy" (*orta elçi*).¹⁹

While great and small embassies traveled between the courts and their seats, a separate role was played by commissioners, appointed to negotiations by the king and the diet. Usually such negotiations took place "in the field," situated within or between the military camps of the two sides, in the vicinity of the border. The negotiations resulted in truces, confirmed later in formal *'ahdnames*, or in protocols of demarcation, signed and exchanged between the two sides.²⁰

The first list of Polish envoys to the Porte was composed in 1860 by Julian Bartoszewicz.²¹ One finds there one hundred eight embassies and missions effected in the years 1414–1790. The next list, based on Bartoszewicz but considerably enlarged, was composed in 1936 by Bertold Spuler in his treatise on European diplomacy in Constantinople.²² It consists of one hundred seventy-five missions. Finally, in their *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics* published in English in 1968, Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajączkowski composed a new list consisting of one hundred sixty Polish missions and embassies sent to the Porte in the years 1414–1794.²³

No wonder that even the number of embassies given by various authors is uncertain. While the great embassies are known and well described, the small missions, couriers, and translators, passing several times to and from the Porte, fail to be caught in the net of statistics. For instance, between 1574 and 1591 the royal interpreter, Krzysztof Dzierżek, was in Istanbul nine times. Another calculation problem arises when a royal courier arrived at the Porte when a great embassy was already in residence. Should this be registered as

¹⁸ Dutkiewicz, *Polska a Turcja w czasie sejmu czteroletniego 1787–1792*, pp. 42–46.

¹⁹ BA, Name-i Hümayun 4, pp. 35, 60

²⁰ On the commissioners, see Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, p. 341.

²¹ Bartoszewicz, *Pogląd na stosunki Polski z Turcyą i Tatarami, na dzieje Tatarów w Polsce osiadłych, na przywileje tu im nadane, jako też wspomnienia o znakomitych Tatarach polskich*, pp. 129–47.

²² Spuler, "Die Europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Belgrad (1739)," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Kultur der Slaven* XI (1935): 53–115, 171–222, 313–66; and *Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas* I (1936): 229–62, 383–440, esp. pp. 383–412.

²³ Reychman and Zajączkowski, *Handbook*, pp. 173–79.

a separate mission or merely as a part of this embassy? These aspects are well illustrated when one examines the number of Polish embassies sent to the Porte under the single reign of Stephan Báthory (1576–1586). While Bartoszewicz registered only three missions in these years, Spuler found the impressive number of twenty missions. In their study, Reychman and Zajączkowski reduced this number to seventeen. Polish-Ottoman diplomatic relations in the years 1576–86 were recently studied in detail by Kazimierz Dopierała. While Dopierała found three additional missions unnoted by Reychman and Zajączkowski, he disqualified one mission listed by these two authors, as having merely a private character. Therefore, the overall number of Polish envoys in Constantinople given for these years by Dopierała consists of nineteen missions.²⁴

This example fairly illustrates that any effort to determine the precise number of Polish missions and embassies to the Porte must be preceded by a detailed study of the given period. This remains outside the task of this monograph. Fortunately, the envoys who carried imperial *ahdnames* and participated in the negotiations with the Porte are much better known than ordinary couriers. Many of them can be identified by checking the voluminous *Polish Biographical Dictionary*.²⁵

Diplomatic relations between the Commonwealth and Muscovy in the late seventeenth century were recently studied by Andrzej Kamiński. According to Kamiński, Polish diplomats who conducted negotiations in Moscow were kept courteously but firmly in virtual imprisonment.²⁶ Though elements of the Byzantine ceremonial belonged to the common heritage of Istanbul and Moscow,²⁷ the supervision of foreigners, mastered by the Russians, never attained such a level in the cosmopolitan Ottoman capital. Nevertheless, foreign diplomats were often subjected to deliberate humiliation and psychological pressure. The ceremony of prostration before the imperial throne, in

²⁴ Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją za Stefana Batorego* (Warsaw, 1986), p. 169.

²⁵ *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Cracow [then Wrocław], 1935–).

²⁶ Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy. Poland-Lithuania and Russia, 1686–1697* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), p. 146.

²⁷ Cf. some remarks on this topic by Hieronim Grala in his article, “Uniwersalizm wschodni (idea Cesarstwa Powszechnego w kręgu cywilizacji bizantyńskiej),” in: *Pamiętnik XV Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich*, vol. I, pt. 1. Edited by J. Staszewski (Toruń, 1996): 139–65, esp. pp. 160–65.

which a foreign envoy was forced to a deep bow by two special officials (*kapıcı*), always led to violent protests and was resented by the envoys, proud of their status as free citizens in the Commonwealth.²⁸ In 1667 one of the richest Polish magnates, Hieronim Radziejowski, being already ill, was forced to make a sudden removal from his temporary residence to a small and odorous caravanserai. This humiliation may have hastened his death.²⁹

Given such circumstances, one should not wonder that some diplomats started to drink and behave in an unpredictable or even arrogant manner; often they simply overreacted to the stress and humiliation. Aleksander Piaseczyński proudly reported his answer given in 1630 to the Ottoman pasha, Murtaza.

I am not coming from Diyarbakır or Algiers, but from a great king and lord equal to yours. Speak to me like to a free envoy and not like to a slave of your master.³⁰

Such proud responses by the Polish envoys were afterwards propagated throughout the Commonwealth and served well in strengthening the self-esteem of the nobility. It is not always certain, however, whether the reported phrases were ever expressed and translated in the presence of Ottoman dignitaries. Especially dubious is the relation of the famous conversation of Aleksander Trzebiński with Sultan Murad IV, reported by himself in 1634 and often recalled in Polish historiography.³¹ For anyone familiar with the Ottoman ceremonial of that time it is highly unlikely that a foreign envoy would have been allowed to dispute with the sultan on an almost equal basis and even dared to instruct him about his own master's sovereignty.³²

²⁸ *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 290–91.

²⁹ Przyboś and Żelewski, eds., *Dyplomaci w dawnych czasach. Relacje staropolskie z XVI–XVIII stulecia*, p. 334.

³⁰ Walaszek, ed., *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański w I połowie XVII w. (Muratowicz, Piaseczyński, Lubieniecki)*, p. 79.

³¹ Quoted for the last time by Podchorodecki, "Wojna polsko-turecka 1633–1634 r.," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 20 (1976), pp. 58–59.

³² The reforms of palace ceremonial introduced under Sultan Suleyman are vividly described by Pál Fodor: "In the first decade of his reign, he introduced the practice of remaining seated when receiving ambassadors. During the audiences, he sat on a throne instead of the formerly used sofa, and unlike his predecessors, he either kept silent or only uttered a few words. The latter practice struck such firm roots in the etiquette of the Ottoman rulers that Koçi Bey described secretiveness and little talk as the main attributes of Sultanly dignity;" see Fodor, "Sultan, imperial council, grand vizier: changes in the Ottoman ruling elite and the formation of the

The behavior of the Polish envoys can be judged not only by their own reports. In 1671 the envoy Franciszek Wysocki was charged by Ottoman officials and by his West European colleagues as well, of constant drinking and imprudent behavior. During the dispute over Ukraine, he is reported to have said that even if the king and the Commonwealth complied with the Ottoman demands, he—as a free citizen—would refuse to make any concessions.³³ These accounts led Iwona Czamańska to suggest that the envoy was becoming mentally insane.³⁴ Though this hypothesis cannot be totally dismissed, especially when one considers Wysocki's subjection to strong psychological pressure at the Ottoman court, another interpretation may be suggested here: The charges against Wysocki are almost identical to those raised by the Russian government against Jerzy Dominik Dowmont, the Polish resident in Moscow in 1693. In the Russian report sent to Poland, Dowmont was described as an irresponsible violent man, given to dueling and brawling, who had treated the highest Russian dignitaries with insolence. Like Wysocki, Dowmont considered himself not merely a royal envoy, but also a public servant and a noble citizen of the Commonwealth. In spite of the accusations, his activity in Moscow was highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and by the modern historian as well.³⁵ Only one notable difference can be found between Wysocki and Dowmont—the former was also in conflict with other foreign envoys residing in Istanbul. It seems that charges of drunkenness and violent behavior belonged to a canon of domestic authorities, who worked to discredit an envoy in the eyes of his own government and cause his recall. Such accusations, therefore, should be taken with a grain of salt.

The activity of Polish envoys in Constantinople was by no means limited to political negotiations in the public service. A mission to the Porte was often treated as a kind of a financial investment. The royal instruction given to Jan Szczęsny Herburt on 8 May 1598

grand vizieral *tellis*,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47 (1994): 67–85, esp. p. 80.

³³ Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet Kamieniecki 1672–1699*, pp. 53–54.

³⁴ Cf. Czamańska, “Czy wojna z Turcją w 1672 roku była nieunikniona? Poselstwo Franciszka Kazimierza Wysockiego do Turcji w latach 1670–1672,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 92 (1985), pp. 783–84.

³⁵ Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy. Poland-Lithuania and Russia, 1686–1697*, pp. 172–73.

states that the envoy “should not buy and trade, like previous envoys, to the shame of the Crown.”³⁶ The registers of the Ottoman imperial council (*mühimme defterleri*) contain numerous orders and individual commercial privileges granted by the Ottoman authorities on the request of Polish envoys.³⁷ The commercial activity of Polish envoys and their agents can be confirmed in other sources as well. For instance, in 1742 the Polish envoy Paweł Benoe returned to Warsaw with fifty carts loaded with oriental goods.³⁸ To the great irritation of the Ottoman authorities, each Polish embassy was joined by numerous merchants hoping for tax-exemptions.

As the Polish residency in Constantinople was established only in the second half of the eighteenth century, no permanent embassy structure existed in the earlier period. Typically, the Polish envoys resided in the “ambassadors’ inn” (*elçi han*), situated in Old Istanbul. Sometimes they were given more comfortable buildings for temporary residence. Starting in the eighteenth century, Polish embassies were housed in the Christian quarter of Constantinople, Pera. The last Polish envoy, Piotr Potocki, rented a house situated close to the French embassy; consequently, the nearby street came to be called “Polish street” (*Leh sokak*) after this building. This name survived the partitions of Poland and was changed only in the twentieth century.³⁹

Regular contact with Muslim countries required that the Polish chancery have available translators of Oriental languages. In 1569 a young nobleman, Krzysztof Dzierżek, was sent by the king to Constantinople to learn Oriental languages. After six years Dzierżek returned to Poland to become an official translator of the Crown chancery. By teaching his nephews, Dzierżek ensured posts of translators for them after his death, and thus a whole “dynasty” was founded.⁴⁰ Other well-known Polish translators of the seventeenth-

³⁶ “Kupiami i handlami bawić się nie ma, co snadź inni Postowie y przed nim z niestawą koronną czynili,” AGAD, Libri Legationum 27, fol. 61b.

³⁷ BA, MD 7, p. 643, no. 1791 (privilege for Piotr and Krzysztof Zborowski from 1568); MD 31, p. 64, nos. 162–65 (privileges for Jan Sienieński from 1577, allowing a tax-free purchase of wine, wool, and horses); see also BA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye 55/1 (*Leh ecnebi defteri*), p. 33, nos. 36–39 (privileges for Stanisław Chomentowski, issued in 1714).

³⁸ Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, p. 415.

³⁹ Reychman, “Rzekoma siedziba ambasady dawnej Rzeczypospolitej w Stambule,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17 (1951–1952): 399–414; idem, “İstanbul’da eski Lehistan devleti elçiliginin yerine dâir,” *Sanat Tarihi Yılıhı* (1964–1965): 39–59.

⁴⁰ About the Dzierżek family, see Bohdan Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku*, pp. 59–71.

century were Samuel Otwinowski, Kazimierz Zajerski, and the eminent French linguist in the Polish service, François Mesgnien-Meniński.⁴¹ The last official translator of the Crown chancery, the Albanian Antoni Crutta, died many years after the partitions of Poland, in 1812.⁴² Numerous translations of Ottoman documents, composed by the aforementioned translators, are preserved in Polish archives and libraries. While political clauses are usually correctly rendered, the translators were less careful when rendering the elaborate formulas of the Ottoman originals.

As Polish Armenians spoke a Turkic-Kipchak language in everyday life, they were often used as interpreters and couriers; however, they usually lacked a sound knowledge of the written Ottoman language, which resulted in numerous misunderstandings. In 1640 the ambassador Wojciech Miaskowski was dissatisfied with the work of his Armenian interpreter, Romaszkiewicz, recalling with envy the former embassies of Szczęsny Herburt (1598) and Piotr Ożga (1619), which had been accompanied by Krzysztof Dzierżek and Samuel Otwinowski.⁴³

The Porte

At first sight the republican-oligarchic diplomacy of the Commonwealth had nothing in common with the autocratic and hierarchic Ottoman system.⁴⁴ In theory, all power originated from the will of the omnipotent padishah. This idea is fairly illustrated in the Ottoman ceremonial of receiving foreign envoys. In 1706, apparently during the reorganization of the Ottoman chancery, an unnamed clerk was charged with the task of gathering reports about the earlier receptions of foreign envoys at the Porte. Describing the ceremonial of receiving the Polish envoys, he wrote:

In the imperial presence the third vizier takes the letter of the envoy and gives [it] to the second [vizier]. He then gives [it] to the grand

⁴¹ See Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku*, pp. 80–107, 112–18.

⁴² The list of the Crown chancery translators is published in: Reychman and Zajączkowski, *Handbook*, pp. 171–72.

⁴³ Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, p. 101.

⁴⁴ An interesting comparison of two political systems—in Russia and Poland—as reflected in the mutual diplomatic relations was made in the aforementioned monograph by Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy. Poland-Lithuania and Russia, 1686–1697*.

vizier, who takes [it] and lays [it] before the imperial throne; after the envoy leaves they take [the letter], translate [it], and submit [to the sultan]. This is the [imperial] law.⁴⁵

Leaving theory aside, there were numerous factors that limited the actual power of the sultan, one of which is the problem of communication associated with the rule of an empire spread over three continents. According to Rifaat Abou-el-Haj, the seventeenth-century Ottoman empire was no more than a typical oligarchy that placed on the throne a prince selected from the Ottoman dynasty as a façade.⁴⁶ Among the policy-makers with whom a Polish envoy had to deal in the Ottoman capital, one should mention the viziers, the *mufti* of Istanbul (*seyhü'l-islam*), the dragomans, and the *reisü'l-küttab*, who gradually acquired a leading role in Ottoman foreign policy. Sometimes negotiations with foreign envoys were discreetly influenced by the mothers and wives of the sultan. While the Ottoman political system was certainly more centralized than the Polish one, foreign policy was often also made by provincial governors and special plenipotentiaries. The aforementioned Murtaza Pasha, a former governor of Buda, was accustomed to the participation of local governors in Ottoman-Habsburg negotiations. When Piaseczyński was sent to the Porte in 1630, Murtaza wanted him to reach a settlement in direct negotiations prior to going to Istanbul. Only after a certain delay Murtaza was persuaded by his colleague, Hasan Pasha, to allow Piaseczyński to continue his mission. As an excuse, Hasan Pasha told the Polish envoy that the idea of his detention was Murtaza's, who had learned such manners in Buda, and who did not realize that he was dealing with Poles rather than with Hungarians.⁴⁷

It is generally accepted in Ottoman historiography that until the eighteenth century the Porte only exceptionally sent diplomats to foreign courts.⁴⁸ If the term "diplomat" only refers to educated mem-

⁴⁵ "Huzur-i hümayunda ilçinin namesin üçüncü vezir alub ikinciye virir. Ol dahi sadr-a'zama virir. Anlar dahi alub taht-i hümayunun önüne koyub ilçi gıdıkden sonra alub tercüme idirüb telhis buyururlar. Kanun budur," BA, A. DVN. DVE 168, no. 1 (this report is dated 9 Rebi I 1118 A.H. = 21 June 1706).

⁴⁶ Abou-el-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State. The Ottoman Empire: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Albany, NY, 1991), pp. 5–6.

⁴⁷ Walaszek, ed., *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański w I połowie XVII w.* (Muratowicz, Piaseczyński, Lubieniecki), p. 55.

⁴⁸ See the classic study by Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford, 1961), p. 60. A notable exception to this rule can be observed during the "affair

bers of the elite, this was true in Ottoman-Polish relations as well. On the other hand, nearly every year Ottoman envoys, usually at the rank of *çavuş*, were sent to Poland to execute manifold tasks. The function and origin of these envoys requires a "prosopographic" approach and certainly deserves further research. Their role was by no means limited to the delivery of letters. They received royal oaths, negotiated and renegotiated peace conditions, and escorted Polish embassies. The delivery of an *'ahdname* represented one of the most prestigious tasks of a *çavuş*.

Though one usually relates that a given imperial *'ahdname* was received by such and such embassy, actually it was not the Polish envoy, but the Ottoman *çavuş*, who carried the sealed bag with an *'ahdname* and delivered it to the king at a solemn audience. Ambassadors negotiated the conditions of treaties with Ottoman dignitaries in Istanbul and were always mentioned in these documents, but sometimes they could not even see and check the final copy until it was delivered and unsealed at the Polish court. In 1640 Wojciech Miaskowski complained that the *'ahdname*, along with some letters addressed to the king, was given directly to the *çavuş*, Mehmed Agha, who was ordered to accompany the envoy to the Polish court. In order to see the text of the *'ahdname* Miaskowski had to bribe the Ottoman dignitaries.⁴⁹

During their stay in Poland, Ottoman envoys along with their colleagues from other "eastern" countries—Muscovy, the Crimea, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Persia—were maintained by the Crown treasury. This custom did not apply to Western European embassies.⁵⁰

Reychman and Zajączkowski list only twenty Ottoman missions sent to Poland during the years 1509–1777.⁵¹ Again, a close examination of a given period shows how inadequate is this number. In

of Djem Sultan," when Sultan Bayezid, fearing for his throne, repeatedly sent his agents to France and Italy, including the future grand vizier, Mustafa Agha; see Inalcık, "A Case Study in Renaissance Diplomacy: the Agreement between Innocent VIII and Bayezid II on Djem Sultan," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 3 (1979): 209–230; Vatin, "Itinéraires d'agents de la Porte en Italie (1483–1496). Réflexions sur l'organisation des missions ottomanes et sur la transcription des noms de lieux italiens," *Turcica. Revue d'études turques* 19 (1987): 29–50; Vatin, *L'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes (1480–1522)*, pp. 226–27.

⁴⁹ Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, p. 95.

⁵⁰ Wójcik, *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*, pp. 278–79.

⁵¹ Reychman and Zajączkowski, *Handbook*, pp. 182–83.

his detailed study of Polish-Ottoman diplomatic relations in the years 1576–1586, Kazimierz Dopierała found as many as twenty-two Ottoman missions sent to Poland, while the aforementioned two authors mention only three Ottoman missions sent in the same period.⁵²

In the eighteenth century, Ottoman diplomacy assumed new dynamics. Capable and trained officials were sent to European courts, charged with the task of writing final reports after the conclusion of their missions. Faik Reşit Unat collected forty-two accounts from Ottoman embassies to various European and Asian countries written in the years 1655–1845. These accounts were called *sefaretnames*. Most of their authors—usually the ambassadors themselves or their secretaries—were high-ranking dignitaries with honorary titles of pashas and efendis. Only four of them were lower ranked aghas. Not accidentally, two of these aghas were ambassadors to Poland.⁵³

Actually, the two best Ottoman reports on late eighteenth-century Poland were written by diplomats who only passed through the territory of the Commonwealth and did not even reach Warsaw. The first one, Resmi Ahmed Efendi, was crossing Polish territory on his way to Berlin; the second, Nahifi Mehmed Efendi, was traveling to Moscow with the embassy of Abdulkерim Pasha.⁵⁴ This fact further confirms the thesis of the low position of Poland in eighteenth-century Ottoman politics. Educated and trained men were sent to Berlin, Vienna and Moscow, but not to Warsaw.

The last Ottoman embassy to Poland arrived in 1777, led by the chief accountant of the Porte (*baş muhasebeci*), Seyyid Numan Beg. Thanks to a detailed diary composed in French by the aforementioned Crown translator, Antoni Crutta, this last embassy is also the best described one.⁵⁵ Having arrived merely with a delayed notification

⁵² Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją za Stefana Batorego*, p. 170.

⁵³ Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefaretnameleri* (Ankara, 1968), pp. VII–IX, 97–98, 105–106. The report of 1755 written by Hacı Ali Agha was published by Abdurrahman Şeref, “Manzum bir sefaretname,” *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmu’ası* 3 (1328/1910), no. 13: 777–95. On this report, see also Barbara Kucharska, “Polska XVIII wieku w oczach tureckiego dyplomaty Hacı Ali Agi,” *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* (1962), no. 1 (41): 31–46.

⁵⁴ On these two embassies, see the previous chapter.

⁵⁵ This diary is edited in the Polish translation by Eustachy Marylski, see *Dziennik przyjęcia i pobytu nadzwyczajnego posła Porty Otomańskiej do Stanisława Augusta króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego, i do Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1777 r.* (Warsaw, 1860). On this embassy, see also Reychman, *Orient w kulturze polskiego Oświecenia* (Wrocław, 1964), pp. 23–35 and Arkadiusz Kołodziejczyk, “Muzułmanie w Warszawie w

of the imperial accession of Abdulhamid I, Numan Beg spent eight months in Warsaw, willingly participating in French theatre spectacles, masquerades, banquets, and other amusements. The Commission of the Treasury rented for the Ottoman embassy a furnished palace on Marszałkowska street, ordering a Turkish sofa for the ambassador's comfort and assigning for this purpose an additional sum of one hundred florins. The daily allowance paid for the upkeep of the embassy was fifty-six florins. No wonder that after some time the Polish authorities were eager to get rid of the distinguished guest, notwithstanding his popularity among the citizens of Warsaw. The prolonged sojourn of Numan Beg contributed to the rising popularity of Oriental fashion in Poland, and his visit to Warsaw was immortalized in the portrait executed by the court painter, Marcello Bacciarelli.

Unlike in Moscow or Bahçesaray, Polish never served as a diplomatic language in official negotiations and correspondence in Istanbul.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, one often finds officials at the Ottoman court who did not conceal their Polish origin. Sometimes they were secretly paid by the Polish Crown treasury for information and diplomatic services. In such cases sentiment was apparently combined with financial interest. The most famous Pole at the Ottoman court in the sixteenth century was Joachim Strasz alias Ibrahim Beg, who occupied the post of chief dragoman in the 1550s.⁵⁷ Another Pole, Jan Kierdej alias Said Beg, traveled to Poland three times as an Ottoman envoy (1531, 1538, and 1543). Being the son of Zygmunt Kierdej, the *starosta* of Krasnystaw, he had been captured in infancy by a Turkish foray and raised as a Muslim.⁵⁸

XVIII–XX w.,” in: *Warszawa i Mazowsze. Rozważania nad dziejami*, vol. I (Warsaw, 1997): 57–78, esp. pp. 59–60.

⁵⁶ During the Russian-Ottoman demarcation of 1705 following the treaty of 1700, the Ottoman document was prepared in Turkish with a translation in Polish (*in lingua turca con una esatta e vera traduzione in lingua polacca*). Similarly the Russian document was accompanied by a Polish translation (*in lingua slava [i.e., Russian] con una traduzione esatta e vera in lingua polacca*). Apparently, in this particular case, Polish served as the *lingua franca* in Russian-Ottoman relations. An Italian translation of the Polish version of the Russian document is preserved in Paris, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et documents, Turquie, no. 1, fol. 148a–150b.

⁵⁷ Reyman and Zajęzkowski, *Handbook*, p. 166. See also the relation from Bzicki's embassy of 1557 in: Przyboś and Zelewski, eds., *Dyplomaci w dawnych czasach. Relacje staropolskie z XVI–XVIII stulecia*, p. 75.

⁵⁸ Reyman and Zajęzkowski, *Handbook*, p. 182; Spieralski, *Awantury mołdawskie*, p. 62.

The most notable contribution to Ottoman culture was rendered in the seventeenth century by another Pole, Wojciech Bobowski alias Ali Ufki. Taken captive by the Tatars and sold to the palace, he remained there for many years as a page specializing in music. He is the author of a detailed description of the Topkapı Palace, and a collection of classical Turkish music transcribed in the European notation. In 1670–1671 Bobowski served as the second dragoman. His efforts to reconcile the Polish envoy Wysocki with the chief dragoman, Nicussios Panaiotti, and prevent the Polish-Ottoman war proved fruitless.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ For the various fields of Bobowski's activity, see Franz Babinger, "Bobowski Wojciech," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 2 (Cracow, 1936), pp. 156–57; Carol G. Fisher and Alan Fisher, "Topkapı Sarayı in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: Bobovi's description," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 10 (1985): 5–81; Gülrü Necipoglu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power. The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1991), pp. XIII, 112–18; Cem Behar, *Ali Ufki ve mezmurlar* (Istanbul, 1990).

CHAPTER SIX

TRADE AND MERCHANTS IN THE “POLISH” *AHDNAMES*

The commercial contents of sixteenth-century “Polish” *‘ahdnames* have recently been studied by Viorel Panaite.¹ Apart from the *‘ahdnames* of 1489 and 1533, all these documents contain clauses related to trade and merchants. During the sixteenth century the number of such clauses increased from two in 1494 to twenty-one in 1607. Especially innovatory are the *‘ahdnames* of 1553 (four new clauses), 1577 (five new clauses), and 1607 (seven new clauses). Trading subjects of the Polish king were gradually granted the following privileges in Ottoman lands:²

Privilege	Effective Date
I. Free access by sea and land, protection of life and property	1494
II. Immunity for the property of a deceased merchant	1494
III. Protection of creditors and execution of mutual debts	1502
IV. Abolition of the collective responsibility for another person's debts	1525
V. Freedom of trade after the payment of customs duties	1553
VI. Registration and supervision of transactions by the kadis	1553
VII. Free crossing of the Dniester	1553
VIII. Exemption of merchants' horses from military confiscations	1553
IX. Freedom from paying excessive taxes in Moldavia	1577

¹ Viorel Panaite, “Trade and merchants in the 16th century. Ottoman-Polish treaties,” *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 32 (1994): 259–76.

² As the articles were not provided with numbers in the Ottoman text, the classification of Panaite is applied here; see Panaite, “Trade and merchants in the 16th century. Ottoman-Polish treaties,” *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 32 (1994), pp. 262–64, 273–74. The order of some articles quoted by Panaite was changed here to suit the chronology better.

X. Freedom and security of trade and transit in Moldavia, provided that the merchants use public roads	1577
XI. Reaffirmation of individual responsibility for debts	1577
XII. The right of ransoming Polish prisoners by royal merchants ³	1577
XIII. Freedom from the excessive taxes demanded in Bursa	1577 ⁴
XIV. Exemption from the tax called departure money (<i>reft akçesi</i>) and the tax on animals (<i>kassabiye</i>) ⁵	1598
XV. Exemption from the tax levied on silver coin	1598
XVI. Exemption from the tax levied on silver coin, provided that royal merchants do not bring debased lion thalers (<i>arсланlı gurus</i>) ⁶	1607 ⁷
XVII. Reaffirmation of the freedom of trade in Bursa and Edirne	1607
XVIII. Immunity for royal subjects, whose disputes should be resolved by the heads of caravans ⁸	1607
XIX. Prohibition against presenting false witnesses in uncertified claims	1607
XX. Exemption from additional customs duties after having paid them in Istanbul or in Edirne	1607
XXI. Reaffirmation of the exemption from <i>reft akçesi</i> , <i>kassabiye</i> , and from other taxes not registered in the previous <i>ahdnames</i>	1607
XXII. Protection of royal merchants from the Tatars, including compensation for damages	1607

³ The clauses of the earlier treaties provided that Polish captives could be ransomed by royal agents. On Polish and Ukrainian slaves and war prisoners in the Ottoman empire, see Wojciech Hensel, "Jasyr z ziem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej na Krymie i w Turcji (druga połowa XV–XVII w.)." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Warsaw, 1977. On the manumission of slaves and their legal position in the Ottoman society, see Halil Sahillioglu, "Slaves in the social and economic life of Bursa in the late 15th and early 16th centuries," *Turcica. Revue d'études turques* 17 (1985): 43–112.

⁴ This clause reappears only in the *ahdname* of 1591.

⁵ According to the documents of the Armenian court in Lwów, Polish merchants continued to pay *reft akçesi* in the years that followed in spite of this article; see Andrzej Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu. Handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1997), p. 61.

⁶ See Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "The export of silver coin through the Polish-Ottoman border and the problem of the balance of trade," *Turcica. Revue d'études turques* 28 (1996): 103–114.

⁷ This clause reappears only in the *ahdname* of 1619.

⁸ On the function and role of the *karban başı* (Pol. *karawan baszy*; Lat. *caravanae polonae ductor*), see Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu. Handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI–XVIII wieku*, pp. 36–37.

A comparison with the "classical" sixteenth-century French and English capitulations reveals that the Polish *'ahdnames* contain almost identical clauses concerning the security of travelers and commerce, responsibility for debts, and inheritance of deceased merchants. The two "trading nations" obtained in addition several specific privileges, such as the clauses concerning the security of ships and shipwrecked goods, searches of ships, or consular appointments.⁹ Though such privileges were not granted (and not requested), Poland certainly belonged in that period to the "most favored nations" at the Ottoman court. This is explicitly stated in the text of the English *'ahdname* of 1580. It states that "friendship has been established with the aforementioned queen [Elisabeth] also, just like the mutual friendship and amity concluded between us and France, Venice and Poland and the other kings who display sincere friendship toward our exalted threshold."¹⁰

While starting in the midsixteenth century most of the clauses contained in Polish *'ahdnames* referred to commerce, the political contents played a much more significant role in these documents than in the capitulations granted to the "trading nations." Among the most frequently repeated political clauses in the Polish *'ahdnames* were provisions for the mutual release of captives and slaves, prohibition against receiving Moldavian refugees in Poland, stipulations to halt the Cossack and Tatar raids, and the efforts to ease Polish relations with Moldavia and Crimea.

Despite the foundations laid by Stanisław Kutrzeba, Władysław Łoziński, Łucja Charewiczowa, and Marian Małowist, Polish oriental trade has been much less studied than, for instance, Baltic trade. Only recently an excellent monograph of the Polish-Ottoman trade was published by Andrzej Dziubiński.¹¹ Simultaneously, Halil Inalcık has recently published two important studies on the Ottoman Black Sea based on primary material in the Turkish archives.¹²

⁹ Clauses in the French *'ahdnames* of 1569 and 1581 were compared with the clauses in the first English *'ahdname* of 1580 in Skilliter, *William Harborne*, p. 91.

¹⁰ Skilliter, *William Harborne*, p. 86; cf. Panaite, "Trade and merchants in the 16th century. Ottoman-Polish treaties," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 32 (1994), p. 270. On the development of the concept of a "most favored nation," see Inalcık, "Imtiyazat," *EI*², vol. 3, p. 1184.

¹¹ Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu. Handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI-XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1997).

¹² Inalcık, "The Black Sea and Eastern Europe," in: *An Economic and Social History*

Though the Black Sea lost its character of a great intercontinental trade route after the Ottoman conquest, Genovese merchants from Caffa were to some extent replaced by the subjects of the Polish king and the sultan. Polish-Ottoman trade began to play an important role in the economy of both states.¹³

The composition of the Polish-Ottoman trade makes it evident that the trade balance was strongly adverse for Poland. While Ottoman exports to Poland consisted in great part of domestic products like silk, carpets, textiles, mohair, raisins, soap, and horses, Poland had very few domestic articles to offer on the Ottoman market. Polish exports to Ottoman lands consisted mainly of English cloth, Silesian knives, Russian furs, and—above all—American silver in coin. The adverse balance of trade on the Polish side was further increased by the large-scale export of Moldavian oxen sold in large Central European cities.

This is not to say that this trade was unprofitable and without attraction for the Ottomans. In the sixteenth century, numerous English and Russian goods reached Istanbul through the territory of “Lehistan.” In this connection, we might mention the activity of the Eastland Company and the Ottoman court merchants (*hassa tüccar*) who shipped goods almost every year from Istanbul to Moscow. The Venetian bailo Domenico Trevisano wrote in 1554 that the sultan kept good relations with the Polish king for the convenience of the Ottoman subjects, who were importing from Poland *molte e diverse robbe*.¹⁴ Notwithstanding the papal embargos, various strategic materials also reached the Bosphorus from the north. For instance, a few months before the battle of Lepanto the Polish king allowed a large quantity of tin, probably of English origin, to be sold to the Ottomans.¹⁵

While Polish-Ottoman trade preserved a rather luxurious character well into the eighteenth century, the idea of exporting Ukrainian

of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914. Edited by H. Inalcık with D. Quataert (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 271–314; and idem, *Sources and Studies on the Ottoman Black Sea*, vol. I: *The Customs Register of Caffa, 1487–1490* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996).

¹³ See Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu. Handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI–XVIII wieku*, p. 16 and Veinstein, “Marchands ottomans en Pologne-Lituanie et en Moscovie sous le règne de Soliman le Magnifique,” *Cahiers du Monde russe* 35 (1994): 713–38.

¹⁴ Eugenio Albèri, ed., *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato*, serie III, vol. I (Florence, 1840), p. 160.

¹⁵ Jacob Reznik, *Le Duc Joseph de Naxos* (Paris, 1936), p. 252.

grain through the Black Sea was never forgotten. This idea was revived with the Russian conquest of the northern Black Sea shore and construction of the port in Kherson (Ukr. Xerson). Excessive commercial privileges granted to Polish nobles served Empress Catherine as means of gaining popularity in the Commonwealth. In 1783 Polish goods were exempted from fees in Kherson, and the ships of the newly established Polish company for oriental trade were authorized to enter Russian ports under the Polish banner. Paradoxically, it was the Ottomans who denied this right to Polish ships. In consequence, while entering Ottoman ports, Polish ships had to use the Russian banner.¹⁶ This matter was raised in 1790 by the last Polish ambassador in Istanbul, Piotr Potocki, who criticized the Ottomans for granting more extensive capitulation privileges to their enemies than to their friends. In the huge project he presented to the Porte, Potocki demanded that the clause of "the most favored nation" be granted to Poland, free transit through the Turkish straits be given to Polish ships, and a permanent Polish embassy in Istanbul along with Polish consulates in Ottoman provinces be opened.¹⁷ Apart from the reserve on the Ottoman side, these proposals very soon lost their currency as a result of the partitions of Poland.

¹⁶ Jan Reychman, "Le commerce polonais en Mer Noire au XVIII^e siècle par le port de Kherson," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 7 (1966): 234–48, esp. p. 239.

¹⁷ The project, preserved in French among the correspondence of Potocki, is published in: Waliszewski, *Ostatni poseł polski*, vol. 1, pp. 330–65.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGNS OF OTTOMAN SULTANS AND POLISH KINGS (1413–1795)

Sultans:

Mehmed I	1413–1421
Murad II	1421–1451
Mehmed II	1444 and 1451–1481
Bayezid II	1481–1512
Selim I	1512–1520
Suleyman I	1520–1566
Selim II	1566–1574
Murad III	1574–1595
Mehmed III	1595–1603
Ahmed I	1603–1617
Mustafa I	1617–1618
Osman II	1618–1622
Mustafa I	1622–1623
Murad IV	1623–1640
Ibrahim	1640–1648
Mehmed IV	1648–1687
Suleyman II	1687–1691
Ahmed II	1691–1695
Mustafa II	1695–1703
Ahmed III	1703–1730
Mahmud I	1730–1754
Osman III	1754–1757
Mustafa III	1757–1774
Abdulhamid I	1774–1789
Selim III	1789–1807

Kings:

Ladislaus Jagiełło	1387–1434
Ladislaus III	1434–1444
Casimir	1447–1492
John Albert	1492–1501
Alexander	1501–1506
Sigismund	1506–1548
Sigismund August	1548–1572
Henri de Valois	1573–1574
Stephan Báthory	1576–1586
Sigismund III Vasa	1587–1632
Ladislaus IV	1632–1648
John Casimir	1648–1668
Michał Wiśniowiecki	1669–1673
Jan (John) Sobieski	1674–1696
August II Wettin	1697–1733
Stanisław Leszczyński	1704–1710 and 1733–1735
August III Wettin	1735–1763
Stanislaus August	1764–1795

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLICATION

Of the sixty-nine documents published in this volume only thirty are in Ottoman-Turkish. Up to 1525 the Ottoman *'ahdnames* granted to the Polish kings were composed in Latin or Italian. After that date, Ottoman documents were composed exclusively in Turkish; however, some of them are today preserved only in Latin, Italian, or Polish translations. On the Polish side, the documents of ratification issued by the royal chancery were prepared in Latin, while among the truce and demarcation protocols issued by the commissioners one finds documents in Polish as well. In addition, the Ottoman-Crimean document of truce of 1595 was composed in broken Serbian, and the Polish-Ottoman treaty of 1790 was negotiated and prepared in French, and then translated into Ottoman-Turkish.

Only the original documents, written either in the Arabic or Latin alphabet, are published in facsimile along with the printed text. The documents preserved in copies and translations are not provided with facsimiles. The texts preserved in Western European languages—Latin, Italian, and French—are rendered in the original only, while the texts written in Ottoman-Turkish or Polish are provided with English translations.

As most of the Latin and Italian documents in this collection were issued by the sixteenth century, the conventions regarding the edition of late mediaeval sources were applied to all Latin and Italian texts. The original orthography is preserved with the exception of the letters *v* and *u*, used alternatively by mediaeval scribes and rendered here according to their phonetic value. The occasionally written “long” *j* has been changed to the “short” *i*, used in classical Latin, with the exception of foreign terms (e.g., *janczaros*) and proper names (e.g., *Jesus*, *Johannes*). The punctuation and upper/lower case has been modernized to render the text more legible.¹

¹ See Komisja Historyczna Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, ed., *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla średniowiecznych źródeł historycznych* (Cracow, 1925); Adam Wolff, “Projekt instrukcji wydawniczej dla pisanych źródeł historycznych do połowy XVI wieku,” *Studia źródłoznawcze* 1 (1957): 155–81.

For the Polish texts, which primarily originate from the seventeenth century, the conventions regarding the edition of early modern sources were applied. Here the orthography has been modernized, but the phonetics of the words has been preserved.²

In regard to the publication of Ottoman documents, the series published by the Austrian Academy of Sciences was adopted as a model by this author, notwithstanding some differences in transcription.³ Similar rules were applied in this volume. The documents in Ottoman-Turkish are published in Latin-script transcription, English translation, and—in a separate section—in facsimile. Only the texts from 1553, 1607, 1617, 1621, and 1630 (Document 40) are not provided with facsimiles, because their originals are not preserved, and their reconstruction has been based on various copies. In any case, all these documents have already been published in Arabic script, though usually with numerous errors.⁴

Every document published in this volume is provided with a brief introductory note concerning its characteristics, extant copies, translations, and any previous publication; whenever possible, the publication has been based on original documents. Textual variation in the copies is referred to only in instances where their reading supplements or substantially changes the original text. If the original document is missing, its text was reconstructed on the basis of all extant copies. Usually the oldest and/or the most reliable copy is referred to as copy A and serves as the basis for reconstruction.

In the published documents, the following marks and rules have been applied:

² See *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku* (Wrocław, 1953).

³ See the first volume of this series published by Anton Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien*, pt. 1–2 (Vienna, 1983).

⁴ The texts of 1607, 1617, and 1621 are contained in the so-called collection of Feridun Bey; the text of 1630 is contained in the chronicle by Mustafa Na'ima; and the text of 1553 was published by Tayyib Gökbilgin on the basis of the Venetian copy.

italicized square brackets,

thus: [/]

square brackets, thus: []

[sic]

pair of lesser than, greater

than signs, thus: <>

bold face

italic face

line number in the original document
text evidently omitted (also editor's explanations in translations)

most obvious grammar or spelling mistakes

text inserted or repeated by mistake

text written in gold (or in blue)

names, words, and sentences with a problematic reading or unclear meaning

The Latin-script transcription is based on the modern Turkish alphabet. Arabic *ta* (ط) is rendered with "t" or "d" as appropriate; Arabic *kef* (ك) with "k," "g," "n," and occasionally with the old, palatalized "d'." Arabic *waw* (و) is pronounced in Turkish as "v," but for Koranic quotations the letter "w" was used in transcription as well. The letter 'ayn (ع) and *hamze* (ء), both pronounced in Turkish as glottal stops, are rendered respectively as "" and ",'" the Arabic *wasla* is rendered by "'." The problem of rendering and modernizing Ottoman orthography by means of Latin-script transcriptions still provokes discussions among specialists. Upon consideration it was resolved to honor the orthographic archaisms in order to render the Ottoman text more precisely. Thus the author decided to leave more archaic forms like *olub* and *beglerbegi* instead of the modern ones, *olup* and *beylerbeyi*, and to honor the forms like *virnek* or *Lih*, in order to distinguish the narrow vocal *e* rendered by the Ottomans with the letter "i"<Ar. *ya* (ي). Inconsistencies within the texts may furnish us with information about the development of the Ottoman language and orthography at a given time.

The following letters of the modern Turkish alphabet are either pronounced differently or are absent in English:

Turkish	International Transcription	English
c	dž	<i>James</i>
ç	č	<i>cheese</i>
j	ž	<i>garage</i>
ı	y	<i>bit</i>
ş	š	<i>fish</i>

For Ukrainian names the International Transcription is applied:

Ukrainian	International Transcription	English
є	je	ye
и	y	bit
ї	ji	yi
х	x	<i>Bach</i>
ч	č	ch
ш	š	sh
щ	šč	shch
ю	ju	yu
я	ja	ya
ь	,	soft sign

TEXTS

DOCUMENT 1 (12 JUNE 1444)
The *ahdname* sent by Murad II to King Ladislaus

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

- A. Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, ms. Palatino no. 49, cod. Targioni, fol. 17–18, no. 16 (enclosed in a letter dated 18 June 1444, addressed to Andrea Giustiniani-Banca, the Italian humanist living in the Greek East).
Published in a) F. Pall, *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la Crociata contro i Turchi* (Valenii de Munte, 1937), pp. 49–50; b) O. Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna. A Discussion of Controversial Problems* (New York, 1943), pp. 88–90.
- B. Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana di Lucca, cod. no. 555, fol. 454b–458b (enclosed in a letter dated 24 June 1444, addressed to John VIII, the emperor of Constantinople).

Published in a) I.A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, vol. 6 (Padova, 1754), appendix by I.D. Mansi, pp. 14–15; b) Pall, *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la Crociata contro i Turchi*, pp. 55–56 (fol. 457a of the manuscript enclosed as facsimile II); c) Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna. A Discussion of Controversial Problems*, pp. 88–90.

The following reedition is based on the original edition of Pall. Halecki's amendments of the Latin text are given in footnotes.

A.

Precellentissimo Principi Ladislao, Pannonie Polonieque Serenissimo Regi perinde ac fratri et amico excolendissimo nostro, Amorath Beg, Sultam, Machmeth Beg magni olim regnatoris Asie filius, Magnus Asie Rex Thracumque et Macedonum Potentissimus Imperator, salutem et sincer[a] devotionis affectum.

Sthoyka, fidelem Celsitudinis Tue hominem, nuntium oratoremque legatum egregium, lubenter vidimus et quas nobis Precellentie Tue pergratas litteras obtulerat, libentius quidem inspeximus. E quis^a Te velle cognovimus, nos prefato Sthoyka omniave perinde ac Tue proprie persone fidem credulam adhibere; quem primo Tue Celsitudinis nomine de re G[eorgii] despotis exposuisse, scito, ut et sibi filios et sua quaeque loca restituere velim et ipse tamen G[eorgius] quemadmodum nobis quibusque nostris in rebus opitulatum iri exacto tempore tenebatur, sic et deinceps pariter teneretur. Que omnia Celsitudinis Tue et Regie Fraternitatis intuitu quam placide largiti sumus. Idem preterea Tuus orator, Tue Serenitatis nomine flagitabat, ut Blado vayovode principive Flaccorum pacem dare hisce conditionibus

^a Halecki: *quibus*.

dignaremur, quod ipse Blado ea, que nobis primo in federe vectigalia quot annis tribuere tenebatur, in futurum utique teneatur, sed nostram ad curiam se, more solito, personaliter conferre absolutum^b sit. Que omnia lubens Regie Tue Fraternitatis gratia concedere hoc pacto decrevimus, ut ipse quot annis obsidem quempiam nobis transmittere teneatur ac etiam si qui nostratum homines suis quibusque in locis aufugerint ad nos quam primum illos remittere debeat, quemadmodum et nos fugientes nostras ad partes suos quoscumque homines reddere constituimus. Que quidem igitur, omnia lubenti animo et placida voluntate concessa, hoc pacto firma rataque esse decrevimus, quod et Tecumque ac aliis quibusque sociis et adherentibus Tuis simulque nobis et nostris pax, amicitia fraternalisque benivolentia esto, cuiusce rei gratia, regio nostro^c de more, Tuo coram oratore Sthoyka iuravimus, pacem ipsam firmam, veram, bonam atque tranquillam, absque dolo vel fraude X per annos stabilem observare. Quapropter Regie Precellentie Tue mittimus nostrum hunc fidelem, nobilem et perstrenuum virum Solimambegh, ut eius in conspectu Serenitati Tue placeat, Regio Tuo vestratumque religionis more, fideliter recteque iurare, absque ullo dolo vel fraude, quod ab hodierno die ad futurum usque decimum temporis annum, bonam, stabilem tranquillamque invicem pacem nobiscum habebitis atque eam constanter inviolabiliterque observabitis.

Datum Hadr[ianupoli], nostro de more, XII Iunii MCCCCXLIIII^o.

B. Responsio Teucris ad ipsum Pannoniae Regem.

Magno ac Excellenti Principi, Magno Imperatori Ladislao, Imperatori Ungariae Regique Polloniae etc., tanquam fratri et amico dilectissimo, Amurath Beg, Magnus Dominus, Magnus [Amyras Soltam],^d F[ilius] Magni Imperatoris, Magni Soltani Machmet Beg, salutem atque fraternitatis et amicitiae prosperum incrementum.

Noverit Vestra Excellentia, quod nobilem virum ac egregium nuntium Stoyka Vestrum fidelem, nobis placitam et dilectam litteram ex parte Excellentiae Vestrae conduxit; per quam litteram Excellentia Vestra narravit, quod quicquid fidelis ac Vester nuntius Stoyka Vestri parte tractabit, tanquam Vestrae personae propriae credamus. [Narramus]^e Dominationi Vestrae, quod dilectus nuntius Stoyka nobis dixit in primo de domino despota Georgio, videlicet quod dare debeam filios atque loca sua et quod ipse Georgius sit obligatus in omnibus servitiis nostris, sicut pro praeterito erat. De quo pro fraternitate Excellentiae Vestrae concessi. Ac etiam nobis narravit, quod domino Blado vayvoda[e] Velacho, placeat mihi pacem

^b Halecki: *absolutus*.

^c Omitted by Halecki.

^d In the manuscript *Magnus Amorath Soltani*. It should read *Magnus Amyras Soltam* as in the preserved documents of Murad II issued in Serbian and Greek (μεγας αμυρας σουλτανος); see Pall, *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la Crociata contro i Turchi*, p. 55, n. 3.

^e In the manuscript *narrans*; see Pall, *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la Crociata contro i Turchi*, p. 55, n. 4.

secum agere in hoc modo: quod ipse Blado vayvoda mihi det tributum ad solitum primum ac in omnibus servitiis nostris sicut primo erat obligatus, quod noviter sit, nisi quod non personaliter ad nostram curiam veniat. De quo amore Excellentiae Vestrae contenti sumus, videlicet quod Blado vayvoda det tributum et omnia, quae in nostris negotiis erat obligatus, etiam noviter faciat ac contenti sumus, quod ipse personaliter non veniat in curia nostra, nisi quod nobis mittat ostagium, ac etiam, si nostri in locis suis fugiant, quod nobis mittantur, et etiam nos sic faciamus, si de illis hic fugient. Et ista intelligitur hoc modo, videlicet quod Excellentia Vestra nobiscum pacem atque fraternitatem et amicitiam bonam simul habeamus. Ex qua causa nos iuravimus coram nuntio Excellentiae Vestrae, videlicet Stoyca<e>, quod nos cum Excellentia Vestra bonam et solidam pacem habeamus sine aliquo dolo vel fraude usque ad annos decem. De quo nos mittimus nostrum fidelem nobilem et egregium Solymam-beg, videlicet quod placeat Excellentiae Vestrae personaliter iurare, recte et fideliter sine aliquo dolo, quod per annos X bonam et solidam pacem nobiscum habebitis.^f

Datum Hadrianupoli, XII Iunii [1444].

^f Halecki: *habeatis*.

DOCUMENT 2 (22 MARCH 1489)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Bayezid II to King Casimir
[Facs. I]

Original document in Latin:¹ AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 4, no. 6 (*KDT*, pp. 22–23).

70.5 × 26.5 cm.

tugra (gold with black edges)

text (black sprinkled with gold sand)

Copies:

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 4, no. 7 (by Crutta).

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 611, p. 29.

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 22 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 439–40.

This last copy is published in *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, [vol. 1]. Edited by A. Sokołowski and J. Szujski (Cracow, 1876), no. 249, p. 293; and republished in *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, vol. II, pt. 2: *1451–1510*. Edited by E. Hurmuzaki (Bucharest, 1891), no. 280, pp. 315–16.

Polish translation by Otwinowski: Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 9a–9b.

Bayezid bin Mehmed han muzaffer da’ima²

- [1] Sultan Bayesith, Dei gratia Asie, Grecie etc. Imperator
[2] Maximus. In presentiarum misit huc ad portam nostram Illustrissimus
[3] et Excellentissimus Dominus Chazimiro Rex Polonie spectabilem et generosum
[4] Nicolaum Firlei Dambrowycha³ in suum oratorem ad confirmandam
[5] amicitiam et pacem, que inter nos est. Venit igitur ad presentiam
[6] nostram dictus orator et fecit verba super hac causa ac confirmavit
[7] predictam amicitiam, que confirmatio incepta anno Jesus mccccclxxxviii
[8] xxii die mensis Martii; et est talis confirmatio certificata a modo usque
[9] ad annos duos. Et presentes littere scripte sunt in fidem et certitudinem.
[10] Quod a die hodierno usque ad duos annos inter nos et prefatum
[11] Illustrissimum Regem sit pax firma. Itaque a nobis et a nostris satrapis et servis

¹ The Latin used in the Ottoman chancery was strongly influenced by Italian vocabulary and orthography. For instance, in this document the Polish king is referred to as *Chazimiro* instead of *Casimiro*.

² The text of the *tugra*: “Bayezid, son of Mehmed, the ever victorious khan.”

³ Mikołaj Firlej from Dąbrowica.

- [12] ac omnibus subditis nostris nulla molestia nec damnum inferatur provincie
[13] terris et castris ac villis pertinentibus ad Regnum Polonie et Magnum
[14] Ducatum Lythuanie ac etiam omnibus et singulis
[15] hominibus sibi subditis. Similiter, et quod ab ipso illustrissimo Rege
predicto omni-
[16] bus et singulis provinciis, terris ac locis Magni Imperii nostri nullum
damnum sive
[17] molestia aliqua inferatur. Sed sit pax et amicitia firma inter utranque
partem
[18] iurantes per Deum, quod donec predictus Rex observabit dictam fidem
[19] suam et pacem, nec ab ipso fiat aliquod contrarium, nos etiam, debeamus
[20] observare pacem nostram et fidem, nec fiet a nobis aliquod contra
fidem
[21] et pacem predictam. Ex Constantinopoli xxii Martii anno
[22] Jesus mccccxxxviii.

DOCUMENT 3 (6 APRIL 1494)

The *ahdname* sent by Bayezid II to King John Albert
[Facs. II]

Original document in Latin: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 9, no. 20
(*KDT*, pp. 27–28).

69.5 × 28 cm.

tugra (gold with black edges)

text (black)

Published in *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. 3. Edited by A. Lewicki
(Cracow, 1894), no. 403, pp. 417–18.

Copies:

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 9, no. 21 (by Crutta).

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 611, pp. 35–38.

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 23 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 323–26.

D. AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, sign. 17, fol. 86b.

Polish translation by Otwinowski: Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 11a–12b.

Bayezid bin Mehmed han muzaffer da'ima¹

- [1] Sultan Bayazit Han, Dei gracia Imperator ambarum terrarum, Asiae
atque Europae et marium
[2] Magnus Sultanus etc. Notum facimus nostras per presentes literas
com[m]odo anno Jesu Profete
[3] milesimo [cadrigesimo^a] nonagesimo quarto, die solis sexta mensis
Aprilis, cum Serenissimo Principe Domino
[4] <Domino> Ihoanne Alberto Dei gracia Rege Polonie et Supremo Duce
Litbanie [sic] Rusie Prusieque
[5] domino et herede etc. pacem et amicitiam inter nos et nostra dominia
ex utraque parte
[6] ad decursum trium annorum fecimus tali modo et ordine: Primum,
quod ab illis temporibus
[7] dum cum serenissimo Cazimiro rege Polonie patre Sue Serenitatis treuas
[sic] pacis abuimus [sic],
[8] in scriptis et mutuis iuramentis confirmatas, de Regno Polonie et ter-
ris eiusdem regni per
[9] nostros subditos homines captos et abductos redere iussu nostro sese
obligavimus, et obli-

¹ The text of the *tugra*: “Bayezid, son of Mehmed, the ever victorious khan.”

^a Cf. [43].

- [10] gamus eciam per presentes litteras, quod ex nunc et in posterum servare factam pacem et amicitiam
- [11] inter Nostram Serenitatem et Illustrisimum Regem Polonie Ihoanem Albertum tali modo, ut Regnum
- [12] Polonie et Magnus Ducatus Lituanie ac eciam terras et subditos eorundem nullam mali-
- [13] ciam nec damnum a nobis et a nostris veziribus et eciam a nostris subditis hominibus
- [14] per dictum temporis spacium paciantur, set [*sic*] mutua caritas, iusticia, pax et securitas serva-
- [15] ri debet inter nos et nostros subditos, oratoresque ex utraque parte, quantum opus fuerit,
- [16] inter nos ire et redire possunt pacifice. Item, in eadem pace et amicitia homines
- [17] mercatores utriusque domini inter nos propter suum comodum libere equitabunt. In
- [18] nullo preiudicium passuri dum-taxat naviglium et constituta secundum consuetudi-
- [19] nem nostrorum locorum soluere tenebuntur. Et si aliquem de predictis mercatoribus Regni Polonie et
- [20] Ducatu[s] Litbanie in eisdem nostris dominiis contingat mori, huius defuncti omnia
- [21] bona non debent a nobis recipi sed tamdium [*sic*] servari, quousque eiusdem defuncti propincus
- [22] cum literis regalibus veniat et ei predicta bona omnia libere restui [*sic*] seu dari debent
- [23] iussu nostro. Item, si in eisdem treugis huius pacis trium annorum aliquod damnum in Regno
- [24] Polonie seu Ducatu Libanie aut terris eorundem [*sic*] per nostros subditos illatum esset quocumque
- [25] modo, sine ulla excusacione nos obligamus, eum qui fecit hoc, ut nostro imperio in-
- [26] veniatur et puniatur et damnum factum omnino reformare et reddere homines iussu
- [27] nostro ad locos illos, a quibus capti sunt. Item, si contingerit aliqui nostrorum
- [28] subditorum habere suum debitorem in Regnio [*sic*] Polonie seu Ducatu Litbanie, tunc ille
- [29] actor debet sequi forum rei et sibi plena iusticia debet ministrari, ut inocens
- [30] pro noxio non paciatur; sed talis inocens in eisdem nostris dominiis atque vestris non debet
- [31] retrai [*sic*] seu arctari. Que quidem omnia<m> supra<m> scripta integraliter tenere et inviolabiliter
- [32] servare polliciti sumus et iuramento nostro corporali servanda confirmavimus in is
- [33] verbis: "Per nostrum profetam Mochamet et per Coranum et per Deum Vivum Omnipotentem iuramus,

- [34] omnia supra scripta tenere et servare sine aliqua violencia, et nullum contrarium
- [35] exeat a me huius convencionis; ille autem, qui transgrediatur aliquid supra scritis [*sic*]
- [36] cum iuramento promisionibus, Deus dabit ipsi convenientem retributionem sitque ille
- [37] dignus eius pena.” Et istud iuramentum nostrum in manibus magnifici Nicolai Screro-
- [38] sci oratoris Serenisimi Regis Pollonie Domini Yoanis Alberti posuimus et as [*sic*] nostras
- [39] presentes literas manu propria in manibus eius tradidimus, Serenissimus eciam Dominus Ihoanes
- [40] Albertus Dei gracia Rex Polonie etc. simile iuramentum in manus oratoris nostri, quem
- [41] cum prefacto Sue Serenitatis oratore mittimus, nobis facere litterrasque pariformes
- [42] reversales per eundem nostrum oratorem remit[t]ere tenetur. Date sunt in aula Nostre
- [43] Sultanice Potestatis a natali Ihesu profete milesimo cadrigentesimo [*sic*] nonage-
- [44] simo quarto, sexta die mensis Aprillis.

DOCUMENT 4 (28 JUNE 1494)

The royal confirmation of the treaty and the formula of the
royal oath

The original document is missing.

Latin copy: AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, sign. 15, fol. 128b–129a.

Published in *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. 3. Edited by A. Lewicki (Cracow, 1894), no. 405, pp. 419–21.

Inscriptio treugarum pacis cum Turco factarum.

Iohannes Albertus, Dei gracia etc. Notum facimus nostras per presentes literas, quomodo anno incarnationis Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi^a millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo quarto, die Saturni, vicesima octava seu penultima [*sic*] mensis Iunii, cum serenissimo principe Domino Sultan Bayazit Han, Imperatore ambarum terrarum Azie atque Europe et marium Magno Sultano etc. pacem et amicitiam, inter nos et nostra dominia, ex utraque parte, ad decursum trium annorum, a die facti iuramenti per dominum imperatorem computando, fecimus tali modo et ordine:

Primum, quod ab illis temporibus, dum cum serenissimo olim domino Kazimiro rege Polonie patre nostro treugas pacis habuerunt, in scriptis et mutuis iuramentis confirmatas, de Regno Polonie et terris eiusdem regni per subditos dicti imperatoris homines captos et abductos reddere nobis iussu dicti domini imperatoris sese obligavit et obligat etiam per presentes literas; quod ex nunc et imposterum [*sic*] servare factam pacem et amicitiam inter Nostram Serenitatem et dictum Dominum Imperatorem Sultan Bayazit, tali modo, ut omnia dominia dicti domini imperatoris et subditi eorundem nullam maliciam neque damnum, a nobis et a nostris exercitibus et etiam a nostris subditis hominibus, per spacium dicti temporis paciantur, sed mutua caritas, iusticia, pax et securitas servari debent inter nos et nostros subditos, oratoresque ex utraque parte, quantum opus fuerit, inter nos ire et redire possunt pacifice.

Item, in eadem pace et amicitia homines mercatores utriusque domini inter nos propter com[m]odum suum libere equitabunt, in nullo preiudicium passuri duntaxat [*sic*] navigium et constituta, secundum consuetudinem nostrorum locorum, solvere tenebuntur. Et si aliquem de predictis mercatoribus de dominiis dicti domini imperatoris, in Regno nostro Polonie et in aliis nostris terris mori contingat, huius defuncti omnia bona non debent a nobis recipi, sed tamdiu servari, quousque eiusdem defuncti propinquus

^a Written with the conventional abbreviation: *Xpi*.

cum literis domini imperatoris veniat, et ei predicta bona omnia libere restitui seu dari debent iussu nostro.

Item, si in eisdem treugis huius pacis trium annorum aliquod damnum in Regno nostro Polonie seu Ducatu Lithwanie aut in aliis terris nostris per dictum Dominum Imperatorem vel Sue Serenitatis subditos nobis illatum esset quocunque modo, sine ulla excusacione Serenitas Domini Imperatoris factorem vel factores damnorum invenire et punire mandare debet et damnum factum omnino reformare et reddere homines iussu illius Serenitatis et ad loca illa, a quibus capti sunt, reducere debet.

Item si contigerit aliquem nostrorum subditorum vel alicuius nostrum habere suum debitorem vel debitores in Regno nostro Polonie vel Ducatu Lithwanie vel in imperio et dominiis dicti Domini Imperatoris, tunc ille actor debet sequi forum rei et sibi plena iusticia debet ministrari, ut innocens pro noxio non paciatur; sed talis innocens, tam in nostris dominiis, quam eciam vestris, non debet retrahi seu arctari.

Que quidem omnia suprascripta integraliter tenere et inviolabiliter servare polliciti sumus et iuramento nostro corporali servanda confirmavimus in istis verbis: "Nos Iohannes Albertus rex Polonie prefatus iuramus, quod omnia suprascripta tenere et servare sine aliqua violencia volumus et tene-mur, ita nos Deus Omnipotens adiuvet et hec Sancta Dei Evangelia; et nullum contrarium exeat a nobis huius convencionis; ille autem, qui transgrediatur aliquid suprascripti iuramenti, dabit ipsi Deus convenientem retribuicionem sitque ille dignus eius pena." Et istud iuramentum nostrum in manibus magnifici Chaidari oratoris Serenissimi Imperatoris Domini Sultan Bayazit etc. posuimus, et has nostras presentes literas manu propria in manibus eius tradidimus, prout prefatus dominus imperator simile iuramentum in manus oratoris nostri, quem apud suam maiestatem habuimus, posuit et fecit. Et per hunc oratorem prefati domini imperatoris nostras literas reversales remisimus et remittimus per presentes. Datum Cracovie, die Saturni, vicesima octava mensis Iunii, anno Domini 1494, regni vero nostri anno secundo.

Iuramentum:

Ego Iohannes Albertus Rex Polonie etc. iuro, quod omnia scripta in ista littera tenere et servare, sine aliqua violacione, volo et promitto. Ita me Deus adiuvet et hec Sancta Dei Evangelia, et nullum contrarium exhibit a me huius ordinacionis. Ille autem, qui transgredietur aliquid suprascripti iuramenti Deus dabit illi convenientem retribuicionem, sitque dignus eius pena.

DOCUMENT 5 (1 MARCH 1500)
The formula of the royal oath preserved in Polish¹

The original is missing.

Copy: AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 3, fol. 33b.

Published in *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. 3. Edited by A. Lewicki (Cracow, 1894), no. 452, pp. 469–70.

Forma iuramenti regii.

Przysięgamy na ty Szwiąte Ewangelie według zakonu naszego chrześcijańskiego przez Pana Boga sztworzycziela nieba i ziemie, iż pokój i przyjacielstwo bądziemy chowacz i brat nasz Aleksander książdz wielki litewski z czesarzem z sołtanem Bajazaitem,^a jako obyczaj jest, pokój chowacz, aż do dnia i czasu, sz Króliem Jego Miłością węgierszkim bratem oboich naszym uczynionego, i tak długo, jako od czesarza i od jego poddanych nam i naszym ziemiam wszystkim i poddanym nicz sie złego ani szkody ani nieprzyjazni nie stanie.

Translation:

We swear by the Holy Gospel, according to our Christian law, by the Lord, God, the Creator of heaven and earth, that—along with our brother Alexander, the grand duke of Lithuania—we shall keep the peace and amity with the emperor, Sultan Bayezid, in accordance with the custom of peacekeeping, until the day and the time, when [a reconciliation] is effected with His Majesty, the king of Hungary, the brother of both of us; and [we shall keep the peace] as long as no harm, damage, or hostile action is done to ourselves, any of our lands and subjects by the emperor or any of his subjects.

¹ The duration of the truce is not specified in this document. In his letter to the citizens of Danzig, the palatine of Malbork Mikołaj Bażyński stated that the truce was valid until St. Martin's Day (i.e., 11 November); see *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. III, pt. 2: 1498–1501. Edited by K. Górski and M. Biskup (Toruń, 1963), no. 460, p. 136: "Ist villeicht e. w. wissend die botschafft vom Turken, an ko. ma. kurtzlich verlouffen gelangt mit anbrengenn unnd bgir, noch deme der Turck unszrn herrenn sich, durch edes burden beladen, versworen und frid uff genomen hat bis uff Martini ungeferlich nest anstendig."

^a In the original orthography: *Bayazaitem*.

DOCUMENT 6 (19 JULY 1501)

The *ahdname* sent by Bayezid II to King John Albert

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 1, fol. 25b–26a.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 24 (*Teki Naruszevicza*), pp. 387–92.

Published in F. Papée, ed., *Acta Alexandri Regis Poloniae, Magni Ducis Lithuaniae etc.* = *Akta Aleksandra, króla polskiego, w. księcia litewskiego (1501–1506)* (Cracow, 1927), no. 10, pp. 9–11.

Treuge pacis ab imperatore Turcorum per Nicolaum Lanczkoronski obtente.

Sultan [Bayazeth]^a Han, Dei gracia Imperator Grecie, Assie atque Europe et marium. Notum omnibus facimus, quia veniens coram nobis generosus Nicolaus Lanczkoronski, orator Serenissimi Principis Domini Johannis Alberti, regis Polonie, Dei gracia dux^b Lithuanie, Russie, Prussie, amicus et vicinus noster charissimus,^c et ex parte prefati Maiestatis, amici nostri, nobis aliqua verba retulit et acquisivit illam pacem et amicitiam, quam nos cum Sua Maiestate per nostrum oratorem composuimus, qualem Sua Maiestas benivole accepit, eciam mediante iuramentum factum^d in presentia oratoris nostri et litteris a Sua Maiestate missis nobis coroborando [*sic*] et confirmando. Similiter mediante iuramento nostro et litteris nostris confirmamus, coroboramus in tali modo, ut illa amicitia et pax, quam cum predicto Serenissimo Rege, amico nostro et dominiis quemlibet^e acceptamus et accepimus, illam idem et fortificamus, confirmamus a tredecimo Magii [*sic*] anno Jesu 1501 usque quando nobis cum prefato rege, amico nostro et cum omnibus subditis et dominiis ex ambabus partibus conservare et firmiter tenere voluerimus et permittimus, in tali modo et ordine: Primitus, quod ex nunc usque ad tempus supra expressum cum prefata Maiestate servabimus pacem et amicitiam custodiemus, et nullum damnum per nos neque per subditos nostros [contra] prefatum regem sive subditos suos facere vel in aliquo modo ordinare, neque^f facere iustitiam et mutuam caritatem inter nos et subditos nostros simul conservabimus. Et oratores nostri ex utraque parte, tociens quociens necesse erit, ire et redire sine aliqua violencia neque periculo secure et pacifice possint. Item captivi ex utraque parte possint requiri in

^a Thusly in B.; A. *Bayzarith*.

^b Papée: *ducis*. In his edition Papée corrected the grammar and orthography of the copy. Here the original text is given. Only the most evident mistakes are corrected in footnotes.

^c Papée: *amici et vicini nostri charissimi*.

^d Papée: *iuramento facto*.

^e Papée: *quibuscumlibet*.

^f Papée: *atque*.

dominis utraque^g partium, maxime illi qui capti fuerunt ante hanc presentem treugam pacis, cum reperientur per christianos, exemere possint cum voluntate patronum eorum sive dominorum. Item illi, qui erunt capti post hanc pacem, liberi sine aliquo precio exire debent. Item donec hec pax inter nos et prefatam Maiestatem instabit, mercatores ex utraque parte exercere mercaturam pro comodis [*sic*] eorum libere possint, ire ex uno dominio ad aliud sine ulla oppressione neque preiudicio, sine iniuria exercere mercaturam in terris et dominiis nostris possint. Verum tamen secundum consuetudinem antiquam in illis locis, ubi solent navigia et vectigalia solvere, iusto modo solvent. Item si aliqui mercatores ex dominiis prefati regis moriuntur in terris et dominiis nostris, omnem facultatem et mercaturam illius non recipietur a nobis, sed conservetur idem^h substantia, donec veniet aliquis parens sanguine coniunctus cum litteris prefate Maiestatis testificatoriis, tunc ille facultates per mandatum nostrum restituentur. Item prefatus rex in simili casu taliter facere debet. Item si tempore treuge pacis in utraque [parte], si prefatus rex vel sua subductione sive industria in occulto sive palam comitteretur aliquod dampnum [*sic*] sive incursionem, vel nos vel nostri subditi vel mali factores, ipsi mali factores debent esse puniti sine aliqua excusatione, et damna facta per illos malos factores debent esse reformata et restituta in locis eorum, et maxime omnes, qui erunt captivati [*sic*] per aliquam maliciam debent restitui et liberari propter hoc, ut conservetur iustitia et pax [ex] utraque partium. Item si esset aliquis in dominio nostro, qui teneretur aliquod debitum aliquibus ex subditis prefate Rege Maiestatis, tunc actor ille, ut conservetur iustitia, debet ire coram iudicio, et ministrabitur sibi iusticia per nostros iudices iuxta legem Dei, ut non patiatur iustus pro impio. Similiter debet facere prefatus rex in sui dominiis subditis nostris. Res omnes predictae atque expresse firmiter et inviolabiliter atque integraliter servo, et servare promittimus iuxta iuramentum, promittimus et iuramus in his verbis, ut omnes res suprascripte de amicitia coniuncta inter nos et prefatum regem eciam <Deo> domini nostriⁱ conservare, in bona fide tenere, servare, sine fraudulencia et cavillatione aliqua excogitata servabimus, tenebimus, et nostris subditis servare deducemus atque faciemus et curabimus, ut removerentur omnes insidie. Et sic Deus iuvet nos et iuramus per Deum Omnipotentem et legem nostram, quod nulla contrarietas in his pactis exiet^j ex nobis, sed ille qui pertransiet^k et erit causa et ipse esset periurem,^l Deus ipse puniet eum, faciet ipsum indignum et inprosperum. Et istum presentem iuramentum nostrum dedimus ad manus strenui et generosi Nicolai Lanczkoronski oratori[s] prefati regis, et per presentes litteras predicta amicitia et pax inter nos confirmamus, quas propria<s> manu<s> ad manus [e]idem dedimus, prout fuisset prefata Maiestas propria [persona] presens. Datum in aula nostra xviii Iulii 1501. Ex Constantinopoli.

^g Papée: *utriusque*.

^h Papée: *eadem*.

ⁱ *Sic. B. etiam domini nostri*. As corrected by Papée: *etiam de dominiis nostris*.

^j It should read *exibit*.

^k It should read *pertransibit*.

^l Papée: *periurus*.

DOCUMENT 7 (9 OCTOBER 1502)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Bayezid II to King Alexander
[Facs. III]

Original document in Italian: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 11, no. 26 (*KDT*, p. 29).

87,5 × 30.5 cm.

tugra (gold with black edges, ornamented in gold and blue)
text (black)

Published in F. Papée, ed., *Acta Alexandri Regis Poloniae, Magni Ducis Lithuaniae etc. = Akta Aleksandra, króla polskiego, w. księcia litewskiego (1501–1506)* (Cracow, 1927), no. 117, pp. 168–70; the facsimile is published in *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 1: *Połowa X w.–1572*. Edited by M. Biskup (Warsaw, 1980), after p. 624.

Copies:

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 11, no. 27 (by Crutta).

B. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 11, no. 28 (by Crutta).

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 135–37 [151–53].

D. Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 139–42 [155–58].

Latin translation: AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 1, fol. 100a–100b.

Bayezid bin Mehmed han muzaffer da’ima¹

- [1] Sultan Bayazit, Dei gracia Grande Imperator Asie atque Europe et marium etc. A tucti faciamo noto, che venendo ala nostra
[2] prexencia el generoso Nicolao Firli capitaneo de Lublin, oratore del Serenisimo Principi [*sic*] Alexandro, Re de Polonia
[3] et Magno Dux Lituanie, e de Rusia e Prusia signore, e amico e vicino nostro carisimo, per parte de la prefacta Magestà, et
[4] ha referto alcune parolle, e apreso ne à demandato, che quella amicitia et pace, la quale noi aveamo con el
[5] condam re Ioane Alberto suo fradello, che illa pace acceptasimo et confirmasemo, la qual simelmente mediante
[6] el nostro iuramento et nostre lettere la confermamo e roboriamo. Et chosì per la presente nostra lettera la prefacta amicitia e pace
[7] con el prefacto Serenisimo Re e sua dominii la confermiamo e roboriamo. La quale incommencia addì nove de octubre
[8] 1502 e deba durare in fino cinque anni futuri, ali nove de octubre che sono 1507, infra noi e la prefacta Maestà

¹ The text of the *tugra*: “Bayezid, son of Mehmed, the ever victorious khan.”

- [9] e subditi et dominii, con questi pacti et condicioni sequenti: Primo: infra'l tempo di sopra expresso la pace et amicia sopradicta con la prefacta Maestà conservaremo et guarderemo, né per noi o per nostri subditi alcuno malle o
- [10] danno alla prefacta Maestà o sua subditi e dominii faremo, o in alcuno modo fare faremo; anzi conservaremo
- [11] iusticia et mutua charità fra noi e nostri subditi. Anchora: che li oratori dell'una e dell'altra parte, tante volte
- [12] quante serrà di bisogno, liberramente et securamente possino et debbino andare et venire senza alcuna violenza.
- [13] Anchora: che li sciavi et captivi dell'una e dell'altra parte liberamente se posino cercare neli dominii
- [14] de le due parte; e quelli e qualli fussino nelli nostri dominii e fusino christiani^a e volendosse liberare, sieno d'acordo con
- [15] loro patroni et dare loro precio secondo la qualità dello sciavo; apresso che, stante la presente pace et treuga, tutti
- [16] quelli che fosino presi del'una e dell'altra parte, sença alcuno precio siano lasati et liberati. Anchora: vogliamo
- [17] che durante la predicta pace e amicia fra noi e'lla dicta Maestà del Re, tutti li homini e mercatanti e negociatori delli
- [18] dominii dell'una e dell'altra parte possino exercitare loro mercatantie e negocii ne dicti dominii con lloco comoda-
- [19] modità, senza alcuno preiudicio o gravamento, ma secondo la consuetudine antica de quelli loci dove
- [20] exerciteranno loro facende, o di mare o di terra, iustamente e dacci e gabelle pageranno. Ancora: se alcuno de
- [21] li dicti mercatanti de dominii de la prefacta Maestà morisse negli nostri dominii, le robe et danari de dicti mercatanti
- [22] debbono esse per noi o nostri subdicti conservate, in fino a tanto che alcuno de parenti del morto verrà e porterà
- [23] leterra [*sic*] della Maestà del Re, facendo testimonio, quello che serà morto sia suo parente overo allui appartenere
- [24] le robe de quello morto fusse; et simile debbe farre Sua Maestà. Anchora: se durante la dicta pace e amicia
- [25] fosse facto alcuno danno o roberia nelli dominii e terre del'uno e del'altro, o per noi o subditi nostri o per la Maestà del
- [26] Re o sua subditi, o apertamente o inaschosamente o per altri malfactori, quelli talli debbono esser presi e
- [27] puniti senza alcuna excusacione, secondo la qualità del malficio, e quelli che harano receputo alcuno danno,
- [28] habbino a esser restituiti d'ogni loro danno e perdita. Et maxime per conservare la pace et amicia del'una e
- [29] del'altra parte tucti gli homeni che fosino pressi soto alcuno colore o malicia, liberamente siano lasati e libe-

^a Written with the conventional abbreviation: *xpi*ani.

- [31] rati da tuta due le parte o subditi di quella. Anchora: se fose alchuno
 ne dominii nostri che avese a dare ad alchu-
 [32] no de subditi de la Maestà del Re, quello che ha avere per conseguire
 el suo, debbe venire o a noi o a nostri officiali e
 [33] domandar, e mediante la iusticia e la lege di Dio gli sarà adminis-
 trata ragione; el medesimo inverso de nostri sub-
 [34] diti ne le terre e dominii della prefacta Maestà si deba osservare, e
 che'l iustò non patisca per el peccatore. Tutte le
 [35] soprascripte chose e condicioni la nostra imperiale Maestà fermamente
 et inviolabilmente mediante el iu-
 [36] ramento prometiamo osservare, e iuriamo in queste parole: "Che tucte
 le predictate condicioni et pacti, per l'ami-
 [37] cicia che è fra noi e'l prefacto re e fra e dominii nostri, conservare
 in bona fede e tenere e osservare senza fra-
 [38] ude o cavilacione alcuna pensata, e tutte le insidie remote le conser-
 varemo e teneremo, e da tutti e nostri
 [39] subditi, e d'altri in cascheduno modo chiamati, conservare e tenere
 faremo e procureremo, e chosì Iddio c'aiuti.
 [40] Et iuriamo per llo Iddio vivo e nostra legge, che nesuna cossa in con-
 trario a sopradetti pacti e condicioni per noi
 [41] serrà facta né usirà, ma ca [sic] chascheduno che quelli trapaxerà ^be
 non observerà^c e darà causa di speiurio,
 [42] el medesimo Iddio convenientemente punischa e faccalo indegno d'ogni
 prosperità." Et questo iura-
 [43] mento nostro faccamo, e nelle mani dello strenuo e generoso Nicolao
 Firli, oratore del prefacto Serenisimo Re, ponemo,
 [44] e per questa presente lettera le sopradite condicioni e pacti e amici-
 cia confermiamo, e di propria mano nelle mani del
 [45] medesimo la demo. Et lo simile la prefacta Maestà farà. Datum in
 Constantinopoli in aulis nostris, die
 [46] viiii otubri 1502.

^{b-c} Missing in Papée.

DOCUMENT 8 (21 FEBRUARY 1503)

The royal confirmation of the treaty

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 1, fol. 101a–102a.

B. AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 3, fol. 20b–22a.

Published in F. Papée, ed., *Acta Alexandri Regis Poloniae, Magni Ducis Lithuaniae etc.* = *Akta Aleksandra, króla polskiego, w. księcia litewskiego (1501–1506)* (Cracow, 1927), no. 149, pp. 231–33.

Reversalis treuga per Maiestatem Regiam oratori Turco data:

Alexander etc. Notificamus universis, quibus expedit, quia dum ad presentiam Maiestatis Nostre venit nomine Serenissimi Principis Domini Soltan Bayazit, Dei gracia Magni Imperatoris Asie, Europe et marium etc., amici et vicini nostri charissimi, strenuus et dilectus Sue Serenitatis orator Sinan spahi¹ kichaia² referens nobis domini eiusdem imperatoris felicem statum, bonam valetudinem, et eam amiciciam ac pacem nobiscum cum dominiisque et subditis nostris confirmatam et corroboratam dominoque imperatori acceptam et per eius Serenitatem iuratam esse, quam Sua Serenitas iuraverat et inscripserat Serrenissimo olim Johanni [*sic*] Alberto, regi Polonie, fratri et predecessori nostro regnoque dominiis et subditis suis, pro qua pacis et amicicie confirmatione generosus et strenuus Nicolaus Firley, capitaneus Lublinensis, orator fidelis dilectus noster, per nos ad eundem dominum imperatorem fuerat destinatus, cumque ipse Sinan spahi kichaia, Sue Serenitatis orator, a nobis voluit, ut nos quoque istud domino imperatori in presencia eiusdem Sinan faceremus, quod Sua Serenitas in presencia Nicolai Firley oratoris nostri nobis fecit, iccirco nos etiam eam ipsam pacem et amiciciam, quam divus olim Albertus rex frater noster cum eodem domino imperatore habuit et acceptavit, quamque Sua Serenitas nobis iuravit et confirmavit in presencia predicti Nicolai Firley oratoris nostri, habemus et acceptamus, eamque similiter iuramento nostro et litteris confirmamus et corroboramus.

Que incepit a nonis octobribus anni Domini millesimi quingentesimi secundi, et durabit ad quinque annos futuros, ad nonas octobris anni Domini millesimi quingentesimi septimi inter nos et dominia nostra regni et Magni Ducatus Lithuanie prefatumque Dominum Imperatorem et sua dominia, sub conditionibus infrascriptis: “Quia per hoc tempus superius expressum pacem et amiciciam cum prefato Domino Imperatore conservabimus et

¹ Tur. *sipahi*, “a cavalry soldier;” in B. written initially as *spagi*.

² Tur. *kahya*, “a majordomo, steward or agent.” In other documents Sinan is referred to as *ked choda*. Turkish *kethüda* is synonymous with *kahya*.

providebimus, ne per nos et subditos nostros aliquid mali aut dampni [*sic*] Sue Serenitati subditisque et dominiis suis faceremus aut aliquo modo facere iuberemus, iustitiam et mutuam charitatem inter nos et subditos nostros conservabimus, debeantque oratores tociens quociens opus fuerit inter nos utrinque ire et redire libere et secure sine aliqua violencia. Item captivi ex utraque parte libere possint indagari in dominiis ambarum parcium, et qui fuerint in dominiis nostris existentes Turci se redimere volentes, illi poterint se redimere, componendo de precio cum domino cuius fuerint, secundum qualitatem redimende persone dando. Item stante presente pacis treuga quicunque de utraque parte fuerint capti, sine ullo pretio libere mittendi erunt. Hac etiam pace et amicitia inter nos et Maiestatem illam Imperialem durante, omnes mercatores et negociatores de dominiis ambarum parcium poterint mercantias exercere cum commoditate sua in dictis dominiis et nostris et Serenitatis Sue sine preiudicio et gravamine, servata tamen consuetudine antiqua locorum in quibus res suas terra vel mari peragunt, theloneisque sive vectigalibus iustis solutis. Si vero aliquis mercatorum de dominiis eiusdem Imperialis Maiestatis moreretur in dominiis nostris, illius mortui res et pecunie [*sic*] servabuntur per nos vel subditos nostros, quousque aliquis consanguineus mortui illius venerit cum litteris Imperialis Maiestatis, testificantibus eum ad res mortui esse propinquiores, sic quod omnia venienti illi debeant restitui; sic etiam Sua Serenitas faciet nobis et subditis nostris in dominiis Sue Maiestatis. Et si sub eodem tempore pacis et amicitie aliquod dampnum aut predacio occulte vel manifeste committeretur in dominiis alterius nostrum per aliquem ex nobis, aut per nostros vel Sue Serenitatis subditos aut per aliquos maleficos de dominiis utriusque nostrum, tales debeant detineri et puniri sine excusatione quavis, secundum qualitatem maleficii, debeatque dampnum restitui per partem alteram illi, cui illatum esset. Item omnes homines, quicunque pacis eiusdem tempore fuerint capti sub aliquo colore aut dolo, illi pro confirmanda pace et amicitia ambarum parcium libere utrinque mittentur. Et si quis de dominiis nostris vellet aliquid repetere vel rehabere de subditis Domini Imperatoris, ille subditus repetens rem, personam aut debitum de subdito imperiali debet Imperialem Maiestatem et officiales Serenitatis Sue accedere iustitiam petiturus, debeatque ius poscere ut ministretur ei iustitia. Pari modo in dominiis nostris istud servabitur, ut nos et officiales nostri de nostris subditis iusticiam ministremus subditis Domini Imperatoris poscentibus, quatinus innocens non patiat pro nocente.”

Quasquidem suprascriptas pacis condiciones nos firmiter et inviolabiliter mediante iuramento promittimus sic observare Domino Imperatori, dominiis et subditis Sue Serenitatis, ut Dominus Imperator dominia sua et subditi sui eas nobis dominiis et subditis nostris observabunt. Sic quoque iuramus in hec verba, quod eas ipsas omnes condiciones pacis et pacta propter amicitiam, inter nos et Maiestatem Imperialem nostraque utriusque dominia existentem, in bona fide sine fraude et sine aliqua cavillatione cogitata, remotis etiam omnibus insidiis, tenebimus et conservabimus, et ab omnibus subditis nostris quocumque modo nuncupatis eodem modo teneri et observari mandabimus et procurabimus. Ideoque cavimus et Deo iuramus, quod

nihil in contrarium presentium pactorum et condicionum a nobis perageatur, nec aliquid a nobis exhibit his pactis et conditionibus contrarium, in quantum a Domino Imperatore amico et vicino nostro nihil exhibit contrarium. Quicumque vero ex nobis iuramentum illud transgressus fuerit seu non observaverit, ille periurus erit, quem Deus omnipotens competenter puniat et indignum omni prosperitate reddat. Quod iuramentum nostrum ad Imperialem Maiestatem dedimus per manus supradicti Sinan spahi kichaia, Sue Serenitatis oratoris ad nos transmissi, presentibusque litteris suprascripta condiciones pacta et amicitiam confirmamus de manibus in manus eas porrigendo, perinde ac presentialiter Sue Serenitati per nos porrecte essent. Et in testimonium premissorum omnium sigillum anulare nostrum regnique nostri secretum est presentibus appensum. Datum in civitate nostra<m> Vilnensi, die <Martis> xxi Februarii anno Domini 1503, regni nostri anno secundo.

Die, qua supra Maiestas Regia iuramentum prestitit super Evangelium, oratore Turco presente, in forma infrascripta, episcopo Vilnensi procurante eam:

“Ego Alexander Rex iuro Deo, quia pacem inter me meaque dominia et subditos meos ac inter Baiazith Imperatorem Turcorum et dominia subditosque suos inscriptam, per eundem Baiazith Imperatorem iuratam, sic tenebo in omnibus conditionibus in his litteris meis descriptis, prout Baiazith Imperator eas tenet, quas condiciones pacis ipse Baiazith Imperator etiam in suis litteris nobis datis descripsit et tenere iuravit; itaque sicut ipse tenebit, sic ipse tenebo. Sic me Deus adiuvet et hec Sacrosancta Evangelia.”

DOCUMENT 9 (4 FEBRUARY 1514)

The Latin formula of the proposed treaty inserted into
the royal instruction addressed to Jerzy Krupski,
the Polish envoy to Selim I¹

Latin copies:

A. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 210, pp. 16–18.

Published with numerous mistakes and omissions in *Acta Tomiciana*,
vol. 3 (Poznań, 1853), no. 18, pp. 23–25, esp. pp. 24–25.

B. AGAD, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich, sign. 3, pp. 35–37.

C. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 51, fol. 25a–26a.

Pax ad triennium inter Thurcum et inter Sigismundum Regem Poloniae.
Copia seu forma:

Soltan Selimsach, Divina providentia Magnus Imperator Asiae atque Europae et marium etc. Significamus tenore praesentium universis et singulis praesentibus futurisque, quibus interest, quia nos volentes more progenitorum nostrorum, imperatorum Asiae et Europae, cum Serenissimo Principe et Domino, Sigismundo, Dei gratia Rege Poloniae, ac Magno Duce Lituaniae, Russiae, Prussiaeque ac [Masoviae etc.] domino et herede, fratre nostro charissimo et honorandissimo, suisque regnis, ducatibus, principatibus ac universis et singulis dominiis, Suae Serenitati subiectis in bona ac firma et fideli fraterna amicitia et tranquilla vicinitate vivere, pacemque et felicem statum sub amicitiae nostrae mutuae, firmae et integrae clypeo utriusque nostrum subditis comparare et stabilire, inducias seu pacis treugas triennes cum praefato Serenissimo Principe, Domino Sigismundo Rege Poloniae, ac cum suis regnis, principatibus ducatibusque, et dominiis Suae Serenitatis ditioni subiectis, quomodolibet nominatis et appellatis, paciscimur. Constituimus et praesentibus literis nostris firmamus, ita videlicet: Quod durantibus his treugis pacis seu induciis, que incipiunt a die tali, mensis talis, anno nativitatis Jesu Christi 1514, et durabunt ad decursum trium integrorum annorum continue sese sequentium neque per nos ipsos, neque per gentes nostras quascunque et qualescunque, neque per aliquas quomodolibet submissas personas vel exercitus clam vel palam, directe vel indirecte, praefatum Serenissimum Principem, Dominum Sigismundum, Poloniae Regem et Magnum Ducem Lituaniae suaeque regna, principatus ducatusque

¹ Krupski was ordered to request that the sultan issue an *'ahdname* in the form given below. Indeed, a three-year treaty valid from 5 Rebi II 920 A.H. (30 May 1514) was concluded, as indicated in the imperial order issued in Akşehir in the first decade of Rebi I 920 (26 April–5 May 1514); see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 15, no. 34 and *KDT*, p. 31. The text of the treaty is not preserved, but apparently it was based on the customary form given in this formula.

et dominia qualiacunque bello, hostilitate, insidiis, excursionibus, molestationibus afficiemus; sed amicitiam firmam et iustitiam in omnibus rebus et accidentiis, pacemque et tranquillitatem erga Suam Serenitatem Sueque Serenitatis omnes et singulos subditos, regnaque, principatus, ducatus, et dominia firmiter et inconcusse atque absque dolo servabimus et a nostris omnibus servari faciemus. Oratoribus, mercatoribus, nunciis transitum tutum, negotiationem securam, teloneis tamen nostris salvis manentibus cum personis et rebus concedimus et permittimus; iuramusque per Deum vivum et per legem nostram prophetamque nostrum Machometum aliosque omnes religionis nostre prophetas, quod treugas pacis seu inducias modo praemisso ad tempus superius determinatum, sine dolo et fraude atque sine ullo colore, cum meis omnibus subditis, cum praefato Serenissimo Principe et Domino, Sigismundo Rege Poloniae, Magno Duce Lituaniae, ac cum regnis suis, principatibus ducatibusque et dominiis cunctis eorumque subditis incolis firmiter et illibate atque integre servabimus, tenebimus et custodiemus, maledictioni infamiaeque sempiternae si—quod absit—nos nostrum iuramentum violare contingerit, subiiciendo. Praefatus autem Sigismundus Princeps Serenissimus Rex Poloniae etc. durantibus praemissis treugis pacis tenebitur etiam omnia praemissa cum omnibus subditis suis tenere, servare et complere et similiter in manus nostri oratoris iuramentum praestare, literasque inscriptionis similiter tradere. Ut autem haec rata firmaque sint in eiusdem testimonium et robur, literas praesentes dedimus.

DOCUMENT 10 (1 OCTOBER 1519)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Selim I to King Sigismund I
[Facs. IV]

Original document in Italian: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 17, no. 36 (*KDT*, pp. 32–33).¹

115.5 × 26.5 cm.

tugra (gold with black edges)

text (black, first three verses written in gold)

Copies:

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 17, no. 37 (by Crutta).

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 165–68 [181–84].

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 173–75 [189–91].

Polish translation by Otwinowski: a) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 13a–15a; b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 17, no. 38 (copied by Crutta); c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 169–71 [185–87]; d) Bibl. Czart., ms. 1176, pp. 541–45; e) Bibl. Kór., ms. 206, pp. 2–6; f) Bibl. Czart., ms. 34 (*Teki Narusiewiczza*), pp. 299–304.

Published in Z. Bartoszewicz, ed., “Z rękopisów Dogiela (tomu II, części I) wyjątki, ściągaające się do działań między królami Zygmuntem I i Zygmuntem II, a Solimanem sułtanem tureckim,” *Dziennik Wileński/Historia i literatura* vol. 1 (1826), pp. 179–83.

Selim-šah bin Bayezid han muzaffer da’ima²

[1] ^aSULTAN SELIM SACH, PER LA DIVINA FAVENTE

[2] CLEMENTIA GRANDE IMPERATOR DI CONSTANTI-

[3] NOPOLI DI ASIA EUROPA PERSIA SORIA ET EGIPTO^b

[4] et Arabia et de li mari etc. A tucti faciamo nocto come havendo nui pace et amicicia cun

[5] el Serenisimo Principe et Domino Sigismundo Re di Polonia, Grande Ducca de Lituania et

¹ Abrahamowicz gives the wrong number of verses (20 instead of 61) and inaccurately identifies the place of issue (Constantinople instead of Edirne).

² The text of the *tugra*: “Selim-shah, son of Bayezid, the ever victorious khan.” Some scholars, including Suha Umur, believe that beginning with the *tugra* of Selim I *el-muzaffer* should be read instead of *muzaffer*, cf. Umur, *Osmanlı Padişah Tugraları* (Istanbul, 1980), p. 28; however, this opinion is not unanimously accepted, cf. Kühnel, “Die osmanische Tughra,” *Kunst des Orients* 2 (1955): 69–82, esp. p. 69, n. 2.

^{a-b} Written in capital letters and in gold ink.

- [6] di Rusia et Prusia, signore amico et vicino nostro carissimo, essendo passato el termine de la
- [7] sopradicta pace, che avevemo infra noi, per renovare quella instessa bona pace cun li capituli,
- [8] che tra nui erano, per potere andare et venire li ambasciatori et negocianti per utilità et beneficio da
- [9] l'una et dal'altra banda securamente come per avanti nel tempo de la dicta pace si faceva: però
- [10] la Serenità Sua ne ha mandato el magnifico amasiatore suo Miser Iacomo Sezigniuncunsi per ambasitore
- [11] cun lettere di quella, li qual ha domandato per tenpo di tre anni proximi la reformatione et renovacione
- [12] de la pace, per la qual cossa la Nostra Imperiale Maestà ha [a]cepato et confermato per
- [13] tre anni proximi dicta pace cun il sopradicto Serenisimo Principe Re di Polonia, li quali
- [14] conmençiano da la natività da nostro profecta Mochamet alli anni 925³ et dal primo de la
- [15] luna di saval, et del milesimo di Cristo 1519 a di 25 di septebris.⁴ Da questo
- [16] tenpo et termine habiamo confirmado et renovato per tre anni proximi cun queste con-
- [17] ditione et capituli, che infra el dicto tempo possano li ambasciatori et negocianti de le doe
- [18] parte andare et venire securamente et liberamente, et la pace et amicitia fra nui con-
- [19] servaremo et guarderemo, né per noi né per nostri subdicti alcuno male o danno alla prefacta
- [20] Maestà o sui subdicti o dominii serrà facto. Anche conservaremo et guarderemo iusticia
- [21] et mutua carità infra nui et nostri subditi. Ancora volemo che infra la predicta pace tuti
- [22] quelli che serano pressi del'una et dell'altra parte, sencza alcuno precio siani lasati et liberati.
- [23] Ancora volemo che tucti et comandemo che tucti li homeni et mercatanti et negociatori de
- [24] le due bande de li dominii del'una et del'altra parte posano exercitare le loro mercatancie
- [25] et negocii neli dicti dominii cun lora comodità, sencza alcuno preiudicio o gravamento,
- [26] segundo la consuetudine antiqua, di quelli lochi dove exergitarano le loro facente, o di mare o di

³ This date obviously refers to Hegira and not to the birthday of Prophet Muhammad.

⁴ Actually the Muslim date 1 Shawwal 925 A.H. corresponds to 26 September 1519 of the Christian era.

- [27] terra, iustamente et daciū et gabelle pagando. Ancora: li captivi et sciavi del'una et l'al-
- [28] tra parte liberamente si posiano cercare neli dominii de le due parte, et quelli li quali fosino
- [29] neli nostri dominii et fosino cristiani, et volendo liberarse, siando d'acordo cun li loro
- [30] patroni et dare loro segundo la qualità del sciavo, posiano andare a casa sua. Ancora:
- [31] <se alcuno> se alcuno di li dicti mercatanti de li dominii de la prefacta Maestà morisse ne li
- [32] dominii nostri, le robe et denari de dicti mercatanti si debano conservare per noi o per nostri subditi
- [33] infino a tanto che alcuno dei parenti del morto venirà et porterà letera da la Maestà del Re, fac-
- [34] cendo testimoniancia che quello che sarà morto sia suo parente overro allui pertenesse le robe di
- [35] quello che fuse morto et le debiano restituire. Et similmente deba fare la Sua Maestà fra li nostri. An-
- [36] cora: durante dicta pace et amicitia si fose facto alcuno danno et robaria deli dominii et
- [37] terre del'uno et del'altro o per nui o subdicti nostri o per la Maestà del Re o sui subdicti o per altri mal-
- [38] factori, quelli talli malfactori debbano esse pressi et puniti trovandose senza alcuna ex-
- [39] cuxacione segundo la qualità del malficio. Et quelli che averano havuto danno debiano
- [40] essere restituiti di ogni lorro danno et perdita de li beni de li malfactori, trovandose. Et
- [41] ancora: per conservare la pace et amicitia de le due parte tucti li homeni che foseno pressi soto
- [42] <in> alcuno colore o malicia liberamente siano lasati et liberati da tucte doe parte. An-
- [43] cora: si fose alcuno neli dominii nostri che avese a dare ad alcuno deli subdicti de la Maestà
- [44] del Re quello che a ad havere per reavere lo suo, debba a venire a nui o a li subdicti nostri
- [45] o a li ufficiali nostri et dimandare, et mediante iusticia alla lecze di Dio li sarà administrata
- [46] iusticia. El medesimo deba observare la prefacta Maestà et che'l iusto non patissca per lo iniusto.
- [47] Tucte le sopradicte cosse et condicione la Nostra Imperiale Maestà fermamente e inviolabilmente
- [48] mediante el iuramento prometemo et confesemo observare. Et iuramo in queste parole: che
- [49] tucte le predicta condicione et pati per l'amicicia che infra noi et la prefacta Maestà et infra a li nostri

- [50] dominii conservare et tenere in bona fede et observare sencza fraude o cavilacione alcuna
- [51] pensata, et tucte le insidie remote la conserveremo et teneremo et da tucti li nostri subdicti
- [52] in ciscaduno modo chiamati conservare et mantenere faremo et procuraremo. Et questo in
- [53] venturis che infra el dicto tenpo per la dicta Maestà o sui subdicti alcuna [cossa] in contrario di dicti capi-
- [54] tulli facta non serrà, observaremo. Et el simile debba fare la dicta Maestà, et cusì Dio ne aiuti.
- [55] Et iuremo per lo Dio omnipotente et per lo nostro profeta Mochamet che nesuna cossa in contrario
- [56] a li sopradicti pacti et condicione per nui non serà facta né ussirà, ma colui che quelli non observerà
- [57] et serà caussa di periurio, el medesimo Dio convenientemente lo punisca et facialo indegno
- [58] di ogni prosperità. Et questi capituli cun il iuramento nostro damo in mane del vostro am-
- [59] basiatore magnifico Iacomo Segincunscri. Et per la presente nostra le sopradicte condicione et pacti et
- [60] amiccicia confermamo. Data in Andrinopoli nel'aula nostra a primo di octubre et al mile-
- [61] simo di Cristo 1519 e del profecta nostro Mochamet 925.

DOCUMENT 11 (18 OCTOBER 1525)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Suleyman I to King Sigismund I
[Facs. V]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 19, no. 41 (*KDT*, p. 35).

272.5 × 39 cm.

invocatio (blue with scattering gold—*zerefşan*): *divani* script

formula devotionis (gold): *sülüs* script

tugra (blue with gold)

text (black with gold and blue insertions sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script¹

Published in Arabic script by T. Gökbilgin, “Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki vesikalar külliyyatında Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri belgeleri,” *Belgeler. Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 1 (1964): 119–220, esp. pp. 131–32.²

Latin translation by the Porte: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 19, no. 42 (original); b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 19, no. 43 (copied by Crutta); c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 185–87 [201–203].

Polish translation by Otwinowski: a) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 15a–17a; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 611, pp. 43–44; c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 179–83 [195–99]; d) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 206, pp. 6–9.

Published in Z. Bartoszewicz, ed., “Z rękopisów Dogiela (tomu II, części I) wyjątki, ściągające się do działań między królami Zygmuntem I i Zygmuntem II, a Solimanem sultanem tureckim,” *Dziennik Wileński/Historia i literatura* vol. 1 (1826), pp. 183–86.

Hüve ‘l-gani ‘l-mugni ‘l-mu‘in

- [I] Hazret-i ‘Izzet cellet kudretühü ve ‘alet kelimetühünün ‘inayeti
[II] ve mihr-i sipehr-i nübü’et^a ahter-i burc-i fütüvvet pişva-yi
zümre-i enbiya
[III] ve mukteda-yi firka-i asfiya Muhammed Mustafanın
[IV] salla ‘llahu ‘aleyhi ve sellem mu‘cizat-i kesiretü ‘l-berekatı ve
dört
[V] yarinin ki Ebu Bekr ve ‘Ömer ve ‘Osman ve ‘Ali dir ridvanu
[VI] ‘llah ‘aleyhim ecma‘in anların ervah-i mukaddesi mürafaka-
tıyla

¹ In *KDT* erroneously classified as *divani celisi*, pp. 34–35.

² Unfortunately this publication contains several mistakes and omissions.

^a Written incorrectly as نبوت instead of نبوت. More common is another form of this word—*nübüvvat*.

Süleyman-şah bin Selim-şah han muzaffer da'ima

- [1] Ben ki sultanü's-selatin ve bürhanü'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-yi zemin zillu **İlah** fi'l-arz Ak Deniz'in ve Kara Deniz'in ve Rum-ilinin ve Anadolu'nun
- [2] ve Karaman'ın ve Rum'ın ve vilayet-i Du'l-kadriyenin ve Diyarbekrin ve Kürdistan'ın ve Azerbaycan'ın ve 'Acemin ve Şamin ve Halebin ve Mısır'ın ve Mekkenin ve Medinenin ve Kuds'ın külliyyen Diyar-i 'Arabın
- [3] ve Yemenin ve dahi niçe memleketlerin ki aba-i kiramım ve ecdad-i 'izamım enara **İlahu** berahinehüm kuvvet-i kahire ile feth eyledikleri ve cenab-i celalet-ma'abım dahi
- [4] tig-i ateş-bar ve şemşir-i zafer-nigarım ile feth eyledüğüm niçe diyarın sultanı ve padişahı **Sultan Bayezid Han** oğlu **Sultan Selim Han** oğlu **Sultan Süleyman-şahım**
- [5] bu 'ahdname-i hümayunumı mütala'a kılanlara ma'lum ola ki haliya Lih kralı olan Sicizmundus^b dergah-i felek-aşıyaneme İstanişlav[us]^c nam adamısın göndürtüb
- [6] mabeynde sulh u salah olması babında 'atebe-i meram-bahşım'dan tazarru' ü istid'a etdüğü ecelden bendahi üç yıla sulhı kabul idüb
- [7] ibtida'-i sulhı bizüm peygamberimiz iki cihan fahri **Muhammed Mustafanın** salavatu **İlah** 'aleyhi ve selamuhu hicretinin dokuz yüz otuz ikinci yılı Muharreminin
- [8] guresinden ki **'İsa-yi** nebi 'aleyhi's-selam tarihinin bin beş yüz yigirmi beşinci yılında Ohtorus^d ayının on beşinci günü vakı' olmuşdur şol
- [9] şartla mukarrer etdük ki **Allahu ta'alanın** 'azameti **ve hazret-i risaletin ve cemi'-i peygamberlerin** ervah-i mukaddesesiycün ma dam ki kral canibinden hilaf-i 'ahd bir nesne sadır olmaya benden-dahi
- [10] müddet-i sulh nihayet buluncaya degin kralın iline ve vilayetine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına fi'l-cümle taht-i tasarrufunda olan memleketine vezirlerimden ve beglerbegilerimden ve sancakbeglerinden ve kenar sahiblerinden
- [11] hiç vechle zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve benüm ilime ve günüme ve kal'e-lerime ve varoşlarıma bi'l-cümle taht-i tasarrufumda olan memalik-i mahruseme mezkur kral canibinden ve kralın beglerinden
- [12] ve tevabi'inden ve levahikinden dahi hiç vechle zarar u ziyan irişmeye mabeynde iki canibin ilçileri varub gelüb kendülerine ve mallerine ve rızklarına zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve şol
- [13] esirler ki küfri üzerine dura islama gelmeye kralın adamları gelüb arayub bulub sahiblerin irza idüb satun alalar ve alub gideler kimesne mani' olmaya ve eyyam-i sulhda iki taraftan

^b سجزمندوس.^c استانسلاومی; the final *sin* (س) was mistakenly rendered by the copyist as *mim*-ya^d (می).
اوختورس.

- [14] her nekim tutulur ise müddet-i sulh tamam olunca anları bahasuz ve satsuz azad idüb salı-vireler ve iki canibin bazarganları denizden ve kurudan bir birimizin memleketine yürüyüb
- [15] bey' ü şıra eyleyeler ve bulundukları yırlarda 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsumi ne ise vireler kimesnenin maline ve nefesine zarar u ziyan olmaya ve eger mezbur kiral memleketinden gelen bazarganlardan
- [16] benüm memalik-i mahrusemde fevt olmak vakı' olur ise müteveffanın rızkı bizim tarafımızdan alınmaya şolkadar hıfz oluna ki ol taraftan kiral mektubiyle varis geldüğü vakt müteveffanın rızkı ve esbabı
- [17] emr-i şerifimle varisine teslim oluna eger bizüm bazarganlarımızdan fevt olmak vakı' olur ise kiral dahi öyle ide ve eger musalaha-i mezbur müddeti içinde kiralın memleketine bab-i sa'adet-ma'abıma tabi' olan
- [18] kimesnelerden zarar u ziyan vakı' olur ise emr idüb bulunub yaramazlık idenin hakkından gelem ve ol ziyarı dahi emr idüb yerine döndüreler ve iledeleler özür ve bahane olmaya ve eger bana tabi' olanlardan
- [19] bir kimesnenin medyuni kiralın vilayetine varsa ol yırın hakimine müraf'a olunub teftiş olunub her ne zahir olur ise ol yırın hükkamı alub issiye teslim eyleyeler ve bir kimesnenin borcu
- [20] ve günahı olmaya *kafrin*^e borcu ve günahı için anı tutmayalar ve incitmeyeler ve iki canibin vilayetleri arasında anun gibi bi-günahları üşendirmeyeler hemçunan biz dahi öyle ideyüz söyle bileler 'alamet-i
- [21] şerife i'timad u i'tikad eyleyeler tahriren fi gurreti şehri Muharremi'l-haram seneti isne ve selasin ve tis'i mi'etini'l-hicriye

bi-makami
dari's-saltanati'l-'aliye
Kostantiniye'l-mahmiye
'l-mahruse

Translation:

He, the Wealthy, the Enricher, the Helper

[tugra] *Suleyman-shah, son of Selim-shah, the ever victorious khan*

*I who,
by the grace of His Glorious Majesty (exalted is His Power and elevated is His Word!)
and by the miracles, full of divine blessings, of Muhammad Mustafa³ (may God com-*

^e كفر. In her analysis of this fragment, based on Gökbilgin's edition, Johanna Buri-Gütermann reads this word as an incorrect spelling of *kafrin*; see Buri-Gütermann, *Der Satzbau in der Sprache der osmanischen Urkunden aus der Zeit von Mehmed Fatih bis Süleyman-i Qnuni* (Vienna, 1972), p. 21. Perhaps it should read *aharn* as in the 'ahd-name of 1553. The Latin contemporary translation of this fragment is vague. It reads only "*ita quod iustus non patietur pro peccante.*"

³ The second name of Prophet Muhammad, Mustafa, means in Arabic "the chosen" i.e., "the elect of God."

mand and salute him!), the sun of the heaven of prophecy, the star of the constellation of magnanimity, the leader of the class of prophets and the guide of the group of saints, and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of his four companions, who are Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and Ali (may the approbation of God be upon them all!),

am the sultan of sultans, the proof of emperors, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusraws⁴ of the world, the God's shadow on earth, the sultan and the padishah of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea, of Rumelia, Anatolia, Karaman, Rum, the provinces of Zulkadir, Diyarbakır, Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, Persia, Damascus, Haleb [i.e., Aleppo], Egypt, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and all the lands of Arabia, of Yemen, and of the many lands conquered with the overwhelming power by my noble fathers and magnificent grandfathers (may God illuminate their miracle-working graves!),⁵ and also of the many countries that my glorious majesty has conquered⁶ with my flaming sword and victorious sabre, Sultan Suleyman-shah, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Bayezid Khan.

To those, who read this my imperial 'ahdname, it should be known that as the Polish king Sigismund has just sent to my fortunate court his man named Stanisław;⁷ and he has supplicated and requested from my desire-granting threshold for the establishment of peace and amity between [us]; I have also agreed to a peace of three years; the peace has been determined to be effective starting the first day of Muharrem of the 932d year since the emigration [Hegira] of the pride of the two worlds, our prophet Muhammad Mustafa (may the benedictions and salutations of God be upon him!) that is the fifteenth day of the month of October in the 1525th year of the era of the prophet Jesus (peace be upon him!).⁸

We have established [peace] on condition that—for the sake of the greatness of God (may He be exalted!) and of the sanctified souls of the Prophet [Muhammad] and all [other] prophets—as the king should do nothing contrary to the treaty, neither I nor any of my viziers, beylerbeys, sancakbeys, and border commanders should inflict damage or harm to the king's country, land, fortresses, towns, and the whole domain being under his possession until the period of peace comes to an end. Furthermore, the aforementioned king, the king's governors, his dependents and subjects,⁹ should cause no damage or harm to my country or my people,¹⁰ my fortresses, towns, and all the well-protected dominions being under my possession.

⁴ Khusraw = Chosroes = King Cyrus, also any great monarch.

⁵ Tur. *enara'llahu berahinehim*; this exclamation is thusly translated by de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic. A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations 1610–1630* (Leiden-Istanbul, 1978), p. 338, n. 27.

⁶ This sentence is difficult to translate literally because the subject changes from the third into the first person: *cenab-i celalet-ma'abim dahi . . . feth eyledügim*; cf. a similar fragment translated by Reychman and Zajączkowski, *Handbook*, ill. 23 after p. 142.

⁷ Stanisław ze Sprowy Odrowąż (Stanisław Odrowąż from Sprowa).

⁸ Actually the Muslim date 1 Muharrem 932 A.H. corresponds to 18 October 1525 of the Christian era.

⁹ Tur. *tevabi' ve levahik* is translated here as "dependents and subjects."

¹⁰ The Turkish expression *il gûn* means "people."

When the envoys of the two sides enter and come between [the two countries], no damage or harm should touch them, their property, and belongings.

Royal agents may come and search for those prisoners who have persisted in their infidelity and not become Muslim;¹¹ [after] locating [any such prisoners] and satisfying their owners they can ransom them, take them and go, and nobody should hinder them.

If in the days of peace whoever from either side is taken [prisoner] until the period of peace ends, one should set them free and let them go without ransom.

Merchants of the two sides may go by sea and by land to each of our countries and sell and buy. According to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places. [But] nobody's property or life should be exposed to damage or harm.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from the domain of the aforementioned king dies in my well-protected dominions, the belongings of the deceased will not be seized by our side but kept, so that when an heir [of the deceased] comes with a royal letter, the belongings and goods of the deceased may be handed over to his heir, according to my noble order. If anybody from among our merchants dies [abroad], the king should proceed likewise.

If within the period of the aforementioned pacification damage or harm is done to the domain of the king by anybody from among the dependents of my felicitous gate, I will issue an [appropriate] order and cause the evildoers to be found and punished. Also an [appropriate] order will be issued so that the damage may be compensated. No excuse or pretext should be found [in this matter].

If the debtor of anybody from among my dependents arrives at the country of the king, the petition should be heard and investigated by a local judge, [then] local judicial authorities should seize all revealed [goods of the debtor] and hand [them] over to their owner.

One should not arrest and injure a person, who has neither debt nor guilt, for the debt or guilt of [another] infidel.¹² [In the relations] between the two states one should not molest innocent people alike. We will also proceed in the same way.

Thus they must know. They should trust and believe in the noble sign [i.e., tugra].

Written on the first of the sacred month of Muharrem of the year 932 of the Hegira, in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, the protected and guarded Constantinople.

¹¹ Lit. "who have not come to Islam."

¹² See note e to the Turkish text.

DOCUMENT 12 (5–14 OCTOBER 1528)¹
The *'ahdname* sent by Suleyman I to King Sigismund I
(contemporary Italian translation)

The original document is missing.

Italian translation by the Porte: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 25, no. 56 (*KDT*, pp. 37–38).

Polish translation from Italian by Prandota Dzierżek: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 25, no. 57; b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 66, t. 25, no. 58 (copied by Crutta).

Polish translation by Otwinowski: a). Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 18a–20a; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 611, pp. 45–47; c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 1176, pp. 547–50; d) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 206, pp. 10–13.

El donante li donni con le gratie, quello Summo Creator Iddio, che è magno et potente, per la concessione della Sua Divina Providentia, che delli dui paradisi è'l sultano, che delli paesi della machina di questo mondo et de lo altro emisperio è'l capo delli eserciti et principal ghovernatore, el qual è el nostro propheta Mechemet, a cui la beatificazione et carità della Divina Excelsa Clementia sia sempre sopra di esso propheta, et anchora per la buona gratia del qual et delli quatro famillari, doctori et magni suoi sechretarii, che el benigno et excelso Iddio de loro per la sua infinita clementia sia sempre lieto et contento, et dello omnipotente Iddio tucti i sancti et beati suoi laudanti spiriti per la concessione et gratia delli quall

Sultan Suleiman Sciach, cesar cesarum, Dei gratia Glorioso, Magno et Invictissimo Imperator Constantinopolitano, re delli re, datore delle corone, umbracullo della terra, signor dello Magno Mare et dello Inferior, della Minor et Maiore Asia, Aphryca et Europa, Syria, Arabia, Iudea, Chananea et Ghalylea, Phoenizia, Allexandria et Egypto, et dello magno Chayro et di Ethyopia, Media, Lybia et la Mecha, et dello Yndico et Rubro Mare, et dello regno d'Yherusalem, Samaria et Mare Thyberiadese, et di Damascho et Hellebpo, et della magna Anchiochia, Messopotamia, Caldea, et la grande Babillonia con la Maior et Minor Armenia, Parthia et Persia, Hyberia, Giorgia con lo Mare Caspio et Trapesonda, Tauricia, Cappadocia, Cesarea, Pamphillia, Cyllicia et Carsia, Caremania, Ammasia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, Phrighia, Bythinia, et della grande ciptà di Nicea, Nichomedia, et magna Calcedonia, et di tucta la granda Annatolia, Grezia, Thracia et

¹ The Italian translation is dated 17 October 1528, but the separate imperial letter given to Jan Tęczyński in connection with the *'ahdname* is dated a few days earlier, the third decade of Muharrem 935 A.H. (5–14 October 1528); see *KDT*, p. 37. Apparently the lost Turkish document was written on the same date.

magna Romania, Macedonia, Thesalia, Pelloponneso, Corinθο, Cheronesso, Albania, Bossena, Bulgharia, Bughodania, Scythya et Tartaria, et di molte altre infinite provincie, regni, et imperii, aquietati per forza di arme et virtute belicha con la spada nostra fulminca veramente divina dali nostri pretezzori imperatori Sultan Mechemet Scyach et dalo avo nostro Sultan Bayaxit Sciach et di esso suo figliol Sultan Sellim Scyach nostro beatificato padre, alle requie delli qualli la immensa clementia et beatificazione divina con le anime et spiriti loro in sempiterno sia, amen.

A Voi, Sigismundo Dei gratia Serenissimo et Excellentissimo Re della Granda Polonia et Magno Ducha di Lithuania, Prusia, Russia, et Mansovia et di molte altri <et> provintie rege etc. Doppoi le consuete et debite salutazioni si dinoterà el presente nostro capitollo et achtnama² excelso visto, alle zanti³ sia notificato chome è pervenuto alla mia excelsa magna corte Iohanne di Thanczin,⁴ oratore et consiliario della Regia Maestà, requirante alla Cesarea Maxima Mia Maestà la pace et amicitia fare. Dello che per anni cinque acceptando la pacificazione, et principiando neli anni corenti dello nostro propheta Mechemet novecento trentacinque ne lo calendi della luna de mucharem, ch'è in li corenti anni dello Mesia Yshu propheta MDXXVIII nel mese d'ottobre,⁵ è conceduto, con talli sacramenti è confermato, che talle pacificazione duri infino che trovi el corso suo. E da parte della Cesarea Mia Maestà li paesi, regni et provincie et ogni dominio dello predicto Serenissimo Re, castelli, terre e ciptà con tutti li regni e provintie a Sua Maestà soggiogate et sottoposte, dali vexirii, principi, signori, sanzachi⁶ e schiavi della Cesarea Maestà Mia, e così dali signori delli confini, in alcuno modo non sia azonto⁷ torto né damnificato. Et per averso a le provincie regni imperii, terre, ciptà e casteli sottoposti alla Mia Cesarea Maestà in tuto donde si extende el precepto di essa, dala parte dello prenomato Serenissimo Re né dali a lui appartenenti principi et signori, per modo alchuno non sia azonto torto né damnificato; per abbreviare, allo amicho mio amicho et allo inimico mio essere inimicho. E infra le ambe bande li oratori et nuncii et homini andare venire possino, neghoziare sichuramente et a talli le robe, persone, fachultà et proprietà non sia damnificato. Et a li captivi presoni, che sarano in la loro fedde e che no siano musulmani, vegnando li homini della Regia Maestà, cerchando et trovandoli, contentando li patroni di essi, li sia concesso li possino recuperare, e menarli via; e nesuno ardisca de contradire a questo. E sse in el tempo della presente rapacificazione de ambe due le bande alché⁸ per caso fusse o damnificato o predato inmentre e durante e finante el tempo di talle pace, aquelli talli

² From Tur. *'ahdname*.

³ It should rather read *zenti*, i.e., *genti*; cf. the Polish translation: *niech ludziorz będzie oświadczone* ("it should be made known to the people").

⁴ Jan Tęczyński.

⁵ 1 Muharrem 935 A.H. corresponds to 15 September 1528.

⁶ From Tur. *sancakbegi* (*sancakbey*); written in plural.

⁷ A dialectal form of *aggiunto*.

⁸ Perhaps it should read *alcunché*.

captivi presoni et prede senza alchuno prezio siano restituiti et liberati et lassati andare. Et de tute ambedue le bande li merchatori et neghociatori così per mare come per terra sechuramente andare e venire per neghoziare, donde sia troverano alla consuetudine el che è usanza dazii dare et pagare, e a le robe et facultà de alchuno né alla proprietà sia facto torto né damnificato. Et se dallo dominio della Regia Maestà li vegnanti neghociatori et mercanti in lo imperio et dominio di Mia Cesarea Maestà alchuno morissi, le facultà dello morto non sia presa dai nostri, anzi sia salvata infino a tanto che da quelle bande con lettera della Regia Maestà vegnante lo erede le fachultà et robe di talle morto co lo excelso comandamento di Mia Cesarea Maestà li sia consegnato et dato a tale herede. Et così se delli nostri mercanti et neghociatori morissi alchuno in lo regno loro, la Regia Maestà ordini di fare el simigliante. E se in questo mezo dello tempo della pace fusse azonto torto o damnificato el paese dello regnio della Regia Maestà dali sottoposti alla Mia Cesarea Maestà, e fusse facto damno alchuno, commanderassi e trovarassi, e a similli talli malfactori faciandoli castighare. E a talle damno ancora commanderassi, sia satisfacto et restituito indrieto senza trovare contradizione alchuna. E se da lo dominio e imperio della Mia Cesarea Maestà schampasse alchuno debitore et andasse in lo regno et dominio della Regia Maestà, et che fusse adimandato da lo adversario suo, li sia ministrata iustizia in quelle parte; e tuto el che sarà liquido li sia facto dare per iustizia. Et non sia facto per ambe le bande rapressaglia alchuna né preso uno per uno altro innocentemente né datoli fastidio alchuno. Et infra li ambi dominii a li inocenti no sia dato fastidio né impaccio alchuno, che el simille sarà mantenuto da le parte nostra.

Et di così siando tucto el che in questo capitoll et achtenama di pace sigtiene,⁹ in quanto alle ragione appartenente a esso per observazion et confermazion di essi e per di così mantanere, iuro per lo Altissimo Omnipotente Creatore et Magno Iddio, et per lo nostro propheta Mechemet et de tucti li sancti prophecti, per la magna beatificazione loro iuro et sacramento, che per infino che non sia el difecto dalla parte della Regia Maestà, et di essa non intervenga alchuna contradizione et che ne sia certificato, dalla Mia Sachra Cesarea Maestà allo sacramento questo non sara facto contrarietà alchuna, et così sia certificato et mantenuto, et allo excelso presente capitollo et pace sia creduto et sia prestato quella fedde che se li conviene, nec plura incesante.¹⁰

Data in la solita magna et honorata sedia di Constantinopol nelli corenti anni delo nostro propheta Mechemet novecento trenta cinque nela luna di mucharem et anni del Mesia Yshu Christo^a M^oD^oXXVIII^o die XVII octobris.

⁹ Perhaps it should read *si contiene*?

¹⁰ Perhaps it should read *nec plura necesse sunt*?

^a Written with the conventional abbreviation: *xpo*.

DOCUMENT 13 (18–26 JANUARY 1533)¹
The *‘ahdname* sent by Suleyman I to King Sigismund I
(contemporary Italian translation)

The original document is missing.

Italian translation by the Porte: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 67, t. 34, no. 77 (*KDT*, pp. 44–45).

Published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 15 (Wrocław, 1957), no. 44, pp. 67–68.

Latin translation: a) Biblioteka Narodowa, BOZ—inventary no. 828 = *Teki Górskiego*, folder 27, no. 3544 (a contemporary translation by the royal chancery); b) Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 6553, fol. 95b–95^b;² d) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 217, fol. 372b–373a; d) Bibl. Czart., ms. 271, pp. 616–18; e) Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 107, pp. 194–96; f) Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 114, fol. 115a–116a.

Published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 15 (Wrocław, 1957), no. 44, pp. 65–66.

Contemporary Polish translation: a) AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 7, fol. 40b–42a.; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 271, pp. 618–20.

Published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 15 (Wrocław, 1957), no 44, pp. 63–65.

Polish translation by Otwinowski: a) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 29b–31b; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 611, pp. 73–77; c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 189–91 [205–207].

Co la gratia ett aiuto del’Altissimo e Sumo Idio, e con la grandeza e guida de profeti e con lo aiuto di Mecmet Mustafa, e con la gratia di quatro consiglieri del profeta nostro: Ebubechir e Omer, Osman ett Ali—che Idio sia favorevole a tuti!—e più di tuto el resto di santi e profeti.

Io che sono l’inperator d’inperatori e incoronator sopra la tera di corone e stadi³ di signiori par me aprezentadi e più sopra la tera sono la onbra di Dio; e del Mar Bianco e Nero, di la Gretia e Anatolia, Caramania e del paize di Rum, di Durgadir e Diarbech, Giurgania e de Ederbaizan, de la Giamia, Alepo e Domascho, e Cairo e Mecha, e di Medina, e di

¹ All sixteenth-century copies are undated. In his seventeenth-century translation, Otwinowski gives the date 1 Muharrem 939 (*pisan na schodzie miesiāca mucharrem nazwanego 939*). This date, which corresponds to 3 August 1532 is unlikely, because at that time Opaliński was still in Poland. The royal instruction for his embassy is dated 2 October 1532. According to Marino Sanuto, Opaliński was received at a farewell audience in Istanbul on Sunday, 19 January 1533; see Sanuto, *I diarii*, vol. 57 (Venice, 1902), column 575–76. Therefore, the most likely date of issuing of the Ottoman document is the third decade of Djumada II 939 A.H. (18–26 January 1533). For a discussion of this problem see *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 15 (Wrocław, 1957), p. 64; and *KDT*, p. 44.

² Due to an error in foliation, one leaf between fol. 95 and fol. 96 has no number.

³ I.e., *stati*.

Ieruzalem, e di tuta l'Arabia e del paize di Iemen, e più di quanti paezi aquistadi per li nostri padri antecesori et io con la mia lucente spada quanti paezi che ò subiugati e son signior. Io de Sultan Baiazit fiol, Sultan Selim fiol son'io Suleiman Sach Inperator. Tu che deli principi de la fede de Cristo sei li di maggiori,⁴ Re di Polonia [Sigismondo]^a sapi chome:

Al presente el vostro favorito et fidato, che de qui aveti mandato per orator a lo ecelso soier de la mia porta, el qual è locho, dove li altri signori e principi dieno bazar, al qua locho aveti mandato el vostro omo. El vostro fiol, che tra li fioli de principi cristiani è il fortunato, qual nel vostro locho aveti voluto far re, e de la bona e longa amicitia, che con la nostra ecelsa porta aveti avuto teneti giesto⁵ si abia a mantener per li nostri fioli desendenti, ne aveti richiesto capitolo in scrittura, adoncha, perché seti persona di etade e di experientia molta e per l'amicitia longa ch'è tra voi e noi senpre: Che noi e voi saremo sani, chome per il'pasato manteremo l'amicitia e benivolentia, ma la parola che aveti dito per li fioli e desendenti sopra ciò, se li fioli saranno boni e che vadino a la strada di padri, anchor quelì troverano il bene. Per il fiol vostro prezente avendo voi richiesto l'amicitia e benivolentia nostra, per vostro amor semo contentati. Al presente lo inperator di Tartaria, potentissimo, nominato Sachip Cheraichan,⁶ el qual è cresuto a la nostra felicissima porta e ne le nostre inpreze ett operation suefato tanto, che li è nostro fiol, ett esendo tra noi l'amicitia, li avemo dito che ancor lui vi sia amicho, bisogna che voi eciam teniati con lui bona amicitia ett operar di sorte, che Tartari over parenti del dito inperator che non li siano obedienti ett scanpando da lui abino da voi recapito e cercando aiuto, non li ascoltareti anzi schazarli del vostro paeze e perseguitarli. Del Cara Bogdan⁷ e Vlachi che son nostri schiavi e trabutari, ne chi che l'ochore, si qualchuno di loro per paura si levase e venise da voi per trovar recapito, vi dicemo che non voliate acetarli ne vardarli a voi,^b taliando tal strade ne fareti contra de lor tal aspra dimostracion, che non abino cauza di tenir tal via. Oltra di questo ancora ogniuno che si lasasi guidar al diavolo ett che per voler poi proceder contra di noi chapitase da voi per soldar gente, fornirsi di arme o altre pratiche uzar de inimicitia contra di noi, a questi simili nostri emuli non laserete procedino avanti, m'avendo a caro l'amicitia nostra, saretì amico del'amicho e nimicho del nimicho senpre mai, che dal canto nostro l'amicitia sarà risguardata e mantenuta per quel solo e vero Idio che creò el cielo e la tera, e per l'anima di nostri padri e antecesori, che dal canto nostro serà senpre mantenuta l'amititia e bona pace. El vostro orator à fornito la sua elegatione e con nostra licentia se ne ritorna.

⁴ Perhaps it should read *tra li maggiori* or *de li maggiori*.

⁵ Erroneously written *Mengiermendo*.

⁶ I.e., *giusto*.

⁷ Sahib Giray Khan.

⁷ Kara Bogdan, Tur. for Moldavia.

^b Erroneously written *a noi*.

DOCUMENT 14 (1 MAY 1533)
The royal confirmation of the treaty

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. AGAD, *Libri Legationum*, sign. 6, fol. 91a–93a.

Published in *Acta Tomiciana*, vol. 15 (Wrocław, 1957), no. 241, pp. 333–35.

B. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 3916, fol. 373b–374b.

Littere federis a Regia Maiestate Turcorum imperatori date:

In nomine Dei Omnipotentis, quem firmiter credimus et confitemur, quod ipse unus solus est, verus Deus eternus, immensus et incommutabilis, incomprehensibilis, ineff[ab]ilis ac in nomine Jesu Christi, filii eius unigeniti, Domini et Salvatoris nostri, amen. Omnes humane actiones, que hac lege fiunt, ^aut ab hominum memoria non discedant, ^bsed continua serie decurrentes firme ac stabiles permaneant, ulla ratione melius stabiliri et firmari possunt, quam si litterarum munimentis memorie prodite ab oblivionis iniuria vindicentur. Atque ideo nos Sigismundus Primus, Dei gratia Rex Polonie, Magnus Dux Lituaniæ necnon terrarum Cracovie, Sandomirie, Siradie, Lancicie, Cuiavie, Russie, Podolie, Prussie, Samogitie, Mazovie etc. dominus et heres, manifestum facimus per presentes litteras nostras universis, quod cum ad Serenissimum et Potentissimum Principem, Dominum Soleimanum Sach, Imperatorem Maximum Constantinopolitanum, Asie et Europe, Persarum, Arabum Syriæque ac Egypti etc. dominum, amicum confederationisque nostrum charissimum magnificum Petrum Opalenski castellanum Landensem et magistrum curie serenissimi filii nostri oratoris nomine misissemus, postulantes, ut amicitiam et coniunctionem (quam inter nos ad magnam dominiorum et subditorum utriusque nostrum commoditatem ad certos paucos annos inter nos recipere et crebro vicissim hinc inde litteris et nuntiis renovare et confirmare solebamus) ad tempora vite sue et nostre, vite etiam sue et filii nostri, insuper vite filiorum utriusque nostrum recipere et firmare nobiscum non gravaretur, illiusque Cesarea Maiestas pro desiderio nostro et pro mutua dudum inter nos servata amicitia et coniunctione assensa ad hoc est litterasque suas in testimonium et firmitatem eius diuturni federis nobis misisset, nos vicissim illius Cesaree Maiestati simili litterarum firmitate et testimonio respondere et satisfacere volentes, presentes litteras voluntate et sciencia nostra scribi fecimus, quibus testificamur, quod promissi^c nobis a Serenissima Cesarea Maiestate predictæ amicitie benevolentieque inter nos et illius Maiestatem et inter filium nostrum, inter disce-

^{a-b} Omitted in *Acta Tomiciana*.

^c Changed into *promissæ* in *Acta Tomiciana*.

dentes utriusque nostrum filios, grati sumus eamque ad vitam nostram et vitam Sue Maiestatis, ad vitam item Maiestatis Sue et filii nostri, insuper ad vitam filii nostri et filii Maiestatis Sue, qui in Imperium succedet, servaturos pro nobis et serenissimo filio nostro promittimus. Ceterum promittimus et pollicemur, quod eandem amicitiam, benevolentiam et fedus cum imperatore Tartarorum Saybkirei Chan,¹ quem Serenissima Cesarea Maiestas filii loco se ^dhabere, ut in imperio orde Precopense collocare se^e velle scribit, nos et serenissimus filius noster servabimus, dummodo et ipse eandem vicissim amicitiam et benevolentiam nobiscum et cum serenissimo filio nostro servet et retineat, in huncque modum nos erga predictum imperatorem Tartarorum exhibebimus, quod neque Tartaris neque coniunctis, qui predicto imperatori non obedientes ab illo fugiant, receptum apud nos dabimus nec ullum auxilium, quod a nobis pecierint, illis concedemus, quin etiam advenientes a regno nostro arceri et prohibere, ut in hoc et desiderio Serenissimi Domini Imperatoris Turcorum satisfaciamus, et ipsi etiam imperatori predicto Tartarorum amicitiam nostram declaremus. Insuper promittimus, quod si quippiam homines instinctu diaboli constituerent in animo Serenissimo Imperatori Turcorum belli negotium facere idque nobis declarantes postularent a nobis milites aut in dominiis nostris illos pecunia conducere vellent, denique postularent, ut illos apparatu bellico sublevemus, quod nil horum illis concedemus et cum amicus [*sic*] illius Cesarea Maiestate^f simus, amicus etiam eius amicis et inimicus inimicis esse volumus et promittimus.

Quod si autem, sicut non dubitamus, illius Cesarea Maiestas amicitiam hanc et fedus ad tempora vite utriusque nostrum et ad tempora vite filiorum receptum et firmatum non infringet, nos vicissim per eum solum verumque Deum, qui celum et terram creavit et per eius unitatem, denique per filium eius unigenitum, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, salutis et religionis nostre christiane authorem, promittimus et verbo nostro affirmamus, quod hanc amicitiam inter nos et Maiestatem Suam Cesaream, denique inter eius Maiestatem et filium nostrum, inter filium etiam Maiestatis Sue et filium nostrum receptam et firmatam non infringemus neque mutabimus neque id aliter faciemus. ^gIn quorum testimonium id scribi et sigillo nostro obsignari fecimus.^h Datum Cracovie die 1 Maii anno m^od^oxxxiii, regni nostri vigesimo septimo.

¹ Sahib Giray, cf. Document 13.

^{d-e} Omitted in *Acta Tomiciana*.

^f In *Acta Tomiciana* corrected: *Cesareae Maiestatis*.

^{g-h} Omitted in *Acta Tomiciana*.

DOCUMENT 15 (1 AUGUST 1553)

The *'ahdname* sent by Suleyman I to King Sigismund August

The original document is missing.

Turkish copies:

A. British Library, Or. 9503, fol. 179b–182a.

B. Venice, Archivio di Stato, Documenti Turchi, busta 6, no. 408.¹

This second copy, inferior in quality to the British Library copy, was published in Arabic script by T. Gökbilgin, “Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki vesikalar külliyyatında Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri belgeleri,” *Belgeler. Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 1 (1964): 119–220, esp. pp. 128–30.

Polish translations of the lost original (cf. *KDT*, pp. 138–39): a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 68, t. 157, no. 302 (by Joachim Strasz alias Ibrahim Beg); b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 68, t. 157, no. 303 (by an unknown sixteenth-century translator); c) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 68, t. 157, no. 304 (the same, copied by Crutta); d) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 126a–129b (by Otwinowski); e) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 209–15 [225–31]; f) Bibl. Czart., ms. 1176, pp. 551–58; g) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 206, pp. 13–20.

The translation by Strasz is published in Z. Bartoszewicz, ed., “Z rękopisów Dogiela (tomu II, części I) wyjątki, ściągające się do działań między królami Zygmuntem I i Zygmuntem II, a Solimanem sultanem tureckim,” *Dziennik Wileński/Historia i literatura* vol. 2 (1826), pp. 108–113.

Polish translation of a lost contemporary Turkish copy:² Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 247–52 [263–68].

Lih kiralına yazılan *'ahdname-i hümayun*^a

^bHazret-i 'İzzet cellet kudretühü ve 'alet kelimetühünün 'inayeti ve mihr-i sipehr-i nübüvvet ahter-i burc-i fütüvvet pişva-yi zümre-i enbiya mukteda-yi fırka-i asfiya Muhammed Mustafanın salla'llahu 'aleyhi ve sellem mu'cizat-i kesiretü'l-berekatı ve dört yarinin ki Ebu Bekr 'Ömer ve 'Osman ve 'Ali dir ridvanu'llah 'aleyhim ecma'in anların ve cemi' evliya ervah-i mukaddesi mürafakatıyla

¹ Gökbilgin gives the old signature: busta 2, fasc. 50, pezzi 6.

² The short introductory protocol, contained in this translation, is different from the protocol of the original *'ahdname*. Its heading reads *wyklad z kopii przymierza JMci Sottana Suleymana Cesarza Tureckiego*.

^a B. *Lih kiralına virilen 'ahdnamenin suretidir*.

^{b-c} Missing in B.

mahall-i tugradır^c

Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i zaman bürhan-i havakin-i evan tac-bahş-i husrevan-i cihan zillü'llahi'l-Meliki'l-Mennan Ak Denizin ve Kara Denizin ve Rum-ilinin ve Anadolu'nun ve Şam ve Haleb ve ^dMısır ve Mekke-i mükerrime ve Medine-i münevvere ve Kuds-i şerif ve Halilü'r-Rahman külliyyen Diyar-i 'Arabın ve Yemenin ve^e Karaman ve Rumin ve vilayet-i Du'l-kadriyenin ve Diyarbekrin ve Kürdistanın ve Azerbaycan ve Vanın ve Budun ve Temeşvar^f vilayetlerinin ve Bagdad ve Basra ve Cezayır vilayetlerinin ve dahi niçe memleketlerin ki aba-i kiram ve ecdad-i 'izamım enara'llahu berahinehüm kuvvet-i kahire ile feth eylemişlerdir^g ve cenab-i celalet-penahım^h dahi tig-i ateş-bar şemşir-i zafer-nigarım ile feth eyledüğüm niçe diyarın sultanı ve padişahı hazret-i Sultan Bayezid Han oğlu Sultan Selim Han oğlu Sultan Süleyman-şah Hanım.

Bu şerif 'ahdname-i hümayunumuzu görüb okuyanlara şöyle ma'lum ola ki şimdikihalde Lih vilayetinin kralı [olan]ⁱ ^jiftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'n-nasraniye^k Sicizmundus Agustus^l [erşedehü'llahu ta'ala]^m atasına virilen 'ahdnamenin tecdid olunmasın istid'a eyleyüb yüce hazretimle barışıklıkⁿ ve dostluk olmak için 'alî dergahımıza beglerinden İstlanilav Tençiski^o nam adamısın ki Le'opoli^p ve Lubli^q ve Belun^r nam şehirlerin begi imiş elçi^s göndürüb ^tizhar-i sadakat u ihlas itmegin bizim ulu peygamberümüz^u ve iki cihan fahri hazret-i Muhammed Mustafa sallallahu 'aleyhi [ve]^v sellem hicretinin dokuz yüz altmış Şa'banının yigirminci gününde<n> ki hazret-i 'İsa [nebi]^w 'aleyhi's-selam tarihinin *1553 ılında^y vaki' olmuştur işbu 'ahdname-i şerifi virdüm ve buyurdum ki:

Yüce hazretim canibinden kralın iline ve vilayetine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına bi'l-cümle taht-i tasarruflarında^z olan memleketine benim^{aa} vezir-

^{d-e} In B. this fragment is written after *Budun ve Temeşvar vilayetlerinin*, and reads: "Mısırın ve Mekkenin ve Medinenin ve Kudsın ve Halilü'r-Rahmanın ve külliyyen Diyar-i 'Arabın ve Yemenin ve. . ."

^f B. erroneously written *Temeşkar*.

^g B. *eyledikleri*.

^h B. *celalet-ma'abım*.

ⁱ In B. only.

^{j-k} Missing in B.

^l سجزموندوس اغستوس.

^m In B. only.

ⁿ B. erroneously written *barışlık*.

^o استلانیلاو تنچیسکی; in B. Isanilav Tençiski (ایسانیلانو تنچیسکی).

^p لئوپولی.

^q لوبلی.

^r بلون.

^s B. *ilçi*.

^{t-u} B. *sadakat u ihlas izhar eylemegin bizüm ulu peygamberimiz*.

^v In B. only.

^w In B. only.

^{x-y} In B. *bin beşyüz elli üçüncü yılında*.

^z B. *tasarrufunda*.

^{aa} B. *benüm*.

lerimden ve beglerimden ve sancakbegleri kullarımdan^{ab} ve kenar beglerinden hiç vechle zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve benim^{ac} ilime ve günüme ve kal'elerime^{ad} ve varoşlarıma bi'l-cümle taht-i tasarrufumda o[la]n^{ae} memalik-i mahruseme^{af}[ve memalik-i mahmiyem halkından bir ferde]^{ag} mezbur kiral tarafından^{ah} ve kralın beglerinden ve tevabi'inden ve levahikinden hiç vechle zarar u ziyan degmiye ve'l-hasıl dostuma dost ve düşmanıma düşman olub mabeynde iki canibin ilçileri ve adamları varub gelüb kendülere^{ai} ve mallerine ve rızklarına zarar u ziyan yetişmeye tarih-i mezburdan mukaddem şol esirler ki küfri üzerine dura islama gelmeye kralın adamları gelüb arayub bulub sahiblerin irza idüb satun [alalar]^{aj} alub gideler kimesne mani' olmaya ve bu^{ak} 'ahdname tarihinden sonra iki taraftan her ne kim tutulursa anları bahasuz ve satusuz azad idüb salı-vireler ve iki canibin bazarganları denizden ve kurıdan gelüb gidüb bey' ü şıra ideler bulundukları yerlerde 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsümü ne ise vireler kimesnenin maline ve nefesine zarar u ziyan olmaya ve eger mezbur kral memleketinden gelen bazarganlardan benim^{al} memalik-i mahrusemde fevt olursa müteveffanın rızkı bizim^{am} tarafımızdan alınmayub hıfz oluna ol taraftan kral mektubiyle varisi^{an} geldiği vakt müteveffanın esbabı ve rızkı emr-i şerifimle^{ao} varisine teslim oluna eger bizim^{ap} bazarganlardan anlar vilayetinde fevt olmak vakı' olursa kral dahi hemçunan [öyle]^{aq} ide ve eger tarih-i mezburdan sonra kralın memleketine yüce hazrettime tabi' olan kimesnelerden zarar u ziyan vakı' olursa emr idüb bulunub anın^{ar} gibi yaramazlık idenin hakkında gelem ve ol ziyamı dahi emr idüb yerine döndüreler özür ve bahane itmeyeler^{as} at-kral canibinden dahi öyle ola^{au} ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesnenin medyuni kralın vilayetine varsa her ne yerde<n>^{av} ise ol yerin hakimine müraf'a olunub teftiş olunub her ne zahir olursa ol yerin hakimi alub sahibine vireler ve bir kimesnenin borcu ve günahı olmadın aharın borcu ve günahı için anı tutmayalar ve incitmeyeler ve iki canibin vilayet-

^{ab} B. *kullarından*.

^{ac} B. *benüm*.

^{ad} B. *kal'elerime*.

^{ae} Correctly written in B.

^{af-ag} In B. only.

^{ah} B. *canibinden*.

^{ai} B. *kendülerine*.

^{aj} In B. only.

^{ak} Missing in B.

^{al} B. *benüm*.

^{am} B. *bizüm*.

^{an} B. *varis*.

^{ao} B. *emr-i şerifim ile*.

^{ap} B. *bizüm*.

^{aq} In B. only.

^{ar} B. *anun*.

^{as} B. *olmaya*.

^{at-au} Missing in B.

^{av} For a discussion of this place see note 6 to the translation.

leri arasında anların gibi bi-günahları üşendirmeyeler hemçunan biz dahi öyle ideyüz.

Ve^{aw} bi'l-cümle aba ve ecdadımız zamanından berü [olan]^{ax} mu'ahede mukarrer ve mü'ekked olub hiç bir ferden^{ay} zarar gelmeye ve iki canibin güzeste ziyandar^{az} için vekiller[i] bir araya gelmeğe müyesser^{ba} olmamagın bu tarihe gelince iki canibden olan ziyandan göçile istima' olunmaya şimdinsonra Tatar hanı canibine ma dam ki kiral canibinden kadimü'l-eyyamdan vire-geldikleri 'adetleri[n]^{bb} vakti ile eda ideler^{bc} kiral tarafından 'ahda muhalif bir iş sadır olmayınca han canibinden ve Tatar leşkerinden kralın memleketine ve adamlarına dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub^{bd} zarar^{be-u} ziyar^{bf} irişdirmeyeler şöyleki Tatardan zarar irişe fermanın-i şerifimle hakkları alıvirile Bogdan voyvodasından ve Bogdan ta'ifesinden ke-zalık kiral-i mezbur vilayetine ve adamlarına zarar irişmeye zarar olursa zahir olduktan sonra emr-i hümayunumla yerine konula kiral tarafından^{bg} ve adamlarından Tatar halkına ve Bogdan ta'ifesine ve adamlarına ve memleketlerine zarar olursa anlar dahi^{bh} yerine koyub ehl-i fesadın hakkından geleler özür ve bahane etmeyeler Bogdan vilayetinden ba'z kimesne kaçub Lih vilayetine sığınub bir tarikle gelüb memleketine fitne bırakub müfsidlik iderlerimiş^{bi} anın^{bj} gibiler taleb olundukda virile ve şimdiye degin alınan esirleri kralın adamları memalik-i mahrusemde buldukda [şahibi niçeye satun almış ise bahasın virüb alalar sahibi]^{bk} ziyade baha taleb etmeye niçeye aldugın [yemin]^{bl} virüb^{bm} satun ala ol esirlerden islama gelmiş azad ola ve küfri üzerine olanı alub gitmeğe mani' olmaya ve kiral vilayetinde anlar dahi salı-virüb yerlerine gelme<me>ge mani' olmaya^{bn} ve bu dostluk içinde iken gelen ilçilere^{bo} [ve]^{bp} haber eyletüb getüren kimesnelere mani' olmayalar emin ü salım varub geleler ve serhaddlara geldüklerinde anlara yarar adam koşalar ve^{bq} öte canibde dahi öyle^{br} ola ve bazarganlara dahi 'adet ü kanun üzere

^{aw} Missing in B.

^{ax} In B. only.

^{ay} B. *yerden*.

^{az} B. *ziyanları*.

^{ba} B. *kabil*.

^{bb} In B. written correctly: *'adellerin*.

^{bc-bd} B. *han canibinden ve Tatar leşkerinden kralın memleketine ve adamlarına anlar canibinden bir 'ahda muhalif vaz' olmayınca dahl u ta'arruz olmayub*.

^{be-bf} Missing in B.

^{bg} B. *taraflarından*.

^{bh-bi} B. *yerine koyalar Bogdan halkından ba'z müfsidler kaçub Lih vilayetine varub hafiyeten gelüb memleket içinde müfsedlik iderlerimiş*.

^{bj} B. *anun*.

^{bk} In B. only.

^{bl} In B. only.

^{bm-bn} B. *alalar ol esirlerden islam üzere olanlar azad ola küfri üzerine olanı alub gitmeğe mani' olmayalar*.

^{bo} In B. *elçilere*.

^{bp} In B. only.

^{bq} Missing in B.

^{br} B. *böyle*.

gümrüklerin virdiklerinden sonra ^{bs-}müzahim ve mani^{-bt} olmayalar ve memahk-i mahruşem halkından bir kimesnenin Lih kralına tabi[‘] bir kimesnede hakkı olsa taleb etdikde^{bu} eglendirmeyüb memleket hakimleri alı-vireler ve hırsuz ve haramiler^{bv} zarar u ziyan eyledükde ta‘cil[en]^{bw} ehl-i hükm olanlar arayub buldukda halas olmayub hakkından geline ve hırsuzlukda alındığı esbab sahibine ba‘de’s-sübut bi-kusur^{bx} virile ve tüccar ta‘ifesi ve sa‘irleri^{by} bir kimesne ile bey[‘] ü şıra eyleyeler^{bz} sicillat veya hüccet olmayınca istima[‘] olunmaya eger kefalet ve eger karzdır da‘va ve taleb etdiklerinde sicillata veya hüccete nazar oluna bu ikisinden biri olmayınca zur-i şahid ikamet itmekle^{ca} tezvır ü telbis etmeyeler kiral canibinde dahi memleket hakimlerinin ma‘lumi olmayınca ve yazılmayınca istima[‘] olunmaya^{cb} ve Silistre ve Akkerman sancığı begleri^{cc} ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları dergah-i ‘alempenahım kullarından ve iki canibin tacirlerinden gayri Turla^{cd} suyundan Lih sunurına kimesneyi koyu-virmeyeler^{ce} ve yanlarında eger öteden ve eger berüden gelenden esir bulunursa ellerinden alub girü döndüreler çoban ta‘ifesi Lih vilayetine geçdiklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin ve koyunların bildirüb mahfı varmayalar ve otlak hakkı vireler çoban ta‘ifesi kendülerin bildirdiklerinden^{cf} sonra koyunu zayı[‘] olursa memleket hakiminden taleb eyleye^{cg} ve gelüb giden tüccarın bargirlerin ulak almaya [ve sefer üzerine yeniçeri atların almaya].^{ch}

Ve^{ci} bu ‘ahdnamede mestur olan şera‘itün ri‘ayeti için Allahu ta‘alanın ‘azametüne ve hazret-i risaletün ve cemi‘i peygamberlerin ervah-i mukaddeselerine yemin iderim ki [müddet-i baka ü sebat ve eyyam-i hayat-i^{cj} sa‘adet-simatımızda]^{ck} ma dam ki kiral canibinden hilaf-i ‘ahd^{cl} bir vaz[‘] olmaya^{cm} cenab-i celalet-ma‘abım canibinden dahi ‘ahda muhalif nesne sadır olmaya [şöyle bileler].^{cn}

^{bs-bt} B. *mani‘ ve müzahim*.

^{bu} B. *etdikde*.

^{bv} B. *harami*.

^{bw} Cf. the ‘ahdname of 1577 (Document 21): “ehl-i hükm olanlar mu‘accelen arayub.”

^{bx} Missing in B.

^{by} B. *sa‘iri*.

^{bz} B. *eyleseler*.

^{ca} B. *etmekle*.

^{cb} B. *olmaya*.

^{cd} *تورلی*. In A. erroneously written with a dot under the first letter.

^{cc-ce} B. *Turla suyundan tüccardan gayri kimesne geçirmeyeler ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları dergah-i ‘alempenahım kullarından ve iki canibin tacirlerinden gayri kimesne[yi]i koyu-virmeyeler*

^{cf} B. *bildirdükden*.

^{cg} B. *eyleyeler*.

^{ch} This fragment, found in B. only, ends with the expression “öyle olsa.” Perhaps it should read “öyle olsun” (“so be it!”). Since this expression is unclear and it is missing in A., it has not been translated.

^{ci} Missing in B.

^{cj} Written in an archaic way: *حیوة*.

^{ck} In B. only.

^{cl-cm} B. *nesne olmaya*.

^{cn} In B. only.

Translation:

The imperial 'ahdname written to the Polish king

*This is the place of the tугra.*³

I who,

by the grace of His Glorious Majesty (exalted is His Power and elevated is His Word!), and by the miracles, full of divine blessings, of Muhammad Mustafa (may God command and salute him!), the sun of the heaven of prophecy, the star of the constellation of magnanimity, the leader of the class of prophets and the guide of the group of saints, and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of his four companions, who are Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and Ali (may the approbation of God be upon them all!), and of all the saints,

am the sultan of the sultans of the age, the proof of the emperors of the season, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusravs of the world, the shadow of God, the Munificent King, the sultan and the padishah of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea, of Rumelia, Anatolia, Damascus, Haleb [i.e., Aleppo], and Egypt, of the honored Mecca and illuminated Medina, of the noble Jerusalem and Hebron, of all the lands of Arabia, of Yemen, Karaman, Rum, the provinces of Zulkadir, Diyarbakır, Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, Van, of the provinces of Buda and Temesvár, of the provinces of Baghdad, Basra, and Algiers, and of the many lands that my noble fathers and magnificent grandfathers (may God illuminate their miracle-working graves!) had conquered with the overwhelming power, and also of the many countries that my glorious majesty has conquered with my flaming sword and victorious sabre, Sultan Suleyman-shah Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Bayezid Khan.

To those, who see and read this our noble imperial 'ahdname, it should be known that the king of Poland, the pride of the great Christian princes, Sigismund August (May God—may He be exalted!—direct him to the right way!), has now requested that the 'ahdname given to his father be renewed, and in order to establish peace and friendship with my high majesty has sent in [his] embassy to our high court his man, from among his governors, named Stanisław Tęczyński, who has been the governor of the cities of Lwów, Lublin, and Bełż;⁴ and as he has demonstrated devotion and sincerity, I have given this noble 'ahdname on the twentieth day of Shaban of [the year] 960 of the emigration [Hegira] of our great prophet, the pride of the two worlds, Muhammad Mustafa (may God command and salute him!), what has happened in the year 1553 of the era of the prophet Jesus (peace be upon him!); and I have ordered that:

From the side of my high majesty and from the side of my viziers, beylerbeys, sancakbeys, servants,⁵ and border commanders, no damage or harm should touch the king's country, land, fortresses, towns, and the whole dominion being under his possession. And

³ For the *tugra* of Sultan Suleyman, see Document 11.

⁴ Stanisław Tęczyński was the castellan (*kasztelan*) of Lwów, and the *starosta* of Lublin and Bełż.

⁵ The word *kul* (lit. "slave" or "servant") most commonly refers to janissaries.

from the side of the aforementioned king, the king's governors, his dependents and subjects, no damage or harm should touch my country or my people, my fortresses, towns, all the well-protected dominions being under my possession, or anybody from among the inhabitants of my well-guarded countries. And in short [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy;

when the envoys and agents of the two sides enter and come between [the two countries], no damage or harm should touch them, their property, and belongings.

Royal agents may come and search for those prisoners [captured] before the aforementioned date, who have persisted in their infidelity and not become Muslim; [after] locating [any such prisoners] and satisfying their owners they can ransom them, take them and go, and nobody should hinder them.

If after the date of this 'ahdname whoever from either side is taken [prisoner], one should set them free and let them go without ransom.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land, and sell and buy. According to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places. [But] nobody's property or life should be exposed to damage or harm.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from the domain of the aforementioned king dies in my well-protected dominions, the belongings of the deceased will not be seized by our side but kept; when an heir [of the deceased] comes with a royal letter, the goods and belongings of the deceased should be handed over to the heir, according to my noble order. If anybody from among our merchants dies in their country, the king should proceed likewise.

If after the aforementioned date damage or harm is done to the domain of the king by anybody from among the dependents of my high majesty, I will issue an [appropriate] order and cause such evildoers to be found and punished. Also an [appropriate] order will be issued so that the damage may be compensated. One should not find any excuse or pretext. On the royal side one should also proceed likewise.

If the debtor of anybody from my well-protected dominions arrives at the country of the king in whatever place,⁶ the petition should be heard and investigated by a local judge, [then] a local judge should seize all revealed [goods of the debtor] and give to their owner.

One should not arrest and injure a person, who has neither debt nor guilt, for the debt or guilt of another person. [In the relations] between the two states one should not molest innocent people alike. We will also proceed likewise.

As the treaty existing since the time of our fathers and grandfathers has been fixed and corroborated, and no harm was done [to it]; and since the commissioners of the two sides [appointed] for [discussing] the previous damages did not manage to meet in one place, the damage incurred by either side prior to this date expires and should not be heard.

Henceforth, as long as the customary payments ['adetler], which used to be given since olden days, are paid on time by the king to the Tatar khan, [and] as long as the king does nothing contrary to the treaty, no meddling or interference, harm or dam-

⁶ Tur. *her ne yerde*. An alternative reading *her ne yerden* ("from whatever place") is possible as well, but it does not fit within the context; see also the contemporary Polish translation by Joachim Strasz.

age should be done to the dominions and subjects of the king by the khan and the Tatar army; in such a manner that when a damage is done by the Tatars, they will be punished according to my noble order.

Likewise, no damage should be done to the country or subjects of the aforementioned king by the Moldavian hospodars and Moldavians. If any damage is done, after being revealed, it should be compensated for according to my imperial order. If any damage is done to the Tatars or the Moldavians, their people and country, from the side of the king or his subjects, it should be compensated as well, and the evildoers should be punished without any excuse or pretext.

Certain individuals had fled Moldavia and taken refuge in Poland; [thereafter] they came [back] to their country and raised rebellion and intrigue. When requested, such individuals should be delivered.

When royal agents find in my well-protected dominions prisoners captured prior to the present time, they may ransom them for the price for which they were purchased by their [present] owners, and take them. Their owners should not demand more and should confirm the price of the purchase by an oath. Those from among the prisoners who have become Muslim should be manumitted; and those who have persisted in infidelity may be taken and nobody should hinder them from leaving. Also in the royal country one should set free [Muslim prisoners], and one should not hinder them from going home.

Within the time period of friendship one should not hinder the envoys and agents who come bringing messages and who should enter and come secure and safe. Upon reaching the borders, one should give them fit men as an escort. One should proceed likewise on the other side.

After merchants have paid customs duties according to tradition and law, one should not hinder them or give trouble to them. If a subject of the Polish king owes something to anybody from among the people of my well-protected dominions, when demanded, the land judicial authorities should execute [the debt] without delay.

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm or damage, the judicial authorities should immediately search for, find, and punish them, and should not let them escape [from punishment]. After it is proved, the stolen goods should be restored to their owner without deficiency.

If merchants and others conclude a transaction⁷ with anybody, as long as it is not certified in kadi records [sicillat] or a certificate issued by the kadi [hüccet], [their grievances] should not be heard. When a claim and demand arises concerning surety [kefalet] or a loan, one should look at the kadi record or certificate. When neither of these two [documents] exists, no false witness should be brought and one should not falsify and cheat. Also on the royal side, the land judicial authorities should not hear [a grievance], if [the matter] is not known to them and if it is not registered.

The beys of the sancaks of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody cross the Dniester toward the Polish borders except the servants [kullar] of my court, which is the refuge of the universe, and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should take them from their hands and send them back.

⁷ Lit. "sell and buy."

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret. After the herdsmen have made their presence known, if their sheep is lost, they can demand from the land authorities [that it be returned].

The baggage horses of merchants who come and depart should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janissaries on campaign.

In order to protect the clauses registered in this 'ahdname, I swear by the greatness of God (may He be exalted!), and by the sanctified souls of the Prophet [Muhammad] and of all the [other] prophets that for the remaining and fixed period [of our rule], and for the days of our life, marked with felicity, as from the side of the king nothing should occur contrary to the treaty, also from the side of my glorious majesty nothing will occur contrary to the treaty. Thus they must know.

DOCUMENT 16 (12 MARCH 1554)
The royal confirmation of the treaty

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 114, fol. 116b–119a.

Published in *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, suppl. II, vol. I: 1510–1600. Edited by I. Bogdan (Bucharest, 1893), pp. 202–204.

B. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 107, pp. 196–99.

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 2482, pp. 217–18.

D. Paris, Biblioteka Polska, ms. 11, no. 9, pp. 86–90.

Foedus cum caesare Turcarum per magnificum dominum Stanislaum Thenczynski castellanum Leopoliensem allatum:

Sigismundus Augustus [Dei gratia rex Poloniae]^a etc. Significamus praesentibus literis nostris, quorum interest, universis et singulis, quod cum serenissimis praedecessoribus nostris cum potentissimis dominis Turcarum caesaribus vetusta foedera intercessissent, quae ab utrisque culta et servata^b sunt, divus quoque parens noster serenissimus princeps dominus Sigismundus rex Poloniae cum potentissimo principe domino Sultano Solimano Sach,^c caesare Turcarum pactam semel amicitiam et foedera ab^d extrema usque vitae suae tempora sanctissime conservavit. Cuius exemplum nos imitati, ut primum post mortem eius regni gubernacula accepimus, misimus oratorem nostrum magnificum Stanislaum comitem in Thenczyn,^e castellanum Leopoliensem et Lublinensem, Belsensem capitaneum, ut vetusta foedera cum Maiestate illius renovaret atque amicitiam inter nos et illius Maiestatem confirmaret. Et cum potentissimus Princeps Dominus Caesar Turcarum eam ipsam amicitiam et foedera nobiscum innovasset et confirmasset literisque suis ad nos datis hoc ipsum testatus esset, nos vicissim literis hisce nostris spondemus et promittimus, quod a die vigesima anni praeteriti 1553 ad finem usque vitae suae et potentissimi Domini Caesaris Turcarum foedus et amicitiam cum Maiestate illius observaturi, neque ullum damnum et detrimentum castris, civitatibus, villis, ditionibus Maiestatis illius illaturi sumus, subditis quoque nostris, cuiuscumque gradus et condicionis existant, mandaturi, ne quod detrimentum vel incommodum dicionibus Maiestatis illius inferant, quemadmodum neque Maiestas illius subditique Maiestatis illius terris, castris, civitatibus, oppidis et villis dicionis nostrae nullum incommodum

^a In C. only.

^b C. *observata*.

^c Missing in *Documente*.

^d In C., D., and *Documente* corrected: *ad*.

^e In C. and D. *Tęcryn*.

aut damnum inferent. Oratores, nuncii et servitores nostri liberum transitum, accessum et recessum ad Maiestatem illius nullis literis liberi transitus ad id requisitis habere debent, personis et rebus eorum salvis, conductores boni et fideles in finibus eius dari debent; eodem vero pacto nos et subditi nostri erga Maiestatis illius oratores, nuncios et servitores gerere et conservare nos debebimus et tenebimur. Quod si aliqui ex hominibus nostris captivi in dicionibus Maiestatis illius caesareae reperti fuerint, qui a christiana religione non desciverint, liberum erit hominibus nostris iis, qui eos invenerint ipsos ab eorum dominis redimere eodem, quo empti fuerunt,^f precio. Et si de precio differentia aliqua orta fuerit, quod maius scilicet praecium, quam quo eos emerint, eorum domini habere vellent, emptores iuramento pro more fidei suae praecium emptorum servorum comprobare debebunt, quo accepto subditos nostros libere manu mittere erunt astricti. Quicunque vero ex subditis nostris a die inchoatorum usque ad tempus terminandorum foederum capti et in dicionibus Maiestatis illius abducti fuerint, ii absque omni praecio libere dimitti^g debent. Similiter vero quicunque subditi Maiestatis illius capti et in dicionibus nostras adducti fuerint, ii libere absque quovis pretio dimitti^h debebunt. Mercatoribus utriusque nostrum liber hinc inde tam terra quam mari transitus in terris et dicionibus utriusque nostrum per civitates, oppida et loca omnia, theloneo pro more soluto, esse debent,ⁱ personis et rebus eorum omnibus salvis. Quod si vero aliquem mercatorem nostrum in dicionibus Maiestatis illius Caesareae mori contigerit, eius res et merces omnes integre adservari debent, et cum per hominem nostrum literas nostras habentem repetitae fuerint, tradi illi debebunt. Itaque nos et subditi nostri erga mercatores Maiestatis illius gerere nos tenebimur. Damna vero quaecunque subditis potentissimi Domini Caesaris Turcarum per subditos nostros illata fuerint, nos eos, qui illa intulerint punire et damna resarcire tenebimur. Eodem vero pacto nobis et hominibus nostris a Maiestate illius et eius subditis damna illata sarciri debebunt. Pignorationes vero nullae utrinque in mercatores et subditos communes esse debent. Ut vero occasiones omnes damnorum et iniuriarum amoveantur, ita inter nos et illius Maiestatem constitutum est, quod subditi et mercatores tam nostri quam Maiestatis illius non prius alter alteri cedere aut merces aliquas dare debebit, quam apud officium aut iudicium aliquod de summa credita cautionem et inscriptionem debitor creditori fecerit, ut et pax et amicitia firma inter nos et Maiestatem illius constituatur, eiusque rescindendae aut labefactandae nulla prorsus occasio maneat. Cum hactenus commissarii utriusque nostrum ad iniurias <utriusque nostrum ad iniurias> utriusque illatas componendas et faciendas convenire non potuerunt, Maiestas illius Caesarea damna omnia subditis suis per subditos nostros ad diem usque constitutionis praesentium foederum illata nobis condonavit et remisit. Nos etiam similiter damna omnia nobis et subditis nostris per subditos Maiestatis illius illata Maiestati

^f In B. and C. *fuerint*.

^{g-h} Missing in *Documente*.

ⁱ In B. and D. *debet*; in *Documente*: *debeat*.

Suae Cesareae remittimus et condonamus, neque utrinque amplius repetere illa debebimus aut poterimus. Caesar Przekopecensis¹ durante hoc foedere nulla damna ditionibus nostris inferre debebit. Nos vero stipendium solitum, ut nobis contra hostes nostros assistat, dare illi debebimus. Quod si ipse aut subditi illius nostris subditis aut ditionibus nostris damna et iniurias aliquas intulerint, id totum ex mandato Maiestatis Suae Cesareae in instanti sarcire illa tenebitur. Ex parte vicissim nostra, si quod damnum ab hominibus nostris Tartarorum Przekopecensium cesari et palatino Valachiae aut hominibus et dicionibus illorum illatum fuerit, id totum nos, cum requisiti fuerimus, nulla interposita mora sarcire illis mandabimus. Maleficis hominibus damna et incursiones in terras Moldaviae facientibus, ex Valachia profugis, receptum in regno et dominiis nostris non dabimus; et si, qui eiusmodi in regno nostro recepti fuerint, eos ad Maiestatis Suae Cesareae requisitionem in dicionibus nostris non retinebimus. Similiter etiam Maiestas illius Caesarea profugis hominibus ex regno et dominiis nostris in dicionibus suis receptum dare non debet et eos, qui tales reperti fuerint, cum a nobis requisita fuerit, retinere in dicionibus suis non debebit. Fures et latrones cum alicui ex subditis nostris res et merces furtim aut [vi]^j in dicionibus Maiestatis Suae Cesareae abstulerint, per officium aut iudicium vicinum inveniri et morte puniri debebunt, res vero illatae^k huic cui acceptae fuerint integre tradi debent. Idem etiam nos Maiestatis Suae subditis in regno et dominiis [nostris] praestaturi sumus. Białogrodenses et Sylstrienses sendziaczii² neminem per fluvios: [Tiram] seu Nistrum, Danubium et Boristenem in ditiones nostras transire permittere debent, solum modo oratores, nuncios et mercatores; theloneatores et portuum custodes Maiestatis Suae Cesareae diligenter itidem custodire debent, ne quis ex subditis nostris in ditiones Maiestatis illius ex dominiis nostris praeter oratores, nuncios et mercatores ingrediatur. Quoscumque vero captivos ex regno et dominiis nostris in Maiestatis illius Cesareae ditiones abduci per quempiam contigerit, ii eripi et libere dimitti per Maiestatis Suae portuum custodes debent. Item pastores gregum, qui czebani³ vocantur, greges et armenta ultra fluvios Nester et Boristenem in parte nostra seu fundo nostro pascere non debent, nisi prius apud capitaneos locis vicinos aut notarios nostros ad id per nos designandos gregum suorum professione facta et tributo a pascuis persoluto. Cum vero professionem apud nos fecerint et pascua conduxerint, capitanei nostri eos a damnis et iniuriis vindicare debent. Equi subditis et mercatoribus nostris per subditos Maiestatis illius Cesareae in podvodas,⁴

¹ C. *Perecopensis*, i.e., the Crimean khan; the term derives from Ukr. Perekop and Pol. Przekop/Perekop (lit. "ditch"), the Slavic name of the Tatar fortress of Or, built over the ditch at the Crimean isthmus.

^j In C. only.

^k B. *allatae*; C. *ablatae*; D. *ablata*.

² B. *sendziacy*; C. *sędziacy*; from Tur. *sancakbegi* and Pol. *sandżak/sędziak*.

³ From Tur. *çoban*.

⁴ From Pol. *podwoda*, ("cart, transport service").

tum etiam per janczaros⁵ belli tempore, capi non debent. Ut autem maior et firmior amicitia inter nos et Maiestatem illius Cesaream constituatur stabilieturque, Maiestas Sua Cesarea amicum se amicis omnibus nostris, inimicis vero inimicum professa est. Nos quoque similiter amicum nos Maiestatis Suae amicis, inimicis vero inimicum fore profitemur. Quae quidem omnia in literis hisce expressa¹ maiestas illius cesarea plene, integre inviolateque tenere sancteque servare et custodire ad vitae suae extrema tempora verbo suo promisit et iuramento Deo omnipotenti et prophetae suo Machometo caeterisque prophetis praestito confirmavit. Nos etiam similiter ea omnia in literis hisce expressa^m plene, integre sancteque servare ad extrema vitae suae tempora spondemus, pollicemur et iure iurando per nomen Dei omnipotentis confirmamus, dum modo ex parte Maiestatis Suae Cesareae occasio aliqua rumpendi huiusce foederis non detur, quam nos nullam Deo duce daturi sumus et certo pollicemur. In cuius rei fidem et testimonium sigillum nostrum praesentibus appendi iussimus. Datum ex civitate nostra Lublinensi in comitiis regni nostri generalibus xii die mensis Martii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto, regni vero nostri anno vigesimo quinto.

⁵ From Pol. *janczarzy* ("janissaries").

¹ In *Documente: explicata*.

^m In *Documente: explicata*.

DOCUMENT 17 (6–15 DECEMBER 1554)

The Ottoman copy (*suret-i ‘ahdname*) issued on the request of the Polish king and reiterating the conditions of the *‘ahdname* of 1553
[Facs. VI]

Original documents in Turkish, provided with imperial *tugras*:

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 68, t. 153, no. 293 (missing in *KDT*).
103.5 × 33.5 cm.

invocatio (black sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

tugra (gold)

text (black sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

B. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 69, t. 172, no. 329 (*KDT*, pp. 150–52).

111.5 × 33

invocatio (black sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script¹

tugra (gold)

text (black sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

Polish translation by Otwinowski: a) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 143b–148a;
b) AGAD, AKW, k. 69, t. 172, no. 330 (copied by Crutta); c) Bibl. Czart.,
ms. 612, pp. 225–29 [241–45]; d) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 231–36 [247–52];
e) Bibl. Czart., ms. 1176, pp. 559–66; f) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 206, pp. 20–26.

French translation by Crutta: a) AGAD, AKW, k. 69, t. 172, no. 331;
b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 241–46 [257–62].

Suret-i ‘ahdname-i şerif²

Hüve’l-gani’l-mugni’l-mula’l-mu’in^a

Süleyman-şah bin Selim-şah han muzaffer da’ima

[1] Nişan-i şerif-i ‘ali-şan-i sami-mekam-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i ikbal-nümayı ve iclal-ikrayı ve cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi’l-‘avni’r-rebbani ve’-s-savni’-s-samedani ve’l-menni’l-mennani hükmi oldur ki^b

¹ The upper strip of paper with a short invocation *Hüve* has been cut off and pasted face down on the linen so that the notes on the reverse side are visible. The invocation can be seen through a little hole cut in the linen.

² Originally written on the opposite side of the invocation.

^a B. *Hüve*.

^b B. *Nişan-i şerif-i ‘ali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi’l-‘avni’r-rebbani ve’l-menni’l-mennani ve’-s-savni’-s-samedani hükmi oldur ki*.

- [2] Bundan akdem Lih vilayetinin kralı iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-izami'n-nas-raniye Sicizmunduz Agustus^c erşedehü'llahu ta'ala atasına virilen 'ahd-namenin tecdid olunmasın istid'a eyleyüb yüce hazretimle barışıklık ve dostluk olmak için 'ali dergahımıza beglerinden
- [3] Is'alandan Vesmin^d nam adamısın ki Lebuloli^e ve Lubli^f ve Belun^g şehrin begi imiş ilçi göndürüb izhar-i sadakat u ihlas itmegin bizüm^h ulu peygamberümüz iki cihan fahri hazret-i Muhammed Mustafa sallallahu 'aleyhi ve sellem hicretinin dokuz yüz altmış Şa'banının yigirminci gününde<n> ki hazret-i 'İsa nebi
- [4] 'aleyhi's-selam tarihinin bin beşyüz elli üç yılında vaki' olmuştur 'ahd-name-i hümayunum virilmiş idi haliya müşarun-ileyh kral yüce dergahuma tekrar ilçi göndürüb ol 'ahdname-i şerifimin nişan-i hümayunumla suretin taleb etmegin bu 'ahdname-i hümayunı virdüm ve buyurdum ki yüce hazretim canibinden
- [5] kralın iline ve vilayetine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına bi'l-cümle taht-i tasarrufunda olan memleketine benüm vezirlerümden^j ve beglerimden ve sancakbegleri kullarından^k ve kenar beglerinden hiç vechle zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve benüm^l ilime ve günüme ve kal'elerüme ve varoşlarıma bi'l-cümle taht-i tasarrufumda olan
- [6] memalik-i mahruseme mezbur kral tarafından ve kralın beglerinden ve tevabi'inden ve levahikinden hiç vechle zarar u ziyan degmiye ve'l-hasil dostuma dost ve düşmanıma düşman olub mabeynde iki canibin ilçileri ve adamları varub gelüb kendülerine ve mallerine ve rızklarına zarar u ziyan
- [7] yetişmeye tarih-i mezburdan mukaddem şol esirler ki küfri üzerine dura islama gelmeye kralın adamları gelüb arayub bulub sahiblerin irza idüb satun alalar alub gideler kimesne mani' olmaya bu 'ahdname tarihinden sonra iki taraftan her ne^m kim
- [8] tutulursaⁿ anları bahasuz ve satusuz^o azad idüb salı-vireler ve iki canibin bazarganları denizden ve kurıdan gelüb gidüb bey' ü şıra ideler bulundukları yerlerde 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsumi ne ise vireler kimesnenin maline ve nefsiye zarar u ziyan

^c سچرموندوز اغستوس.

^d اسعلائدن وسمن; the name of the envoy is thusly corrupted in both copies.

^e لبوبولی.

^f لبولی.

^g بلون.

^h B. *bizim*.

ⁱ B. *'ahd-i hümayun*.

^j B. *benim vezirlerimden*.

^k B. *kullarımdan*.

^l B. *benim*.

^m Missing in B.

ⁿ B. *dutulursa*.

^o B. *satsuz*.

- [9] olmaya ve eger mezbur kiral memleketinden gelen bazarganlardan benüm^p memalik-i mahrusemde fevt olursa müteveffanın rızkı bizüm^q tarafımızdan alınmayub hıfz oluna ol tarafdān kiral mektubi ile varisi geldügi vakt müteveffanın esbabı ve rızkı emr-i şerifimle
- [10] varisine teslim oluna eger bizüm^r bazarganlardan anlar vilayetinde fevt olmak vakı^s olursa kiral dahi hemçunan ide ve eger tarih-i mezburdan sonra kiralın memleketine yüce hazretime tabi^t olan kimesnelerden zarar u ziyan vakı^u olursa emr idüb bulunub
- [11] anun gibi yaramazlık idenin hakkından gelem ve ol ziyanı dahi emr idüb yerine döndüreler özür ve bahane etmeyeler kiral canibinden dahi öyle ideler^v ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesnenin medyuni kiralın vilayetine varsa her ne yerde<n>
- [12] ise ol yerin^w hakimine müraf^x a olunub teftiş olunub her ne zahir olursa ol yerin^u hakimi alub sahibine vireler bir kimesnenin borcu ve günahı olmadın aharın borcu ve günahı için anı tutmayalar ve incitmeyeler ve iki canibin vilayetleri
- [13] arasında anların gibi bi-günahları üşendirmeyeler hemçunan biz dahi öyle ideyüz bi'l-cümle aba ve ecdadımız zamanından berü mu'ahede mukarrer ve mü'ekked olub hiç bir yerden zarar gelmeye ve iki canibin güzeste ziyanları
- [14] için vekilleri^v bir araya gelmek müyesser olmamagın bu tarihe gelince iki canibden olan ziyandan göçile istima^w olunmaya şimdiden sonra Tatar hanı canibine ma dam ki kiral canibinden kadimü'l-eyyamdan vire-geldikleri 'adetleri
- [15] vakti ile eda ideler kiral tarafından 'ahda muhalif bir iş sadır olmayınca han canibinden ve Tatar leşkerinden kiralın memleketine ve adamlarına dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub zarar u ziyan irişdirmeyeler şöyleki Tatardan ziyan
- [16] u zarar irişe^w ferman-i şerifimle hakları alı-virile Bogdan voyvodasından ve Bogdan tayifesinden ke-zalik kiral-i mezbur vilayetine ve adamlarına zarar irişmeye zarar olursa zahir olduktan sonra emr-i hümayunumla yerine konula kiral
- [17] tarafından ve adamlarından Tatar halkına ve Bogdan tayifesine ve adamlarına^x ve memleketlerine zarar olursa anlar dahi yerine koyub ehl-i fesadın hakkından geleler özür [ve] bahane etmeyeler Bogdan vilayetinden ba'z kimesne kaçub Lih vilayetine sığınub

^p B. *benim*.

^q B. *bizim*.

^r B. *bizim*.

^s B. *ola*.

^t B. *yerin*.

^u B. *yerin*.

^v B. *vekiller[i]*.

^w B. *Tatardan zarar irişe*.

^x B. *vilayetlerine*.

- [18] bir tarikle^y gelüb memleketine fitne bıragub müfsidlik iderse^z anun gibileri taleb olundukda vireler şimdilerin^{aa} alınan esirleri kralın adamları memalık-i mahrusemde buldukda [şahibi]^{ab} bi-hakk baha taleb etmeye niçeye aldugın [yemin]^{ac} virüb satun alalar ol
- [19] esirlerden islama gelmiş azad ola ve küfri üzerinde olanı alub gitmege mani^c olmayalar ve kiral vilayetinde [esir olan Müslümanları]^{ad} anlar dahi salı-virüb yerlerine gelmege mani^c olmayalar <esir olan Müslümanları>
- [20] ve^{ae} bu dostluk içinde iken [gelen]^{af} ilçilere haber eyleyüb getüren kimesnelere mani^c olmaya^{ag} emin ü salım varub geleler ve serhaddlara geldiklerinde anlara yarar adamlar koşa öte canibde dahi öyle ola ve bazarganlar dahi 'adet ü kanun
- [21] üzere gümrüklerin virdüklerinden sonra müzahim ve mani^c olmayalar ve memalık-i mahrusem halkından bir kimesnenin Lih kralına tabi^c bir kimesnede hakkı olsa taleb etdüğünde eglendirmeyüb memleket hakimleri alı-vireler ve hırsuz ve haramiler
- [22] zarar u ziyan eyledükde ta'cil[en] ehl-i hükm olanlar arayub bulub buldukda halas olmayub hakkından geline ve hırsuzlukda aldugı esbab^{ah} sahibine ba'de's-sübut bi-kusur virile^{ai} ve tüccar tayifesi ve sa'ir kimesne^{aj} ile bey^c ü şira eyleyeler^{ak}
- [23] sicillat veya hüccet olmayınca istima^c olmaya^{al} ve eger kefalet ve eger karz dır da'va ve taleb etdiklerinde^{am} sicillata veya hüccete nazar oluna bu ikisinden biri olmayınca zur-i şahid ikamet eylemekle^{an} tezvır ü telbis etmeyeler kiral
- [24] canibinde dahi memleket zabıtlarının^{ao} ma'lumı olmayınca ve yazılmayınca istima^c olunmaya ve Silistre ve Akkerman sancakları begleri ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları <ve> dergah-i 'alem-penahım kullarından ve iki canibin
- [25] tacirlerinden gayri Turlu^{ap} suyundan Lih vilayetine kimesneyi koyu-

^y B. *tarikiyle*.

^z B. *idirmiş*.

^{aa} It should rather read *şimdiye dek* as in Document 15.

^{ab} Cf. Document 15.

^{ac} Cf. Document 15.

^{ad} Written erroneously below in the same line.

^{ae} Missing in B.

^{af} In B. only.

^{ag} B. *olmayalar*.

^{ah} B. *esbabı*.

^{ai} B. *vireler*.

^{aj} B. *kimesneler*.

^{ak} B. *ideler*.

^{al} B. *olunmaya*.

^{am} B. *etdiklerinde*.

^{an} B. *etmekle*.

^{ao} B. *hakimlerinin*.

^{ap} *تورلو*.

- virmeyeler ve yanlarında eger öteden ve eger berüden gelenden esir bulunursa ellerinden alub girü döndüreler çoban tayifesi
- [26] Lih vilayetine geçdiklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin ve koyunların bildireler^{aq} mahfi varmayalar ve otlak hakkı vireler çoban tayifesi kendülerin bildirdükden^{ar} sonra koyunu zayi' olduğundan
- [27] sonra memleket hakiminden taleb ideler ve gelüb giden tüccarın bargirlerin ulak almaya ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeri atların almaya bu 'ahd-namede mestur olan şera'itin ri'ayeti için
- [28] ^{as}-Allahu ta'ala hazretlerinin celle ve 'ala 'azametine ve hazret-i risalet-penahın 'aleyhi's-selam ve cemi'-i peygamberlerin ervah-i mukaddeselelerine^{at} yemin iderim [ki] müddet-i hilafetimde ve eyyam-i saltanatımda^{au} ma dam ki kiral canibinden
- [29] hilaf-i 'ahd bir vaz' sadır^{av} olmaya cenab-i celalet-ma'abım canibinden dahi 'ahda muhalif nesne sadır olmaya şöyle bileler 'alamet-i şerife i'timad kılalar tahriren fi evasiti şehri Muharremi'l-haram min
- [30] seneti isne ve sittin ve tis'i mi'etin

bi-madinati
Amasya
'l-mahmiye

Translation:

A copy of the noble 'ahdname:

He, the Wealthy, the Enricher, the Lord, the Helper

[tugra] *Suleyman-shah, son of Selim-shah, the ever victorious khan*

This is the command of the noble, illustrious, lofty sultanic sign and of the illustrious, felicitous, magnificent, world-conquering imperial tugra (may it be effective through divine aid, eternal protection, and munificent favor!):

The king of Poland, the pride of the great Christian princes, Sigismund August (May God—may He be exalted!—direct him to the right way!), had previously requested that the 'ahdname given to his father be renewed, and in order to establish peace and friendship with my high majesty had sent in [his] embassy to our high court his man, from among his governors, named Stanisław Tęczyński, who had been the governor of the cities of Lwów, Lublin, and Bełz; and as he had demonstrated devotion and sincerity, my imperial 'ahdname was given on the twentieth day of Shaban of [the year] 960 of

^{aq} B. bildirüb.

^{ar} B. bildirdüklerinden.

^{as-at} B. Allahu ta'alanın celle celalehü 'azametine ve hazret-i risaletin ve cemi'-i peygamberlerin ervah-i mukaddeselerine

^{au} B. eyyam-i hayat-i sa'adet-simatımda.

^{av} Missing in B.

the emigration [Hegira] of our great prophet, the pride of the two worlds, Muhammad Mustafa (may God command and salute him!), what happened in the year 1553 of the era of the prophet Jesus (peace be upon him!). Now the aforementioned king has again sent an envoy to my high court; and as he has asked for a copy, provided with my imperial tugra, of that my noble 'ahdname [given previously], I have given this imperial 'ahdname and I have ordered that:

From the side of my high majesty and from the side of my viziers, beylerbeys, sancakbeys, servants, and border commanders, no damage or harm should touch the king's country, land, fortresses, towns, and the whole dominion being under his possession. And from the side of the aforementioned king, the king's governors, his dependents and subjects, no damage or harm should touch my country or my people, my fortresses, towns, and all the well-protected dominions being under my possession. And in short [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy;

when the envoys and agents of the two sides enter and come between [the two countries], no damage or harm should touch them, their property, and belongings.

Royal agents may come and search for those prisoners [captured] before the aforementioned date, who have persisted in their infidelity and not become Muslim; [after] locating [any such prisoners] and satisfying their owners they can ransom them, take them and go, and nobody should hinder them.

If after the date of this 'ahdname whoever from either side is taken [prisoner], one should set them free and let them go without ransom.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land, and sell and buy. According to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places. [But] nobody's property or life should be exposed to damage or harm.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from the domain of the aforementioned king dies in my well-protected dominions, the belongings of the deceased will not be seized by our side but kept; when an heir [of the deceased] comes with a royal letter, the goods and belongings of the deceased should be handed over to the heir, according to my noble order. If anybody from among our merchants dies in their country, the king should proceed likewise.

If after the aforementioned date damage or harm is done to the domain of the king by anybody from among the dependents of my high majesty, I will issue an [appropriate] order and cause such evildoers to be found and punished. Also an [appropriate] order will be issued so that the damage may be compensated. One should not find any excuse or pretext. On the royal side one should proceed likewise.

If the debtor of anybody from my well-protected dominions arrives at the country of the king in whatever place, the petition should be heard and investigated by a local judge, [then] a local judge should seize all revealed [goods of the debtor] and give to their owner.

One should not arrest and injure a person, who has neither debt nor guilt, for the debt or guilt of another person. [In the relations] between the two states one should not molest innocent people alike. We will also proceed likewise.

As the treaty existing since the time of our fathers and grandfathers has been fixed and corroborated, and no harm was done [to it]; and since the commissioners of the two sides [appointed] for [discussing] the previous damages did not manage to meet in one place, the damage incurred by either side prior to this date expires and should not be heard.

Henceforth, as long as the customary payments [*'adetler*], which used to be given since olden days, are paid on time by the king to the Tatar khan, [and] as long as the king does nothing contrary to the treaty, no meddling or interference, harm or damage should be done to the dominions and subjects of the king by the khan and the Tatar army; in such a manner that when a damage or harm is done by the Tatars, they will be punished according to my noble order.

Likewise, no damage should be done to the country or subjects of the aforementioned king by the Moldavian hospodars and Moldavians. If any damage is done, after being revealed, it should be compensated for according to my imperial order. If any damage is done to the Tatars or the Moldavians, their people and country, from the side of the king or his subjects, it should be compensated as well, and the evildoers should be punished without any excuse or pretext.

If certain individuals flee Moldavia and take refuge in Poland, [then] come [back] to their country and raise rebellion and intrigue, when requested, such individuals should be delivered.

When royal agents find in my well-protected dominions prisoners captured prior to the present time, they may ransom them, while their owners should not demand an untrue price and should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath. Those from among the prisoners who have become Muslim should be manumitted; and those who have persisted in infidelity may be taken and nobody should hinder them from leaving. Also in the royal country one should set free Muslim prisoners and one should not hinder them from going home.

Within the time period of friendship one should not hinder the envoys and agents who bring messages and who should enter and come secure and safe. Upon reaching the borders, one should give them fit men as an escort. One should proceed likewise on the other side.

After merchants have paid customs duties according to tradition and law, one should not hinder them or give trouble to them. If a subject of the Polish king owes something to anybody from among the people of my well-protected dominions, when demanded, the land judicial authorities should execute [the debt] without delay.

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm or damage, the judicial authorities should immediately search for, find, and punish them, and should not let them escape [from punishment]. After it is proved, the stolen goods should be restored to their owner without deficiency.

If merchants and others conclude a transaction with anybody, as long as it is not certified in kadi records [*sicillat*] or a certificate issued by the kadi [*hüccet*], [their grievances] should not be heard. When a claim and demand arises concerning surety [*kefalet*] or a loan, one should look at the kadi record or certificate. When neither of these two [documents] exists, no false witness should be brought and one should not falsify and cheat. Also on the royal side, the land judicial authorities should not hear [a grievance], if [the matter] is not known to them and if it is not registered.

The beys of the sancaks of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland across the Dniester except the servants [kullar] of my court, which is the refuge of the universe, and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should take them from their hands and send them back.

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence

and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret. After the herdsmen have made their presence known, if their sheep is lost, they can demand from the land authorities [that it be returned].

The baggage horses of merchants who come and depart should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janissaries on campaign.

In order to protect the clauses registered in this 'ahdname, I swear by the greatness of His Majesty, God (may He be exalted!), and by the sanctified souls of the Refuge of Prophecy [i.e., Muhammad] (peace be upon him!) and of all the [other] prophets that for the period of my caliphate and for the days of my sultanate, as from the side of the king nothing should occur contrary to the treaty, also from the side of my glorious majesty nothing will occur contrary to the treaty. Thus they must know. They ought to recognize the noble sign.

Written in the second decade of the sacred month of Muharrem of the year 962 in the well-protected city of Amasya.

DOCUMENT 18 (17–26 OCTOBER 1564)¹

The *‘ahdname* sent by Prince Selim to King Sigismund August
(contemporary Latin translation)

The original document is missing

Latin translation by the Porte:² AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 69, t. 189b, no. 363b (*KDT*, pp. 178–79).

Polish translation by Otwinowski:³ a) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 129b–132b; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 219–24 [235–40].

Copia privilegie potentissimi imperatoris Sultan Selimis quando ad huc inchuta hic fuerat:

Signum^a

Serenissime Princeps Sigismundus Augustus, in fide christianorum excellentissime Rex Polonie, omnem felicitatem et prosperitatem optamus. Specialem oratorem, prestantem virum Georgium Islavezki ad nos legastis, per quem excellentissima privilegia potentissimis et invictissimis genitoris nostri vobis data et concessa ad nos misistis eciamque quod nos similia talia privilegia dare benevolenter debemus rogastis.

Tenore presentium quicunque istud nostrum excellentissimum privilegium videbunt et perlegebunt manifestemus et adscriptum damus et notificamus qualiter Regni Polonie Serenissimus Rex Sigismundus Augustus ab potentissimi imperatoris maiestate genitore nostro datum privilegium noviter renovare nec non cum potentissima magnitudine Cesareae Maiestatis nostra monarcha sinceram amicitiam confirmare et concludemini [*sic*]^b ad potentissimam curiam nostram monarcham specialem oratorem prestantem virum

¹ Cf. the letter issued by Sultan Selim on the same occasion, dated the second decade of Rebi I 972 A.H., *KDT*, p. 178.

² This translation is full of grammatical mistakes and inconsistencies.

³ Otwinowski gives the wrong date (1553) and states that the author of the lost translated Turkish document was Sultan Suleyman; however, his indication that Jerzy Jazłowiecki is the royal envoy, and that Kütahya—the residence city of Prince Selim—is the place of issue, leaves no doubt that the translation was made from Selim’s *‘ahdname* of 1564. Perhaps the almost identical contents of the documents of 1553 and 1564, and the confusing fact that Prince Selim’s *‘ahdname* was issued during his father’s lifetime, led to this misapprehension of the seventeenth-century Polish translator.

^a Apparently the place of the *tugra* in the Turkish original.

^b Only the most obvious grammar or spelling mistakes have been annotated with “[*sic*].”

Stanislaum Thezinski misit, et hanc ob rem quod erga maiestatem nostram monarcham dictus rex sinceram et fidelem puram amicitiam declaravit et ostendit foro, in anno sanctissimis profeti nostri Mehemet 960 vigesimo die mensis Shaban quod in anno Christi 1553, istud serenissimum et excellentissimum privilegium dedi et mando, quod ex parte altissimi magnitudine nostro in regione dominie et provincie prefatis regis Poloniens [sic] sive civitatibus aut oppidibus sive castellis vel arcibus aut villis vel possessionibus in summa omnia quecunque dictus rex possidet et sub sue potestate iubernatur, ex parte consiliariis et beglerbegis⁴ nostris ac sendziakis⁵ mancipibus nostris sive ex parte istorum sendzakiorum et capitaneis, qui in confinibus habitant, nec non ex parte omnibus exercitis nostris, nequaquam nullo modo damnum aut impedimentum quicquam eveniet neque facietur. Similiter in mea dominia, regione ac provincia sive civitatibus aut oppidibus in summa omnibus meis subditis et qui sub potestate nostro iubernatur nemini quicquam nulloque modo alicui nostratibus ab prefato rege sive ex parte suorum subditorum et hominibus, et ex parte confederatis suis damnum adhibere non debetur potius^c precaveatur. In summa dictus rex amicorum nostrorum amicus fiat et inimicorum nostrorum inimicatur.

Item ex utraque parte oratoribus et nuntiis sive aliis hominibus sine ullo impedimentum ire et redire liberum sit, nec illis neque suis bonis aut rebus damnum aut periculum contingat.

Item elapso tempore ante huic confirmatione si sunt capti mancipii qui nondum facti sunt Turci, sed ad huc in fide christianorum sunt, tales mancipios predictis regis homines querentes, postquam reperiem^d de suo precio cum eiusdem suo domino concordet et exomat,^e libere et secure sine alicui impedimentum abducant.

Item post datas has privilegias si aliquis vel quicquid captivabitur, sine ullo precio libere et secure dimittere debetur.

Item ex utraque parte mercatores sive per mare vel per terram ubicunque sit venientes et redeuntes, cum iuxta condicione constituta pristina more, de suis mercatiis [sic] vectigalia solverint nemo quicquam impediatur neque molesta se debeat.

Item si ex parte regis mercatoribus aliquis in dominie et regione meo morietur, dictibus bona ex parte nostra occupare non debemus, quin potius observare debetur, donec ab rege homines veraces cum letteris perveniet, eo tunc dictibus mortis omnia bona sine ulla excusatione herede suo restituantur. Similiter quoque si ex nostris mercatoribus in illo regno rege morietur talia modo et Regia Maiestas facere debeat.

Item post has datas privilegias nostris subditis et obedientis damna aut iniuria aliqua ab vestratis hominibus veniet, tales homines querere et reperire

⁴ From Tur. *beglerbegi*.

⁵ From Tur. *sancakbegi*.

^c For *potius*.

^d Perhaps it should read *reperitur*.

^e For *exonat*; it should read *exoneret*.

ac firmiter castigare debent, nec non allata damna restituere et resolvere debentur. Et in hac re ex utraque parte nullo modo excusatio fiat.

Item si aliquis innocens nemini debitus esset, talem innocentem propter alienum debitum ex utraque parte dominie nec molestare neque impedire debetur; quoniam et nos similiter faciamur. In summa ab tempore predecessorum et abavum nostrorum confirmatam et constitutam amicitiam nullo modo desolare et destruere debetur.

Item ex utraque parte propter preterita aliqua allata damna commissarii in vero convenire non potuerunt, ideo talia allata damna ex magne parte deinde nominare non debetur quin potius preterire debentur. Et nullo parte requirere debentur.

Item ex parte Serenissimi Regis Polonie postquam pristino more et conditione ea que dare constituta sunt principe Tartarorum porrigantur, eo tunc ex parte principis Tartarorum, et ex parte suis exercitibus donec ab prefato rege aliquid contrariter non eveniet, regno et dominie regis Polonie nullo modo nequicquam damnum vel impedimentum contigerit.

Item si vero ex parte Tartarorum aliqua damna in Regno Polonie adhibebatur, eo tunc cum mandato nostro predicta allata damna reddere et resolvere debentur.

Item ex parte palatinis vel voii[voda]lardis⁶ Moldaviensis sive ex parte suis hominibus in regno regis Polonie nulla damna adhibeantur, si autem aliqua damna facientur, eo tunc iuxta mandatum nostrum allata damna reddere et resolvere debentur.

Item ex parte vero regis prefatis Polonie, sive ex parte suorum hominum in partibus Tartarorum aut Moldaviensium sive eorundem subditorum si aliqua damna facientur et prestabuntur, similiter ex illis quoque peracta allata damna resolvere et restituere debentur.

Item si aliqui proditores et malefactores Moldavinas nun ex Moldavie ad partis Polonie auffugerint, qui cum suis malefactionibus multa tumultu faciant, tales postquam requisiverint restituere debeantur.

Item hactenus capti mancipii ex subditis regis postquam tales captivos homines regis in regno nostro reperient dominus eius ne maiorem precium requiratur, sed eo precio quo emit ius iurat, eodem precio reddere debetur. Sed tales captivi qui musulmani facti sunt liberi dimittere debentur; attamen christianos liberaliter abducatur nemo impediatur. Similiter in Regno Polonie, sub iuris dictione regis qui sunt captivi musulmani, libere dimittantur ac libere et secure in patriam suam sine ullo impedimento revertantur.

Item infra ista amicitia venientes et redientes oratores ac hinc eo modo cum novitatibus ambulantes homines nemo impediatur; libere et secure veniant et redeant, eciamque quando similes homines in confinia pervenient, in comitatum fideles homines dare debentur.

Item postquam mercatores de suis mercibus iuxta more et consuetudine pristino vectigalia sive theloneum solverint, postum [sic] nemo illos impediatur.

⁶ From Tur. *voivodalar*.

Item ex subditis dominie nostre si aliqua bona et iura aut res apud hominibus regis Polonie haberit postquam iusticiam peterit, eo tunc sine ullo intermissione bona et res suis iustiter reddere faciat.

Item si latrones et fures alicui aliqua damna adhiberint ex utraque parte iubernatores tales malefactores requirere et castigare debent, et iuratas res illo cui sunt sine ullo excusatione reddere debeatur.

Item si mercatores de suis mercibus cum alicui concordat donec apud iudicium meo erit inscriptum et donec in manibus non habebit litteras confirmatorias, sine litteras fidem prestare non debetur, sive per fide iussores, aut si solus merces et res aliquas alicui dedit, postquam res suas iustiter requirerit, eo tunc iuxta scripta et confirmatoria littera iudicare debetur, et falsis testimoniis fidem prestare non debetur; ex parte quoque regis, iubernatores sui donec rem certam non rescians et confirmatoria littera non aderunt, talis hominibus et sinistris testimoniis fidem prestare non debetur.

Item sandziakbegi Beligradiensis⁷ et Silistriensis in confinia fluvia Thurla⁸ preter mercatores extraneos transgredere non dimittere debeant. Ac illi officiales et custodes qui ibidem illum vadum et portam possident ac illum transgressum sive fluviis precustodiunt, preter mancipis potentissime curiae nostre monarche, et preter mercatores, aliis vero homines transgredere dimittere non debent.

Item ex utraque parte ad illum vadum pervenientes homines, si apud illos captivi reperietur, eo tunc ab illis tales captivi arripere et libere iterum dimittere debent.

Item quando pastiri cum ovibus et pecoribus ad illos partes iurisdicione regis transgredierint, eo tunc in illis partibus existentes iubernatoriis notificare debeant ac oculis transgredere precaveant, immo⁹ ea que iuxta pristina more iusta sunt solvere de herbis et graminis solveant et postum [*sic*] cum isti pastiri cum sincere voluntate eiusdem iubernatoribus in illis locis permanebunt, eo tunc si oves eorum perient aut alia damna contigerit, ab illis iubernatoribus qui ibidem mandi ut solveant et satisfaciant requirere debetur.

Item tempore bellico gengizari⁹ Polonorum equos arripere non debentur.

Item idem in ista excellentissima privilegia nostra monarcha inclusa et comprehensa condicione amicitiae articula ut constanter observare et honorare debentur, ad Creatorem celorum et terrarum ad Deum omnipotentem, et ad sanctissimum Profetum nostrum, et ad omnes ceteros sanctos profetos ius iuro, donec ex parte regis et suis subditis amicitie et scripture articule aliquid contrariter non eveniet, ex parte vero nostro quodum vixerimus nihil contrariter contigerit. Ac hanc ob rem ab magnitudine et altitudine porta nostra monarcha cum signo nostro imperiale data privilegia

⁷ Belgrad, Białogród or Bil'horod are the Slavic versions of Akkerman (lit. "white town").

⁸ From Turla, the Turkish name of the Dniester.

⁹ For *immo*.

⁹ I.e., janissaries.

ex utraque parte omnes unanimiter, firmiter observare et honorare debeatur, ego vero intercessionem et petitionem prefatis regis ex puro animo benevolenter accepi. Ideo ista mea excellentissima privilegia dedi et concessi hoc pacto donec ex parte regis amicitie contrariter et alieniter aliquod non eveniet; sed iuxta condicione articularum quemadmodum in istum serenissimum nostrum imperialem privilegium inscriptum est: si ex parte regis constanter et firmiter tota observabitur, ex parte vero Cesareae Maiestatis nostre et subditis nostris nil contrariter eveniet. Immo omnia comprehensa et inclusa articula presertim hanc sanctam amicitiam constanter et firmiter observabitur, signo nostro imperiale fidem adhibeatur. Anno sancti profeti nostri 972 in mense Rebiulevvel.

DOCUMENT 19 (30 APRIL 1565)
The royal confirmation of the treaty

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 114, fol. 122b–125b.

Published in *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, suppl. II, vol. I: 1510–1600. Edited by I. Bogdan (Bucharest, 1893), pp. 251–54.

B. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 107, pp. 203–207.

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 2482, pp. 218–21.

D. Paris, Biblioteka Polska, ms. 11, no. 9, pp. 90–94.

E. Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 50a–53a.

F. L'vivs'ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 4 (Baw.), opys 1, no. 280/II, fol. 6b–7b.

Foedus Turcicum per magnificum dominum Georgium Jazłowiecki allatum:

Sigismundus Augustus, Dei gratia Rex Poloniae, Magnus Dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, etc. Significamus praesentibus literis nostris, quorum interest, universis et singulis, quod cum serenissimis praedecessoribus nostris regibus Poloniae cum potentissimis dominis Turcarum caesaribus vetusta foedera multis ab annis intercessissent, quae ab utrisque sancte et inviolabiliter semper culta et observata sunt, divus quoque parens noster serenissimus princeps dominus Sigismundus rex Poloniae cum potentissimo principe et domino Sulthano Solimano Sach cesare Turcarum pactam semel amicitiam et foedera ad extrema usque vitae suae tempora sanctissime servaverit. Cuius exempla nos imitati, ut primum post mortem eius regni huius nostri gubernacula acceperamus, miseramus oratorem nostrum magnificum Stanislaum comitem in Thenczyn, castellanum Leopoliensem et Lublinensem ac Belsensem capitaneum, ut vetusta foedera cum serenitate illius nomine nostro renovaret atque amicitiam inter nos et illius serenitatem confirmaret. Et cum potentissimus princeps dominus Sulthan Solimanus caesar Turcarum eam ipsam amicitiam et foedera nobiscum innovasset et confirmasset literisque suis nobis datis hoc ipsum testatus esset, nosque vicissim id ipsum literis nostris firmassemus atque amicitiam, pacem, concordiam et bonam vicinitatem cum illius serenitate ad vitae nostrae extrema tempora innissemus, quam sanctam et firmam quoad vixerimus conservaturi sumus. Cum autem illius serenitas, superstes adhuc existens, successorem sibi in imperio Turcico Serenissimum Dominum Solthan Solimum^a filium suum unicum designasset, nos ut primum ea de re certiores facti sumus, misimus ad illius Serenitatem oratorem nostrum magnificum Georgium Jazłowiecki,^b castel-

^a B. and C. *Selimum*; E. *Zelimum*.

^b B. *Jazłowiecki*.

lanum Camenecensem et capitaneum nostrum Czerwonogrodensem, qui Suae Serenitatis tam sublimem erectionem nostro nomine gratularetur atque foedera et pacta vetusta, quae nobis cum illius paterna serenitate intercedunt, renovaret amicitiamque, pacem et concordiam et bonam vicinitatem inter regna et dominia ^cnostra et illius Serenitatem eiusque regna et dominia^d ad vitae utriusque nostrum extrema tempora firmaret atque stabiliret.

Quod cum illius Maiestas libenter ex parte sua sit amplexa atque foedus, pacem et amicitiam bonamque vicinitatem nobiscum innissent^e ac id literis suis nobis per eundem oratorem nostrum missis firmasset, nos vicissim illius gratiam Serenitatis erga nos tam amicam^f et benevolum animum habentis cum illius Serenitate vetusta pacta et foedera libenter renovamus, ac pacem, amicitiam, concordiam et bonam vicinitatem inter nos, regna et dominia utriusque nostrum firmamus et stabilimus, promittentes et spondentes praesentibus literis nostris, quod a prima die mensis Maii anni praeteriti millesimi quingentesimi sexagesimi quarti ad finem usque vitae nostrae et Potentissimi Domini Caesaris Turcarum Solthan Solimi foedus et amicitiam firmiter cum Serenitate illius observaturi, neque ullum damnum aut detrimentum cesaris civitatibus, villis, dicionibus Serenitatis illius illaturi sumus, subditis nostris quoque cuiuscumque gradus et condicionis existant mandaturi, ne quod detrimentum vel incommodum dicionibus Serenitatis illius inferant, quemadmodum neque Serenitas illius subditique Serenitatis eius terris, castris, civitatibus, oppidis et villis dicionis nostrae nullum incommodum aut damnum inferent.

Oratores, nuncii et servitores nostri liberum transitum, accessum et recessum ad Serenitatem illius nullis literis liberis liberi transitus ad id requisitis habere debent, personis et rebus eorum salvis; conductores boni et fideles in finibus eius dari debent.

Eodem vero pacto nos et subditi nostri erga Serenitatis illius oratores, nuncios et servitores gerere et conservare nos debebimus et tenebimur. Quod si aliqui ex hominibus nostris captivi in dicionibus Serenitatis illius reperti fuerint, qui a christiana religione non defecerint, liberum nostris hominibus erit ab iis, qui eos emerunt, ipsos ab eorum dominis redimere eodem quo [fuerunt]^g empti praecio. Et si de praecio differentia aliqua certa fuerit, quod maius scilicet praecium, quam quo eos emerint,^h eorum domini habere vellent, emptores pro iuramento fidei praecium emptorum comprobare debebunt, quo accepto subditos nostros libere manu mittere erunt astricti.

Quicumque vero ex subditis nostris a die inchoatorum usque ad tempus terminandorum foederum capti et in diones Serenitatis illius abducti fuerint,

^{c-d} Missing in *Documente*.

^e B. *inisset*; in C. and D. this word is corrupt; in E. and *Documente* corrected to *inisset*.

^f *Sic*; in other copies and in *Documente* written correctly: *amicum*.

^g In C. only.

^h B. *quam pro quo eos emerint*; C. *quam per eos empti fuerint*; D. *quae per eos empti fuerunt*.

ii absque omni praecio libere dimitti debebuntur. Similiter vero quicumque Serenitatis illius subditi capti et in dicionem nostras abducti fuerint, ii absque omni praecio libere dimitti debebuntur.

Mercatoribus utriusque nostrum liber hinc inde tam terra, quam mari transitus in terris et dicionibus utriusque nostrum per civitates, oppida et loca omnia, theloneo pro more saluto, esse debeat,ⁱ personis et rebus eorum omnibus salvis. Quod si vero aliquem mercatorem nostrum in dicionibus Serenitatis illius contigerit mori, eius res et merces omnes integre adservari debent, et cum per hominem nostrum literas nostras habentem repetitae fuerint, tradi illi debebunt. Itidemque nos et subditi nostri erga mercatores Serenitatis illius gerere nos tenebimur. Damna vero quaecunque subditis Potentissimi Domini Caesaris Turcarum per subditos nostros illata fuerint, nos illos, qui illa intulerint punire et damna resarcire tenebimur. Eodem vero pacto nobis et hominibus nostris a Serenitate illius et eius subditis damna illata sarcire debebuntur.

Pignoraciones vero nullae utrinque in mercatores et subditos communes esse debent. Ut vero occasiones omnes damnorum et iniuriarum amoveantur, ita inter nos et illius Serenitatem constitutum est, quod subditi et mercatores tam nostri, quam Serenitatis illius non prius alter alteri credere aut merces aliquas dare debebit, quam apud officium seu iudicium aliquod de summa credita cautionem et inscriptionem debitor creditori fecerit, ut et pax et amicitia firma inter nos et Serenitatem illius constituatur, eiusque rescindendae aut labefactandae nulla prorsus occasio maneat; cum hactenus commissarii utriusque nostrum ad iniurias utrinque illatas componendi et sarcindi convenire non potuerint, Serenitas illius Cesarea damna omnia subditis eius per subditos nostros ad diem usque constitutionis praesentium foederum illata nobis condonavit et remisit. Nos etiam similiter damna omnia nobis et subditis nostris per subditos Serenitatis illius illata Serenitati Suae Cesariae remittimus et condonamus, neque utrinque amplius repetere illa debebimus aut poterimus.

Cesar Prekopiensis^j durante hoc foedere nulla damna ditionibus nostris inferre debebit. Nos vero stipendium solitum, ut nobis contra hostes nostros assistat, dare illi debebimus. Quod si ipse aut subditi illius nobis, subditis et dicionibus nostris damna et iniurias aliquas intulerint, id totum ex mandato Serenita[tis] Suae Cesariae sarcire tenebitur.

Similiter palatinus Valachiae et subditi ipsius nulla damna nobis, subditis et dicionibus nostris inferre debebit, et si quae intulerit, ex mandato Serenitatis Suae Cesariae in instanti sarcire illa tenebitur. Ex parte vicissim nostra, si quod damnum ab hominibus nostris Tartarorum Precopensium cesari et palatino Valachiae aut hominibus et dicionibus illorum illatum fuerit, id totum, cum nos requisiti fuerimus, nulla interposita mora sarcire illis mandabimus.

Maleficus hominibus ex Valachia profugis, damna et incursiones in ter-

ⁱ B., C., and D. *debet*.

^j B. *Praecopiensis*, i.e., the Crimean khan.

ras Moldaviae facientibus, receptum in regno et dominiis nostris non dabimus, et si qui eiusmodi in regno nostro reperti fuerint, eos ad Serenitatis Suae requisitionem in dicionibus nostris non retinebimus. Similiter etiam Serenitas illius cesarea profugis hominibus ex regno et dominiis nostris in dicionibus suis receptum dare non debet, et eos qui tales reperti fuerint ad requisitionem nostram retinere in dicionibus suis non debebit.

Fures et latrones cum alicui ex subditis nostris res et merces furtim aut vi in dicionibus Serenitatis Suae Cesareae abstulerint, per officium aut iudicium vicinum inveniri et morte puniri debebunt, res vero ablatae huic, cui ablatae fuerint integre tradi debent. Idem etiam nos Serenitatis Suae subditis in regno aut dominiis [nostris]^k praestaturi sumus. Bialogrodenses et Silistrienses sendziaczii¹ neminem per fluvium Tiram seu Nestrum, Danubium et Boristenem in dicionem nostras transire permittere debent, solummodo oratores, nuncios et mercatores; theloneatores et portuum custodes Serenitatis Suae Cesareae diligenter itidem custodire debent, ne quis ex subditis nostris in Serenitatis ipsius dicionem ex dominiis nostris, praeter oratores, nuncios et mercatores, ingrediatur.

Quoscumque vero captivos ex regno et dominiis nostris in Serenitatis illius Cesareae dicionem abduci per quempiam contigerit, ii eripi et libere dimitti per serenitatis suae portuum custodes debent.

Item pastores gregum, qui czabani² vocantur, greges et armenta ultra fluvios Nistr et Boristenem in parte seu fundo nostro pascere non debent, nisi prius apud magnificum Nicolaum de Sieniava,³ palatinum Russiae, aut notarios eius gregum suorum professione facta et tributo a pascuis persoluto. Cum vero professionem apud nostros fecerint et pascua conduxerint, capitanei nostri eos a damnis et iniuriis vindicare debent.

Equi subditis et mercatoribus nostris per subditos Serenitatis illius Cesareae in podvoda,⁴ tum etiam per janczaros⁵ belli tempore, eripi non debent.

Ut autem maior et firmior amicitia inter nos et Serenitatem illius Cesaream constituatur stabiliaturque, Serenitas Sua Cesarea amicum se amicis nostris omnibus, inimicum vero inimicis professus est. Nos quoque similiter amicum Serenitatis Suae amicis, inimicis vero inimicum fore profiteamur.

Quae quidem omnia in literis hisce expressa Serenitas illius Cesareae plene, integre inviolateque tenere sancteque servare et custodire ad vitae suae extrema tempora verbo suo promisit et iuramento Deo omnipotenti et prophetae suo Machometho caeterisque prophetis praestito confirmavit.

Nos etiam similiter ea omnia in literis hisce expressa plene, integre sancteque servare ad extrema vitae suae tempora spondemus, pollicemur

^k In C. only.

¹ From Tur. *sancakbegi* and Pol. *sandżak/sędziak*.

² From Tur. *çoban*.

³ Mikołaj Sieniawski, the palatine of Ruthenia and the Crown grand hetman starting in 1563.

⁴ From Pol. *podwoda*, ("cart, transport service").

⁵ From Pol. *janczarzy* ("janissaries").

et iure iurando per nomen Dei omnipotentis confirmamus, dummodo ex parte Serenitatis Suae Cesareae occasio aliqua impediendi huiusce foederis non detur, quam nos nullam Deo duce daturi sumus et certo pollicemur. In cuius rei fidem et testimonium sigillum nostrum praesentibus appendi iussimus. Datum in civitate nostra Petricoviensi, in comitiis regni nostri generalibus, 30 Aprilis anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, regni vero nostri trigesimo sexto.

DOCUMENT 20 (21 JULY 1568)
The *ahdname* sent by Selim II to King Sigismund August
(contemporary Latin translation)

The original document is missing.

Copies of the Latin translation:

A. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 114, fol. 119b–122a.

Published in *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, suppl. II, vol. I: 1510–1600. Edited by I. Bogdan (Bucharest, 1893), pp. 260–63.

B. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 107, pp. 199–203.

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 2482, pp. 221–22.

D. Paris, Biblioteka Polska, ms. 11, no. 9, pp. 94–97.

E. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 206, pp. 26–32.

F. Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 58a–59b.

G. Bibl. Czart., ms. 1176, pp. 647–54.

A contemporary Ruthenian translation from the “*Metrica Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*” was published in *Kniga posol’skaja Metriki Velikago Knjažestva Litovskago*, [pt. 1] (Moscow, 1843), no. 173, pp. 268–71.

Contenta pactorum cum Turcarum imperatore per dominum Petrum Zborowski castellanum Voinicensem et Hasan czaus missorum. Anno Domini 1568:

Ex divina, innumerabili ac immensa clemencia Dei omnipotentis et ex immemorabilibus miraculis sancti prophetæ nostri Machmeth et suorum apostolorum et omnium sanctorum, quorum animis Creator coeli et terræ benedicat, ego Albi et Nigri Maris, tum Græciæ, Anatoliæ, Damasciæ, Hastbiæ,^a Caramaniæ, Romaniæ et regnorum Sulkadiriæ et Diarbekriensium provinciarum, Churdeianorum et Charisiensium et sanctæ Mechiæ et Hierusalem, in summa, totius dominiæ Arabiæ, Aden et Gemen, Babiloniæ et Basiræ, Alciræ et sedis Budensis ac multorum aliorum regnorum et provinciarum, quæ divina favente clemencia per nostros abavos sunt occupata, filius Sultan Solimani faelicissimæ memoriæ, Potentissimus et Inimicissimus Princeps Sultanus, Sulthan Selimus, imperator imperatorum semper augustus et dominus dominantium et terrestrium dominiorum, monarcha totius orbis terrarum etc. etc.

Cum ista serenissima confirmatoria nec non amicabiliter obligatoria privilegia nostræ monarchiæ, quisque videbit et perlegerit, manifestamus et protestamur omnibus notumque facimus, qualiter Serenissimus Rex Poloniæ Sigismundus Augustus iuxta priora a nobis et genitore nostro data privilegia

^a Missing in *Documente*. It should read *Halebiæ* or *Alepiae*, as in F.

constantis amicitiae confirmatoria denuo eadem renovari petiit et antiquam, sanctam amicitiam iterum nobiscum confirmari postulavit. Quapropter ex suis magnatibus et primis consiliariis magnificum virum Petrum de Zborow castellanum Woinicensensem ad potentissimam et invictissimam portam nostrae monarchiae legatum misit, certo significans per oratorem suum praedictum, velle synceram et constantem amicitiam nobiscum firmiter observare. Quapropter in anno sanctissimi prophetae nostri 976 mensis Mukarem die 26, quod est anno sancti prophetae Jesu id est Christi 1568 ultima die mensis Iulii,¹ ista felicissima privilegia constantem amicitiam obligantiae a me datae sunt. Mando itaque, ne ex parte altissimae magnitudinis nostrae dominiis Serenissimi Regis Poloniae, ubicumque se iurisdictio eius extendit, tam arcibus, castellis, villis, oppidis, quam generaliter universae quam possidet dicioni, ne omnibus eius gubernationi subiectis, vel consiliarii, belerbegii, sendziaczii, mancipia nostra, vel in finibus manentes capitanei et milites ullum damnum aut impedimentum inferant. Similiter in domniis nostris bona, arces, civitates, oppida, villae, in summa, quaecunque nostrae subiectae sunt potestati tuta et libera erunt ex parte Serenissimi Regis Poloniae, tum eius magnatum, ab omnibus damnis et molestiis, quin potius amicis mutuis simus utrinque amici et vicissim inimici inimici.

Ex utraque parte oratoribus, nunciis, factoribus sive aliis quibusvis hominibus liberum sit sine ullo impedimento ire et redire in quemcunque locum voluerint, neque illis aut illorum bonis vel rebus damnum seu periculum dabitur ullum.

A legatione domini Thenczynski quicumque subditi Serenissimi Regis Poloniae ante privilegiorum confirmationem capti sunt, permissum est eos a suis dominiis concordato precio redimere ac in patriam abducere (modo muzulmani non sint facti) absque ullius condicione vel impedimento. Si vero post confirmata privilegia quiscunque captus fuerit, ex utraque parte sine ullo praecio libere et secure dimittetur.

Utriusque partis mercatores cum suis mercimoniis mari vel terra in utraque parte transeuntes, ubi de more thelonea debita solverint, cum omnibus bonis tuti sint.

Item si aliquis mercator ex utraque parte moriatur in nostris vel vestris partibus, suae merces non occupabuntur, immo servabuntur secure, donec a suo domino homines veraces cum literis mittentur ad exposcendas dictas merces et alia bona, quae quidem omnia haeredibus defuncti restituentur, nulla excusatione valida.

Sendziacis² Silistroensi et Belgradiensi seria mandata dedimus, ne praeter mercatores fluvium Nester quemquam transgredi patiantur.

Vectigalium quoque praefectis ac caeteris officialibus, qui transitus custodiunt, mandatum est, ne quemquam praeter nostros aulicos et nuncios ac utriusque partis mercatores transire sinant, immo ut captivi apud quem-

¹ On the dating of this document see note 5.

² From Tur. *sancakbegi* and Pol. *sandżak/sędziak*.

cunque vel huc euntem, vel eo transeuntem reperti adimantur et libere domum dimittantur.

Pastores, ubi in iurisdictionem regiam ad pascendum transigerint, nulla se ratione occultent, sed potius eas loci regis praefecto indicent numerumque earundem recenseant ac solvant decimam, prout consuetudo fert et postulat. Quo facto, si aliquod damnum passi fuerint, illud eis idem praefectus sarcire tenebitur.

Mercatores Poloniae et qui tempore pacis per postas portant literas et tempore belli janczeri³ vel quivis milites nostri adimere equos nequaquam debent.

Si post data haec privilegia in Regno Poloniae alicui ex nostris damnum aut iniuria inferatur, Serenissimus Rex tales invenire et castigare curet, ac sine ulla excusatione pro damnis illatis satisfacere. Si vero deinceps debitor quispiam in Regnum Poloniae perveniret, ubicunque a creditore inventus fuerit, eius loci gubernator, discusso pro aequitate negotio, satisfieri creditori curabit. Sed pro debito vel culpa aliena, ne innocens solvere seu quicunque pati cogatur, quod idem similiter ex parte nostra observabitur. In summa, ab****avorum nostrorum constitutam amicitiam constanter firmiterque observare volumus, ita quod nullo modo quicque his contrarium evenire possit. Illata vero ex utraque parte damna considerari diligenter et compensari mutuo debent. Damna hactenus mutuo illata commissarii fideles concordare utrinque debent, quod si ob difficultatem res profici non possit, ex utraque parte oblivioni tradantur, neque unquam ulla amplius eorum mentio fiat.

Item, ubi ex parte Serenissimi Regis Poloniae, antiqua consuetudine constituta, munera principi Tartarorum data fuerint, ea tunc ex parte dicti principis, filiorum ipsius nucliarum [*sic*], ulanorum⁴ ac totius familiae et exercitus ipsius serenissimo praefato regi regnoque vel dominiis ipsius quibusvis nulla damna inferantur, neque privilegio huic quicque contrarium fiat. Si tamen ex parte Tartarorum aliqua damna inferantur, ea omnia mandato nostro mediante compensabuntur et malefactores castigabuntur.

Si ex Moldaviae palatinatu aliqua damna Regno Poloniae illata fuerint, mandato nostro restaurari curabuntur. Similiter si ex regno Tartaris aut Moldavis aliqua damna inferantur, castigatis reis damna passis sarciantur.

Si aliqui proditores seu malefactores ex Bohdani Valachia in Regnum Poloniae perfugerint, commisso quopiam nefario scelere, requisiti debent omnino restitui. Quandoquidem hactenus homines regii, inventis hic captivis nationis suae eosque redimere cupientes, a possessoribus iniusto praecio sint exagitati, ideo constitutum deinceps sit, ut dominus captivi iuramento quantum ipse dederit affirmet et idem praecium a repetente recipiet. Captivi qui Turcae sunt facti sint omnino liberi, christiani vero liberi ac tuti in patriam suam absque ullo impedimento dimittantur. Similiter ubi in regno fuerint Turcae, eosdem secure abire ac tutos esse postulamus. Durante hac

³ From Tur. *yeniçeri* and Pol. *janczarzy* ("janissaries").

⁴ From Tat. *ulan* ("son").

amicitia oratores, nuncii, tabellarii a nemine vel eundo vel redeundo impediuntur, sed potius in confiniis dentur illis in comitatum securitatis gratia viri probi et fideles, idque ex utraque parte praestetur. Mercatores soluti debitis theloneis pristino more tuti sint. Si vero alicui subdito nostro aliqua bona aut res ab hominibus regiis detenta fuerint, vel pecunia debita, postque iusticiam petierit, tunc sine ulla mora restituantur omnia. Latrones et fures scelerati quinque a praefectis locorum ob maleficia morte puniantur resque per illos ablatae possessoribus restituantur. Etiam si autem mercatores vel alii quique de mercimoniis aut rebus inter se concordarint, donec in librum iudicis id non fuerit inscriptum et si ab eodem iudice testimonium per literas non dabitur, neque aderit, talis quaerella nullo in loco habeatur, imo pro falsa existimetur; similiter praefecti regii, donec rem certam non resciverint, falsis huiusmodi testimoniis fidem ne praestent.

Ut autem hae praefatae condiciones foederis et pacis ac amicitiae nostrae mutuae sint firmiores pro nobis ac subditis nostris, iuro per Creatorem coeli et terrae Deum omnipotentem et sanctissimum prophetam nostrum ac omnes caeteros sanctos prophetas, nihil his articulis contrarium ex parte nostra eventurum, quamdiu vixerimus et donec ex parte serenissimi regis foederi nihil contrarium ac a nostra amicitia alienum continget.

Quapropter ab altitudine portae nostrae monarchiae datis hisce privilegiis ac signo nostro insignitis fides praestetur, praefataque omnia ex utraque parte universi unanimiter et firmiter observare ac amicitiam nostram honorare teneantur.

Datum in sede nostra imperiali Constantinopoli anno sancti prophetae nostri 976 in mense Mukarem 26 die,⁵ id est anno Christi 1568^b in mense Iulio die 23.

⁵ This date is confirmed in the imperial order to the kadis concerning Polish merchants. It reads: "[the peace] was renewed on 26 Muharrem 976 and a copy of my imperial *'ahdname* with my imperial *nişan* [i.e., *tugra*] was given to the aforementioned envoy" ("*dokuz yüz yetmiş altı Muharrem'in yigirmi altıncı gününde tecdid olunub ve mezbur ilçeye 'ahdname-i hümayunumun nişan-i hümayunumla bir sureti virilüb*"; BA, MD 7, p. 640, no. 1783. 26 Muharrem 976 A.H. corresponds to 21 July 1568, and not to 23 July.

^b In G. it reads erroneously 1565.

DOCUMENT 21 (17 JULY 1577)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Murad III to King Stephan Báthory
[Facs. VII]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 260, no. 486 (*KDT*, pp. 217–19).

263 × 57.5 cm.

invocation (blue with *zerefsan*): *divani* script¹

formula devotionis (gold): *sülüis* script

tugra (gold, blue, red, black)

text (black with gold and blue insertions sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

Published in facsimile in J. Reychman and A. Zajączkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats* (The Hague-Paris, 1968), ill. 18, 20, 28a–28d; in the Polish version: *Zarys dyplomatyki osmańsko-tureckiej* (Warsaw, 1955), pp. 77, 79, 94–101.

Turkish copies:

A. An unidentified copy published in Feridun Bey, *Münşe’atü’s-Selatin*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1274/1857–1858), pp. 507–510.

Latin translation by the Porte: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 260, no. 487; b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 260, no. 488 (copied by Crutta); c) AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 21, fol. 204b–208b; d) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 253–61 [269–77]; e) Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 64a–67b; f) Bibl. Czart., ms. 1176, pp. 571–82; g) Bibl. Czart., ms. 86 (*Teki Naruszczyca*), pp. 375–88; h) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. n. a., no. 7049, fol. 181a–185b.

Another Latin translation is published in the diary of Stephan Gerlach, *Tage = Buch der . . . Gesandtschaft* (Frankfurt, 1674), pp. 432–35. It is based on the copy now preserved in Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, whose fragments are published in *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, vol. III, pt. 1: 1576–1599. Edited by E. Hurmuzaki (Bucharest, 1880), pp. 6–7 (articles 8 and 21); and in *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, vol. XI: 1517–1612. Edited by N. Jorga (Bucharest, 1900), pp. 598–99 (articles 14, 15, and 18).

Polish translation by Otwinowski: a) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 197a–199b; b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 260, no. 489 (copied by Crutta); c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 611, pp. 371–78.

¹ The invocation, cut out from the missing upper part of the document, is pasted just above the *formula devotionis*.

Hüve 'llahu 'l-vahidu 'l-fardu 's-samadu 'l-gani 'l-mu'ini 'l-mu'ti 'l-mugni^a

- [I] **Hazret-i Rabbü 'l-'Izzet cellet kudretühü ve 'alet kelimetühünün 'inayet-i bi-gayeti ile ve mihr-i sipehr-i nübüvvet**
- [II] **ahter-i burc-i fütüvvet pişva-yi zümre-i enbiya mukteda-yi fırka-i asfiya iki cihan fahri peygamberimiz hazret-i**
- [III] **Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellem mu'cizat-i kesiretü 'l-berekatı ile ve çar yar ke-zaynu ridvanu**
- [IV] **'llah ta'ala 'aleyhim ecma'in ve cemi'-i evliya-i kiram ve etkiya-i 'izamın ervah-i mukaddeseleri mürafakatı ile**

Murad-şah bin Selim-şah han muzaffer da'ima^b

- [1] Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i zaman bürhan-i havakin-i evan tac-bahş-i hus-revan-i cihan zillu **'llahi 'l-Meliki 'l-Mennan** eşrefü 'l-meda'in ü 'l-emsar **Mekke-i mükerreme ve Medine-i münevvere** ve akdesü 'l-memalik ü 'l-aktar **Kuds-i şerif ve Şam daru 's-salam** ve Mısır ve Yemen ve San'a ve 'Aden ve Diyarbekir ve Kürdistan ve Erzurum ve Gürcistan
- [2] ve Bagdad ve Van ve Haleb ve 'umumen 'Arabistan ve Anadolu ve Karaman ve Du 'l-kadriye ve cezire-i Rodos ve vilayet-i Rum ve Trablus ve Basra ve Şehrizul ve hasretü 'l-müluk olan **mahruse-i Istanbul** ve cezire-i Kıbrıs ve Ifrikiya demekle ma'ruf memalik-i Tunus ve darü 'l-cihad Cezayir-i Magrib ve Halku 'l-Wad
- [3] ve Habeş ve Lahsa ve 'umdetü 'l-emakin ü 'd-diyar Rum-ili ve Budun ve Temeşvar vilayetlerinin ve Deşt-i Kıpçak iklimlerinin ve Ak Deniz ve Kara Denizin ve Eflak ve Bogdan ve vilayet-i Erdelin ve bunların emsali niçe memalik-i ma'murenin sultanı ve padişahı **hazret-i Sultan Murad Han bin Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan**
- [4] **Süleyman Han ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Bayezid Han ibn Sultan Mehmed Han ibn Sultan Murad Hanım** hala vilayet-i Lih^c kralı ve Litvanya^d ve Prusya^e ve Urusya^f ve Mazovyanın^g ve Livonya^h ve sa'ir yerlerin ulu dukası olan iftiharü 'l-ümera'i 'l-'izami 'l-'iseviye muhtarü 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihie muslihu masalihi cemahiri 't-tayifeti 'n-nasraniye sahibü

^a Missing in A., where the text begins with the heading: *Cinnet-mekan Sultan Murad bin Sultan Selim Han hazretleri dergahından Leh kralına 'ahdnamedir.*

^b Umur reads this *tugra*: *Şah Murad bin Selim-şah han el-muzaffer da'ima*; see Umur, *Osmanlı Padişah Tugraları* (Istanbul, 1980), p. 29. In A. a note is provided: *mahall-i tugra-i garra.*

^c ليه.

^d لتوانيه.

^e پروسيه.

^f اوروسييه.

^g مازووانك.

^h ليونييه.

- [5] ezyali'l-*haşmet* ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Batori İştvanⁱ kral hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr müceddeden 'ahdname-i şerifim istid'a eyleyüb yüce hazretimle dostluk ve barışıklık olmagiyeçün asitane-i 'izzet-aşyanemize veziri ve Haletçıyenin^j kapudanı olan kıdvetü ümera'i'l-milleti'l-mesihie Yani Şineçki^k nam
- [6] güzide adamısın büyük ilçi göndürüb izhar-i sadakat u ihlas itmegin bu 'ahdname-i hümayunı virdüm ve buyurdum ki cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından kral-i müşarun-ileyhin iline ve vilayetine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına be bi'l-cümle taht-i tasarrufunda olan memleketine ve vüzera-i 'izam ve mirmiran-i fiham ve ümera'-i kiram ve 'asakir-i mansuremden
- [7] hiç vechle zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve memalik-i mahruseme ve ser-haddlarda olan kal'elerime ve varoşlarıma ve sayir memalik-i mah-miyeme tabi' kasabat kura ve araziye muma-ileyh kral tarafından ve beglerinden ve tevabi'inden hiç vechle zarar u ziyan degmiye ve'l-hasıl dostumuza dost ve düşmanımıza düşman olub mabeynde iki canibin
- [8] adamı ve ilçisi varub gelüb kendülere ve mallerine ve rızklarına zarar u ziyan yetişmeye ve memalik-i mahrusemde şol esir ki Lihlü olub islama gelmeyüb küfr üzere ola kralın adamları gelüb arayub bulub sahiblerin irza idüb satun alalar alub gideler kimesne mani' olmaya ve bu 'ahdname-i hümayunum tarihinden sonra
- [9] iki taraftan her ne kim tutulursa anları bahasız ve satsız azad idüb salı-vireler ve iki canibin bazarganları denizden ve karadan gelüb gidüb bey' ü şira^l eyleyeler bulundukları yerlerde 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsumi her ne ise vireler kimesnenin maline ve nefesine zarar u ziyan olmaya ve vilayet-i Lihden gelen bazarganlardan
- [10] memalik-i mahrusemde mürd olursa müteveffanın muhallefati bu canibden alınmayub hıfz olunub ol taraftan kral mektubiyle varisi geldikde metrukata emr-i şerifimle varisine teslim oluna ve eger bizüm bazarganlardan memalik-i Lihde fevt olursa kral dahi vech-i meşruh üzere eyleye ve işbu 'ahdname-i şerifim tarihinden sonra kralın
- [11] memleketine **cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından** olan kimesne-lerden zarar u ziyan vaki' olursa emr idüb bulunub anun gibi yara-mazlık idenin hakkından gelenüb ol ziyanı dahi emr idüb yerine döndüreler ve özür ve bahane itmeyeler kral tarafından dahi öyle ola ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesnenin medyuni kralın
- [12] vilayetine varsa her ne yerde ise ol yerin hakimine müraf'a olunub teftiş oluna her ne zahir olursa ol yerin hakimi alub sahibine vire ve bir kimesnenin borcu ve günahı olmadın aharın borcu ve günahı içün anı tutmayub ve rencide itmeyeler ve iki canibin vilayetleri arasında anların gibi bi-günahları

ⁱ باتوری اشتوان.

^j هالتچیەنەك.

^k یانی شینچکی.

^l Written with *elif maksura* instead of *elif*.

- [13] üşendirmeyeler bi'l-cümle **aba-i kiram ve ecdad-i 'izamlarımız** zamanlarından berü mabeynde vakı' olan mu'ahede mukarrer ve mü'ekked olub hiç bir yerden zarar gelmeye ve iki canibin güzeşte ziyanları için vekilleri bir araya gelmek müyesser olmamagla 'ahdname-i hümayunum bu tarihine gelince iki taraftan vakı' olan ziyandan
- [14] geçilüb istima' olunmaya ve min ba'd **cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Tatar hanı** [Mehmed]^m **Giray Han da'imet sa'adetühü** canibine ma dam ki kiral tarafından kadimü'l-eyyamdan vire-geldükleri 'adetlerin vakti ile eda ideler ve kiral canibinden 'ahda muhalif bir iş sadır olmaya **muma-ileyh han** ve **ogulları ve mirzaları** ve cemi'-i 'asakiri
- [15] tarafından kralın memleketine ve adamlarına dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub zarar u ziyan irişdirmeyeler şöyle ki Tatardan zarar irişe فرمان-i şerifimle hakları alı-virile ve Bogdan voyvodasından ve Bogdan tayifesinden kral-i mezbur vilayetine ve adamlarına zarar irişmeye zarar olursa zahir olduktan sonra emr-i hümayunumla yerine konula ve kiral
- [16] tarafından ve adamlarından Tatar halkına ve Bogdan tayifesine ve adamlarına ve memleketlerine zarar olursa anlar dahi yerine koyub ehl-i fesadın hakkından gelüb özür ve bahane etmeyeler ve Bogdan vilayetinden ba'z kimesneler kaçub Lih vilayetine sığınub bir tarikle gelüb memlekete fitne biragub müfsidlik iderlermiş anun gibiler taleb olundukda virile ve şimdiye degin
- [17] alınan esirleri kralın adamları memalik-i mahrusemde buldukları yerlerde alalar sahibleri ziyade baha taleb etmeyeler niçeye aldugına yemin virüb satun alalar ol esirlerden islama gelmiş olanlar azad ola küfri üzerine olanları alub gitmege mani' olmayalar ve kiral vilayetinde [esir olan Müslümanları]ⁿ anlar dahi salı-virüb
- [18] yerlerine gelmege mani' olmayalar <ve esir olan Müslümanları> ve dostluk içinde iken gelen ilçilere haber iledüb getüren kimesnelere mani' olmayalar emin ü salım varub geleler ve serhaddlara geldüklerinde <ziyade>^o yarar adamlar koşalar ve öte canibde dahi öyle ola ve bazarganlara dahi 'adet ü kanun üzere gümrüklerin virdüklerinden sonra
- [19] mani' ve müzahim olmayalar ve memalik-i mahrusem halkından bir kimesnenin Lih kiralına tabi' bir kimesnede hakkı olsa taleb eyledikde memleket hakimleri alı-vireler ve hırsuz ve haramiler zarar u ziyanlar eylediklerinde ehl-i hükm olanlar mu'accelen arayub buldukda halas olmayub hakkından geline ve hırsuzlukda aldıkları esbabı sahiblerine ba'de's-sübut bi-kusur virile ve tüccar tayifesi

^m After *hanı* a blank space was left for the personal name of the khan.

ⁿ Written erroneously below in line 18; for the same copyist error, see Document 17, note ad.

^o It should read *anlara* as in Document 17. An evident copyist error, since in Arabic cursive script the words *anlara* (انلاره) and *ziyade* (زياده) look similar. The word *ziyade*, making no sense here, was omitted in the 'ahdname of 1591, see Document 23.

- [20] veya bir kimesne ile bey' ü şıra eyleyeler sicil veya hüccet olmayınca istima' olunmaya ve eger kefalet ve eger karzdır da'va ve taleb etdiklerinde sicille veya hüccete nazar olunub bu ikisinden biri olmayınca şahid-i zur ikamet etmekle tezvir ü telbis etmeyeler kiral canibinde dahi memleket hakimlerinin ma'lumı olmayınca istima' olunmaya ve Silistre ve Akkerman
- [21] sancakları begleri ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları südde-i sa'adetım kullarından ve iki canibin tacirlerinden gayri Turla^p suyundan Lih vilayetine kimesneyi koyu-virmeyeler ve yanlarında eger öteden ve eger berüden gelenlerin esirler bulunursa alub girü döndüreler ve çoban tayifesi Lih vilayetine geçtiklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin
- [22] ve koyunların bildirüb mahfi varmayalar ve otlak hakkı vireler çoban tayifesi kendülerin bildirdükden sonra ko[yu]nı zayı' olursa memleket hakiminden taleb eyleye ve gelüb giden [tüccarın]^q bargirlerin ulak almaya ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeriler atların almayalar ve Bogdan voyvodası olanlar sabıkan olan kırıllar ile ne vechle ilk üzere ola-gelmişler ise muma-ileyh
- [23] kıralla dahi ol minval üzere ola ve mabeynde olan dostluk şartlarına muhalif iş sadır olmaya ve iki canibin tacirlerinin virgüleri ve gümrükleri ziyade olmayub ve kırallın eli altında olub Ermeni ve sayır kefereden olan bazarganlar Bogdan vilayetine ve sayır memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret etmek istediklerinde biyabandan ve sahralardan ve mahfi yollardan gelmeyüb kadimden bazarganlar mürur ide-geldükleri doğru tarik-i 'ammdan geleler anun gibi birinin maline ve canine zarar gelürse ehl-i fesad ele getirilüb hakkından geline ve gelen bazarganlar istikamet üzere ticaret itdiklerince rencide olunmayub kanun-i kadim üzere gümrükleri alına ve bir gayri kimesnenin
- [25] borcından uturı tüccar tayifesi tutulmaya ve çavuşlar ve sipahiler ve yeniçeriler Lih re'ayasının yolunda bargirlerin almayalar ve kırallın bazarganları memalik-i mahrusede kendü ra'iyetlerinden esir olanları akçeleriyle satun alub halas etmek istediklerinde kadılar mani' olmayub ve ba'zıları bahalarını virüb halas olmuşlar iken
- [26] girü' bazarganların ellerinden çıkub almayalar amma Müslüman olanlar kırall tarafından taleb olunmaya ve ba'zıları Müslüman olmayub mevlası yıl [va'de]^s virüb tamam oldukda azad olub 'atak-namesi var iken Müslüman oldu deyü mani' olurlarmış Müslüman olduğu sabit olmaz ise mani' olmayalar ve mahruse-i Brusada Lehlüden
- [27] ziyade virgü ve gümrük taleb olunmayub kanun-i kadim üzere alalar ve müşarun-ileyh kırallın bi'l-fi'il tasarrufunda olan vilayetine ve şimden sonra Moskovdan^t ve sayır keferi vilayetinden feth idecegi yerlere

^p تورلی.

^q Cf. Document 17.

^r The position of the word *girü* in this sentence is somewhat confusing. It should rather read *bazarganların ellerinden çıkub girü almayalar*; cf. Document 23.

^s Cf. Document 23.

^t مسقودن.

- cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından dahl olunmayub cümlesi taht-i yedinde ve kabza-i hükümetinde ola bu 'ahdname-i hümayun
- [28] sa'adet-makrunumda mestur olan şerayitin ri'yeti için Allahu ta'alanın 'azametine ve hazret-i risalet-penahın ve cemi'-i peygamberlerin ervah-i mukaddeselerine yemin iderim ki müddet-i baka ü sebat ve eyyam-i hayat-i sa'adet-simatımızda ma dam ki muma-ileyh kiral tarafından hilaf-i 'ahd ü eman
- [29] bir vaz' sudur etmeye cenab-i sa'adet-nisabım canibinden dahi sulh u salaha ve 'ahd-i mugayir nesne sadır olmaya tahriren fi gurreti şehri Cemaziyl-evvel min şühuri seneti hamse ve semanin ve tis'i mi'etin

bi-makami
dari's-saltanati
'l-'aliye Kostantiniye
'l-mahmiye 'ani'l-beliye

Translation:

*He, the One God, the Unique, the Everlasting, the Wealthy, the Helper, the Donor, the Enricher*²

[tugra] *Murad-shah, son of Selim-shah, the ever victorious khan*

*I who,
by the infinite grace of His Majesty, the Lord of Glory (exalted is His Power and elevated is His Word!), and by the miracles, full of divine blessings, of our apostle His Majesty Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), the sun of the heaven of prophecy, the star of the constellation of magnanimity, the leader of the class of prophets, the guide of the group of saints, the pride of the two worlds, and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of his four companions (may the ornament of the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—be upon them all!), and of all the noble saints and magnificent pious ones,*³

am the sultan of the sultans of the age, the proof of the emperors of the season, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusraws of the world, the shadow of God, the Munificent King, the sultan and the padishah of the noblest of the towns and cities, Mecca the venerated and Medina the enlightened, and of the most holy among the dominions and districts, the noble Jerusalem, and of Damascus, the abode of peace, of Egypt, Yemen,

² Reychman and Zajaczkowski translate this invocation: "He is the One God, the Unique, the Everlasting, the Rich, the Helper, the Donor, the Enricher," see *Handbook*, ill. 18.

³ For a slightly different translation see Skilliter, *William Harborne*, pp. 94 and 96. Skilliter tried to reconstruct the complete text of the first English capitulations of 1580 on the basis of the Polish 'ahdname of 1577, using the facsimile published by Reychman and Zajaczkowski. As she considered the "elevated" formula *devotionis* to be an invocation, she translated it separately from the intitulation.

Sana, Aden, Diyarbakır, Kurdistan, Erzurum, Georgia, Baghdad, Van, Haleb [i.e., Aleppo], and of all the lands of Arabia, Anatolia, Karaman, Zulkadir, the island of Rhodes, the province of Rum, Tripoli,⁴ Basra, Shehrizul,⁵ and of the well-protected Istanbul, which afflicts the kings with nostalgia, of the island of Cyprus, and of the domains of Tunis known by the name of Africa,⁶ and of Algiers and La Goulette [being] the area of the holy war, and of Ethiopia and Lahsa,⁸ and of the chief among the sites and regions, Rumelia, and of the provinces of Buda and Temesvár, of the climes of the Kipchak steppe, of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea, of Wallachia, Moldavia, and of the country of Transylvania, and of many other prosperous provinces such as these, His Majesty Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Süleyman Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Bayezid Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan.

The king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Prussia, Ruthenia, Mazovia, Livonia,⁹ and other lands, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, King Stephan Báthory (may his latter days end with good!), has requested anew for my noble 'ahdname, and in order to establish friendship and peace with my exalted majesty, he has sent in [his] great embassy to our glorious threshold the chosen man and vizier, the castellan of Halicz named Jan Sieniński, the model of the Christian commanders; and as he has demonstrated devotion and sincerity, I have given this noble 'ahdname and I have ordered that:

⁴ Erroneously interpreted by Skilliter as "the Tripoli of Syria" (Skilliter, *William Harborne*, p. 96). While the Syrian (or rather Lebanese) Tripoli became a center of an Ottoman province only in ca. 1570, "western" Tripoli in Libya had been a provincial center since 1556 (Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 106). The latter one is listed as *magrib Tarabulusi* in the sultan's intitulation of the Austrian 'ahdname of 1559 (see Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*, pt. 1, p. 60). The Latin translation of our document, prepared by the Ottoman chancery, reads precisely *Tripolis occidentalis* (AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 260, no. 487).

⁵ A town near Kirkuk that disappeared by 1638; see Skilliter, *William Harborne*, p. 96; and Halil Sahillioglu, "Dördüncü Muradın Bağdad seferi Menzılname," *Belgeler. Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 2, nos. 3-4 (1965): 1-35, esp. p. 25.

⁶ Indeed, the territory of Tunisia corresponds with that of the ancient Roman province of Africa (Ar. Ifriqiya).

⁷ Tur.-Ar. Halku'l-Wad or Halk al-Wadi. The fort at the entrance to the harbour of Tunis. A key strategical point in the Spanish-Ottoman wars in the West Mediterranean area during the sixteenth century. Finally conquered by the Ottomans in 1574.

⁸ The fort and the center of the province conquered in ca. 1550, situated in the Persian Gulf opposite the island of Bahrain; see Jon Mandaville, "The Ottoman Province of al-Hasa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90 (1970): 486-513.

⁹ Reychman and Zajaczkowski erroneously read the word *Livonya* as *Latwa*, see *Handbook*, p. 145. The *elkab* of the Polish king contained in a letter of Sultan Süleyman is published and translated there in ill. 24.

From the side of my glorious majesty and from the side of my great viziers, illustrious mirmirans,¹⁰ noble emirs,¹¹ and victorious soldiers no damage or harm should touch the country, land, fortresses, and towns of the aforementioned king, and the whole dominion being under his possession. And from the side of the aforementioned king, his governors and dependents, no damage or harm should touch my well-protected dominions, my border fortresses, my towns and other boroughs, villages, and lands belonging to my well-guarded dominions. And in short [the king] should be a friend of our friend and an enemy of our enemy;

when the agents and envoys of the two sides enter and come between [the two countries], no damage or harm should touch them, their property, and belongings.

Royal agents may come and search in my well-protected dominions for those prisoners, who are Poles and infidels, and have not become Muslim; [after] locating [any such prisoners] and satisfying their owners they can ransom them, take them and go, and nobody should hinder them.

If after the date of this my imperial 'ahdname whoever from either side is taken [prisoner], one should set them free and let them go without ransom.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land, and sell and buy. According to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places. [But] nobody's property or life should be exposed to damage or harm.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from Poland dies in my well-protected dominions, the effects of the deceased will not be seized by this side but kept; when an heir [of the deceased] comes with a royal letter, the effects of the deceased should be handed over to the heir, according to my noble order. If anybody from among our merchants dies in Poland, the king should proceed likewise.

If after the date of this my noble 'ahdname damage or harm is done to the domain of the king by anybody from among the dependents of my glorious majesty, I will issue an [appropriate] order and such evildoers will be found and punished. Also an [appropriate] order will be issued so that the damage may be compensated. One should not find any excuse or pretext. On the royal side one should proceed likewise.

If the debtor of anybody from my well-protected dominions arrives at the country of the king in whatever place, the petition should be heard and investigated by a local judge, [then] a local judge should seize all revealed [goods of the debtor] and give to their owner.

One should not arrest and injure a person, who has neither debt nor guilt, for the debt or guilt of another person. And [because of a dispute] between two sides one should not molest innocent people alike.

As the treaty existing between [us] since the time of our noble fathers and magnificent grandfathers has been fixed and corroborated, and no harm was done [to it]; and since the commissioners of the two sides [appointed] for [discussing] the previous damages did not manage to meet in one place, the damage incurred by either side prior to the date of this my noble 'ahdname expires and should not be heard.¹²

¹⁰ Synonym for *beglerbegi* (*beylerbeyi*).

¹¹ Synonym for *sancakbegi* (*sancakbey*).

¹² This fragment was overlooked by Abrahamowicz, who stated that unlike the 'ahdname of 1553, the document of 1577 did not provide for the mutual forgiving of previous damages (cf. *KDT*, p. 218).

Henceforth, as long as the customary payments [*'adetler*], which used to be given since olden days, are paid on time by the king to His Majesty, the abode of leadership, the Tatar khan, [*Mehmed*] Giray Khan, whose prosperity is permanent, and as long as the king does nothing contrary to the treaty, no meddling or interference, harm or damage should be done to the dominions and subjects of the king by the aforementioned khan, his sons, mirzas, and all his army; in such a manner that when a damage is done by the Tatars, they should be punished according to my noble order.

No damage should be done to the country or subjects of the aforementioned king by the Moldavian hospodars and Moldavians. If any damage is done, after being revealed, it should be compensated for according to my imperial order. If any damage is done to the Tatars or the Moldavians, their people and country, from the side of the king or his subjects, it should be compensated as well, and the evildoers should be punished without any excuse or pretext.

Certain individuals had fled Moldavia and taken refuge in Poland, [*thereafter*] they came [*back*] to the country and raised rebellion and intrigue. When requested, such individuals should be delivered.

When royal agents find in [*various*] sites of my well-protected dominions prisoners captured prior to the present time, they may take them and ransom them, while their owners should not demand excessive prices and should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath. Those from among these prisoners who have become Muslim should be manumitted; and those who have persisted in infidelity may be taken and nobody should hinder them from leaving. Also in the royal country one should set free Muslim prisoners and one should not hinder them from going home.

Within the time period of friendship one should not hinder the envoys and agents who come bringing messages and who should enter and come secure and safe. Upon reaching the borders, one should give [*them*] fit men as an escort. One should proceed likewise on the other side.

After merchants have paid customs duties according to tradition and law, one should not hinder them or give trouble to them. If a subject of the Polish king owes something to somebody from among the people of my well-protected dominions, when demanded, the land judicial authorities should execute [*the debt*].

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm or damage, the judicial authorities should immediately search for, find, and punish them, and should not let them escape [*from punishment*]. After it is proved, the stolen goods should be restored to their owners without deficiency.

If merchants and others conclude a transaction with anybody, as long as it is not certified in a kadi record [*sicil*] or a certificate issued by the kadi [*hüccet*], [*their grievances*] should not be heard. When a claim and demand arises concerning surety [*kefalet*] or a loan, one should look at the kadi record or certificate; when neither of these two [*documents*] exists, no false witness should be brought and one should not falsify and cheat. Also on the royal side, the land judicial authorities should not hear [*a grievance*], if [*the matter*] is not known to them.

The beys of the sancaks of Siliistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland across the river Dniester except the servants [*kullar*] of my felicitous threshold and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [*across the border*] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should take them [*from their hands*] and send them back.

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret; after the herdsmen have made their presence known, if their sheep is lost, they can demand from the land authorities [that it be returned].

The baggage horses [of merchants] who come and depart should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janissaries on campaign.

[The relationships] between the Moldavian hospodars and the aforementioned king should be kept in the same way as they have been with the former kings. Nothing should be done against the conditions of mutual friendship.

One should not demand excessive taxes and customs duties from the merchants of both sides; when Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand [i.e., the royal subjects] want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted and wild areas or use hidden roads, but they should come by the direct public road, which has been customarily traveled by merchants. If an injury is done to the property or soul [i.e., life] of any of such [merchants], the evildoers should be captured and punished. The coming merchants should not be molested as long as they trade honestly, and their customs duties should be collected according to the old law.

No merchant should be detained by reason of the debts of another person. Çavuşes, sipahis, and janissaries should not take baggage horses belonging to the traveling Polish subjects. The merchants of the king, who want to ransom and release prisoners from among his own subjects, kept in the well-protected dominions, should not be hindered by the kadis; as some [of the prisoners], after being redeemed and released, go out from the merchants' hands, they [i.e., the kadis] should not take [them] again. But the king should not request for those, who have become Muslim. If an owner of those, who are not Muslims, has given them [a fixed term of] one year, after [this time] elapses, they should be manumitted; if one retains those having a letter of manumission, saying: "they have become Muslim," if their conversion to Islam is not proved, one should not hinder them [from going].

In the well-protected Bursa one should not demand excessive taxes and customs duties from the Poles, but one should collect them according to the old law.

From the side of my glorious majesty no interference will be done into the provinces being actually in the possession of the aforementioned king, and to the places, which he conquers in the future from Muscovy and other infidel countries. May they all remain under his hand and be held with his power.

In order to protect the clauses registered in this imperial, felicitous 'ahdname, I swear by the greatness of God (may He be exalted!), and by the sanctified souls of the Refuge of Prophecy [i.e., Muhammad] and of all the [other] prophets that for the remaining and fixed period [of our rule], and for the days of our life, marked with felicity, as from the side of the aforementioned king nothing should occur contrary to the treaty and peace, also from the side of my felicitous majesty nothing will occur contrary to the treaty, peace and amity.

Written on the first of the month of Djumada I from among the months of the year 985, in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, the protected from evils Constantinople.

DOCUMENT 22 (5 NOVEMBER 1577)

The royal confirmation of the treaty

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 21, fol. 209a–212a.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 60a–63b.

Another copy is published without the articles of peace¹ in Stephan Gerlach, *Tage = Buch der . . . Gesandtschaft* (Frankfurt, 1674), pp. 443–44.

Stephanus, Dei gratia Rex Poloniae, Magnus Dux Lithuaniae, necnon terrarum Cracoviae, Sandomiriae, Siradiae, Lanciciae, Cuiaviae, Russiae, Prussiae, Masoviae, Samogitiae, Livoniae, Kiioviae, Podlachiae, Culmensis, Elbingensis et Pomeraniaensis, significavimus praesentibus literis nostris, quorum interest, aut interesse poterit, cuiuscunque dignitatis et conditionis hominibus, quia nos animadvertentes foederibus antiquis et amicitiae ac bonae vicinitatis observatione pacem et concordiam inter potentissimos quoscunque principes, et amplissima imperia stabiliri et conservari, indeque ad populos et ditones quaslibet maxima plurimaeque commoda pervenire, idcirco miseramus, antiquissimi foederis, quod divis antecessoribus nostris, et Regno Poloniae, cum serenissimis et potentissimis Turcarum imperatoribus, iam inde ab initio per aliquot aetates ad hoc usque tempus continuo intercedit, renovandi et confirmandi causa, ad Serenissimum et Potentissimum Principem, Dominum Sultan Murath Chan, Turcarum Imperatorem, magnificum Joannem Szieniensi a Szienn^a, et in Rimanów castellanum Haliciensem, magnum oratorem nostrum.

Qui cum ab ipsius Serenitate ad nos redisset, et foedus illud antiquum per eundem Serenissimum Imperatorem amice renovatum et iuramento ac scripto firmatum, amicitiamque pacem et concordiam inter regna et dominia nostra et illius quoque Serenitatis regna et dominia ad vitae utriusque nostrum extrema tempora stabilitam nobis attulisset. Id quod aequum et consantaneum^b esse iudicavimus, ex parte quoque nostra vicissim cum illius Serenitate, eadem illa vetusta pacta et foedera libenter renovamus, ac pacem, amicitiam, concordiam et bonam vicinitatem inter nos, regna et dominia utriusque nostrum firmamus et stabilimus, promittentes et spondentes praesentibus literis nostris, quod ad finem usque vitae nostre et Potentissimi Domini Caesaris Turcarum, Sultan Murad Chan, foedus et amicitiam firmiter

¹ The editor gives only a cross reference to the articles contained in the Latin translation of the Ottoman *'ahdname*, which is published in the same volume: "*hic sequuntur articuli pacificationis, quos invenies supra.*"

^a B. *Siemiński a Sienno*.

^b In B. written correctly *consentaneum*.

cum Serenitate illius observabimus, et quod ex parte nostra mandabimus, ne ditionibus, imperio, regnis, regionibus, pagis, castellis, urbibus, oppidis, arcibus, insulis, et universis iurisdictioni Potentissimi Turcarum Imperatoris dominiis subiacentibus quisquam ex consiliariis, nobilibus, militibus aut quibusvis subditis nostris exercituumque nostrorum ducibus damnum inferat inferreque audeat.

Quemadmodum regno quoque nostro, provinciis, pagis, oppidis, civitatibus, urbibus, castellis, arcibus, villis ditioni nostrae subditis, nemo magnificorum beglerbeiorum,² sędziakorum,³ capitaneorum et quorumvis subditorum ipsius Serenitatis nocere et damnum inferre audebunt. In summa, ipsius Serenitas hostium nostrorum hostis acerrimus, amicorumque amicus existens, ne quid molestiae aut damni hominibus, rebus et quibuslibet iurisdictioni nostrae subiacentibus inferatur, providebit. Nos etiam, ne quid ipsius Serenitatis hominibus, rebus, et universis ipsius Serenitatis iurisdictioni subiacentibus ex parte nostra noceatur, providebimus.

Oratores, legati, nuncii utriusque nostrum, cuiuslibet conditionis extiterint, libere et citra ullam molestiam ire et redire ultro citroque debent, illisque et ipsorum bonis nihil damni inferetur.

In ditione nostra mancipia Turcica, quae ante tempus eius renovati foederis capta et abducta sunt, si religionem christianam non susceperint, sed Turcicam adhuc profiteantur, ab hominibus et subditis ipsius Serenitatis queri inventaque redimi liceat, et nemo huic negotio contradicere audeat. Post tempus vero huius renovati foederis, quicquid captum et abductum fuerit, id omne citra iniuriam et sine praecio dimittatur et restituatur.

Mercatores utriusque partis in Mari Nigro et Albo terraque cum omnibus generibus mercium libere ubique mercaturam exercent, et ubicunque inventi fuerint, legitimum^c et usitatum theloneum solventes, nulla vi aut iniuria afficiantur. Quod si vero aliquem mercatorem nostrum in ditionibus illius Serenitatis Caesariae mori contigerit, eius res et merces omnes integre asservari debent tamdiu, quamdiu per hominem nostrum literas nostras habentem iure ad illum merces pertinere ostensum fuerit. Quarum ratione quibuslibet literas nostras habentibus bona mortui restituantur. Similiter, si quispiam etiam mercator ipsius Serenitatis in ditione nostra mortuus fuerit, observabitur.

Post tempus harum literarum pacem et foedus confirmantium, si in ditione nostra aliquibus ad ipsius Serenitatem pertinentibus damnum aliquod illatum fuerit, mandato nostro illator damni requiratur, inventusque puniatur, et damnum nulla tergiversatione et contradictione admissa, resarciatur. Ex parte quoque ipsius Serenitatis eadem administretur iustitia.

Si debitor aliquis ex ditione nostra in ditionem ipsius Serenitatis iverit, ubicunque a creditore inventus fuerit, ad illius loci iudicem in ius vocetur

² From Tur. *beglerbegi*.

³ From Tur. *sancakbegi* and Pol. *sandżak/sędziak*.

^c In B. here and below *legitimum*.

et cittetur.^d Et quicquid^e per viam iuris probatum fuerit iudex illius loci pro aequitate negotii creditori satisfaciat. Si vero debitor solus personaliter inveniri non possit, ratione debiti alterius nemo capiatur, retineatur et molestetur, neve in regno et ditione alterius aut utriusque nostrum innocentis pro reis molestentur et impetantur. In summa quibus conditionibus et quibus articulis tempore divorum antecessorum nostrorum regum Poloniae pax et foedus fuit constitutum et observatum, iisdem conditionibus et articulis nunc quoque fiat. Hactenus quicquid damni utrique parte illatum est propter iniuriam temporum, id totum ex utraque parte negligatur et oblivioni tradatur.

Post tempus vero literarum harum pacem et foedus confirmantium, cum nos Tartaris, ut nobis contra hostes nostros assistant, id quod pactum fuerit numeraverimus, princeps ipse Tartarorum chan filii et mirzileri⁴ omnisque exercitus eius, nullo pacto ditionibus nostris nocere audeant. Sic ex parte Tartarorum eorumque exercituum nostris ditionibus et ex parte nostra Tartarorum ditionibus nullum inferetur damnum. Et si quid damni ex parte Tartarorum ditioni nostrae illatum fuerit, Serenissimi Imperatoris Turcarum mandato restituatur.

Ex parte palatini Moldaviensis aut incolarum Regni Moldaviae subiectis ditioni nostrae nihil inferatur damni. Damnum vero illatum et certo cognitum mandato ipsius Serenitatis resarciatur. Ex parte quoque nostra aut subditorum nostrorum quicquid damni ditioni aut subditis palatini Moldaviensis, Tartaris ve illatum fuerit, id damnum resarciatur, et damni illatores puniantur.

Ex Regno autem Moldaviae aufugientes, qui in ditiones nostras sese recipere, furtaque et diversa scelera latrociniaque in Moldaviam exercere consueverunt, tales ad Serenissimi Imperatoris Turcarum petitionem, aut palatini Moldaviensis, restituantur neve abnegentur. Hactenus quaecunque mancipia ex ditione nostra in ditionem Serenitatis ipsius abducta, reperta fuerint, quae christianam fidem adhuc profiterentur, homines et subditi nostri libere, eodem, quo empti sunt precio, rediment. Et si de precio differentia aliqua orta fuerit, dominus mancipii precium, quod numeravit, iuramento probare debet; eoque precio accepto, mancipia christiana libere manumitti debent. Eodem modo mancipia quod Turcica, in ditione nostra existentia, dimittantur.

Legatis utriusque nostrum, quamdiu in pace et foedere sumus, eundi et redeundi liberum iter pateat, nec ullo in loco retineantur. Legatis autem convenire volentibus, liber pateat aditus. Cum vero terminos ac fines ditionum ingressi fuerint, statim per bonum et fidelem adiunctum virum in locum destinatum deduci curentur. Atque id ex parte utraque agatur.

Mercatoribus debitam tricesimam legitimumque theloneum solventibus, nemo vim inferre aut eos retinere audeat. Si quis subditorum nostrorum

^d B. *citetur*.

^e In B. here and below: *quidquid*.

⁴ From Tur. *mirza* (plur. *mirzalar*), a Crimean nobleman.

causam aut litem aliquam cum subdito ipsius Serenitatis habuerit, citra dilationem et procrastinationem, iudices iustitiam administrare teneantur et e contra.

Latrones et fures, latrocinia et furta exercentes, studiose inquirantur, inventique severe puniantur, et rem ablatam penitus domino rei seu haeredi restituant.

Mercatores et cuiuslibet conditionis homines, qui inter se contrahunt, si debita sua cauta et firma esse volunt, de quibus controversiae oriri possint, literas sigillo obsignatas de debito dare debent. Sine literis autem iudicium autem iudicium non fiat. Sic etiam in sponsione cautione iudicis aut debitoris non visa, nulla fiat administratio iuris. Si vero cautio non fuerit, aut apud iudicem inscriptum non fuerit, testibus auditis nulla administretur lex. Ex parte quoque ipsius serenitatis iudicibus si causa fuerit ignota non audiatu eoque modo iustitia administretur.

Begi, sędziaki⁵ Silistrienses et Bellogradiens⁶ tricesimatoresque et portuum praefecti theloneatoresque neminem per fluvium Turligii⁷ seu Tyram alias Nistr praeter mercatores et in nostra subiectione existentes transmittere debent. Transeuntes vero si mancipium aliquod ex parte nostra adduxerint, id ab illis eripiant et remittant.

Pastores ovium se in partem et fundum nostrum oves suas traducere voluerint sine venia praefectorum eas non traiciant,^f et oves suas coram praefectis numerent. Ex quibus si quae perierint, praefecti eas requirere, invenire, et pastoribus restituere debeant. Verum idem illi pastores a pascu fenile^g pendere teneantur.

Mercatoribus et subditis quibuslibet nostris in ditionem ipsius Serenitatis venientibus aut redeuntibus^{h-i} czaussii, spachii et janizarii verediarii¹ sive tempore belli sive pacis equos eripere nequaquam audeant.

Palatini Moldavienses, qua conditione erga praeteritos reges Poloniae antecessores nostros fuerint, eadem nunc quoque et in futurum sint. Utriusque partis tricesimae et thelonea in pristino statu maneant et ne augeantur.

Subditi nostri mercatoresque tam Armeni quam alterius cuiuslibet nationis, quodocunque Moldaviam aut quamcunque partem ditionis ipsius Serenitatis ingressi fuerint, non per ignotas et incertas sed per publicam incedant viam. In qua si in bonis aut personis eorum damnum aliquod illatum fuerit, damni illatores queri, inveniri et puniri debent. Ratione debitorum alterius, nullus mercator capiatur, neve czausii, spachii, janiczarii¹que subditorum nostrorum equos eripere audeant.

Mercatores et subditi nostri si mancipia ex ditione nostra ablata christianam fidem adhuc profitentia pecunia redimere et auferre velint, iudices

⁵ The terms *begi* and *sędziaki* are synonymous here and refer to *sancakbeys*.

⁶ For Akkerman.

⁷ Turla, the Turkish name of the Dniester.

^f B. *traiciant*.

^g B. *faenile*.

^{h-i} B. *czausii, spachii et janissarii veredarique*.

nulla ratione resistant neveque empta eripere aut retinere audeant. Ex mancipiis vero si quae Turcicam assumpsere religionem a nobis non petantur. Mancipia religionem Turcicam non assummentia, si a dominis suis certo temporis spacio^j impleto, libertate donati fuerint, literasque libertatis testes habuerint, a iudicibus et praefectis praetextum assumptae Turcicae religionis allegantibus non retineantur, nam iudices hoc facere consueverunt. Sed si probatum fuerit illa mancipia Turcicam non assumpsisse religionem, tum nequaquam erripiantur^k et retineantur.

In civitate Brussa, legitima tricesima persoluta, inusitata subditi nostri ne graventur.

Ditiones tam eas, quae sunt nunc in nostra potestate, quam illas quas sub aliquo principe christiano adepti fuerimus, eodem sub foedere et pace contineri volumus, ac eas auctoritate plenaria possidere debemus.

Atque haec quidem omnia in literis hisce expressa Serenitas illius Caesarea plene, integre, inviolateque tenere, sancteque servare et custodire, ad vitae suae extrema tempora verbo suo promisit, et iuramento Deo omnipotenti et prophetae suo Muchumeto,^l caeterisque prophetis praestito confirmavit.

Nos etiam similiter ea omnia in literis hisce expressa, plene, integre sancteque servare [et custodire]^m ad extrema vitae nostraeⁿ tempora spondemus, pollicemur, et iureiurando per nomen Dei omnipotentis confirmamus, dummodo ex parte Serenitatis suae Caesareae occasio aliquo rumpendi huiusce foederis non detur. Quam nos nullam, Deo duce, daturi sumus, et certo pollicemur. Deus sit moderator negotiorum omnium. In cuius rei fidem et testimonium sigillum nostrum praesentibus appendi iussimus. Datum Mariemburgi die V mensis Novembris anno Domini 1577, regni vero nostri anno secundo.

^j B. *spatio*.

^k B. *eripiantur*.

^l B. *Muchameto*.

^m In B. only.

ⁿ In A. corrected from *suae*; in B. written correctly.

DOCUMENT 23 (10–18 OCTOBER 1591)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Murad III to King Sigismund III
[Facs. VIII]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 268, no. 498 (*KDT*, pp. 225–27).

188.5 × 46 cm.

the upper part of the document with the invocation is missing [cut off]

formula devotionis (gold): *sülüs* script

tugra (gold)

text (black sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

Latin translation: Bibl. Czart., ms. 2482, pp. 224–26.

Polish translation by Otwinowski: a) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 200a–202a; b) AGAD, AKW, k. 71, t. 268, no. 499 (copied by Crutta); c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 277–84 [293–300]; d) Bibl. Czart., ms. 1176, pp. 583–92; e) Bibl. Kór., ms. 206, pp. 32–40.

- [I] **Hazret-i Rabb-i ‘İzzet cellet kudretühü ve ‘allet kelimetühünün
‘inayet-i bi-gayeti ve mühr-i sipehr-i nübüvvat**
- [II] **ahter-i burc-i risalet pişva-yi zümre-i enbiya mukteda-yi fırka-i
asfiya iki cihan fahri Muhammed Mustafa**
- [III] **salla’llahu ta’ala ‘aleyhi ve sellemin mu’cizat-i kesiretü’l-
berekatı ile ve çar yar ke-zaynu ridvanu’llah ta’ala**
- [IV] **‘aleyhim ecma’in ve cemi’-i evliya-i kiramın ve etkiya-i ‘izamın
ervah-i mukaddeseleri mürafakatı ile**

Murad-şah bin Selim-şah han muzaffer da’ima

- [1] Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i zaman ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bağ-ı husrevan-i cihan zillu’llahi’l-Meliki’l-Mennan hadimü’l-haremeyni’ş-şerifeyn sani İskender Du’l-karneyn ber mucib-i fehva-i sa’adet-ihativayı
- [2] wa amma bi-ni’mati Rabbika fa-haddis eşrefü’l-meda’in ü’l-emsar akdesü’l-memalik ü’l-aktar Mekke-i müşerrefe-i mükerrerme ve Medine-i münevvere-i mu’azzamenin ve Kuds-i şerif ve Lahsa ve Katif ve Mısır ve Yemen ve San’a ve ‘Adenin
- [3] ve Basra ve Habeş ve Sivas ve Mar’aş ve Şam daru’s-salam^a ve Haleb ve Trablus-i Şamın ve Nihavend ve Pelengan ve Musul ve Diyarbekir ve Van ve Tebriz ve Nahcivan

^a Read mistakenly by Abrahamowicz: *Şam ve daru’s-salam* (*KDT*, p. 226).

- [4] ve Erzurum ve Ir<v>anın ve memalik-i Şirvan ve Kara Bag ve Gürcistan ve 'umumen Kürdistan ve Türkistanın ve Anadolu ve Karaman vilayetlerinin ve Bogdan
- [5] ve Eflak ve Demür Kapu ve Deşt-i Kıpçak iklimlerinin ve Ak Deniz ve Kara Deniz ve Derya-i Kulzumun ve Diyar-i 'Arab ve 'Acem ve ekalim-i Türk ve Dilemin ve Bagdad ve Şehrizul
- [6] ve hasretü'l-müluk olan mahmiye-i İstanbulun ve darü'l-cihad ve'l-harb Cezayir-i Magrib ve Trablus-i Garb ve evtan-i Tunus ve cezire-i Kıbrısın ve 'umdetü'l-memalik ü diyar Rum-ili
- [7] ve Temeşvar ve Bosna ve Budun ve Kefe ve Trabzon caniblerinin ve bunların emsali dahi niçe memalik-i ma'mure ve mesalik-i na-mahsurenin [kila'-i]^b felek-irtifa' ve bika'-i kesirü'l-intifa'ın
- [8] padişahi ve sultanı ve şehinşahi ve hakamı Sultan Murad Han ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Süleyman Han [ibn Sultan Selim Han]^c ibn Sultan Bayezid Han ibn Sultan Mehemmed Han ibn
- [9] Sultan Murad Hanım bundan akdem Lih kralı olanlar 'atebe-i 'aliye-mize enva'-i sadakat u ihlas ile ihtisas ve iltica ve intisab ve intima idüb da'ima dostluk
- [10] ve muhabbet 'arz ide-gelmegin haliya Lih kralı ve Litvanya^d ve Rusya^e ve Purusya^f ve Mazovya^g ve Livonya^h ve sayir yerlerin ulu dukası ve Sviçyaⁱ vilayetinin
- [11] varisi ve kralı olacak iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fiham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihkiye muslihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar
- [12] sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Jigmund^j hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr asitane-i sa'adet-aşyanemize mu'teber ve güzide beglerinden Lomzanın çeşniki^k olan kıdvetü ümera'i'l-milleti'l-mesihkiye
- [13] Yan Zamoyski^l zidet ita'atuhuyı ilçilik ile göndürüb izhar-i sadakat u ihlas eyleyüb müşarun-ileyh ilçisiyle irsal eylediği namesinde ke-ma kan mabeynde
- [14] sulh u salah üzere olmasın istid'a ve müceddeden 'ahdname-i hümayunum rica eylediği ecelden mezid-i merahim-i 'aliye-i şahane ve meziyet-i ekarim-i seniye-i padişahanemizden
- [15] istid'a ve iltiması şeref-kabula peyveste olub üslub-i sabık üzere müced-

^b Cf. Document 27.

^c Evidently omitted by the copyist.

^d لتوانيه.

^e روسيه.

^f پورسيه.

^g مازويا.

^h ليونيا.

ⁱ سويچيه.

^j ژيگموند.

^k لومزانك چاشنكي.

^l يان زامويسكي.

- deden işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunı virdüm ve buyurdum ki muma-ileyh kralın memleket ve vilayetlerine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına
- [16] ve bi'l-cümle taht-i tasarruflarında olan yerlerine cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından ve vüzera-i 'izam ve mirmiran-i fiham ve ümera'-i kiram ve sayir 'asakir-i mansuremden bir vechle zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye
- [17] ve müşarun-ileyh kral tarafından ve beglerinden ve Kazak eşkıyasından ve tevabi'inden ve sayir ehl-i fesaddan memalik-i mahruseme ve ser-haddlarda olan kal'elerime ve varoşlarıma
- [18] ve sayir memalik-i mahmiyeme tabi' olan kasabat ve kuraya ve araziye be-vech mine'l-vücuht dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub ve zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye ve'l-hasıl dostuma dost
- [19] ve düşmanıma düşman olub mabeynde iki canibin adamı ve ilçileri varub gelüb kendülerine ve mallerine ve rızklarına zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve geçen senede vakı' olan fetretde bu canibden
- [20] aldıkları esirleri muma-ileyh kral dikkat ve ihtimamla teftiş idüb buldurub emin ü salim bu canibe göndürdükden sonra zıkr olunan fetretde Lih vilayetinden alınub islama gelmeyüb küfr üzere olan
- [21] esirler dahi Lehlü idükleri sabit olduktan sonra kralın gelen adami-sine teslim oluna ve işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunum tarihinden sonra iki tarafdan birer tarik ile esir olurlar ise baha taleb olunmayub
- [22] Lehlü idügi sabit olduktan sonra sahibleri azad idüb salı-vireler ve iki canibin bazarganları denizden ve karadan gelüb gidüb bey' ü şıra eyleyeler bulundukları yerlerde
- [23] 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsumi her ne ise vireler kimesnenin maline ve nefsine zarar u ziyan olmaya ve vilayet-i Lehden gelen bazarganlardan memalik-i mahrusemde fevt olur ise müteveffanın muhallelfatı
- [24] bu canibden alınmayub hıfz oluna ol tarafdan kralın mektubi ile varisi geldikde teslim oluna ve eger bizüm bazarganlarımızdan memalik-i Lihde fevt olur ise kral dahi vech-i meşruh üzere eyleye
- [25] ve işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunum tarihinden sonra kralın memleketine bu tarafa müt'a'llık bir kimesneden zarar u ziyan olur ise anun gibi yaramazlık iden bulunub hakından gelenüb vakı' olan zararı
- [26] yerine döndüreler özür ve bahane etmeyeler ve kral canibinden dahi öylece ola ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesnenin medyuni kral vilayetine varsa her ne yerde ise ol yerin hakimine müraf'a olunub
- [27] teftiş olundukda sabit olur ise sahibine alı-virile ve bir kimesnenin borcu ve günahı olmadın aharın borcu ve günahı için kimesneyi tutub ren-cide etmeyeler ve iki canibin vilayetleri
- [28] mabeyninde anların gibi bi-günahları üşendirmeyeler ve bi'l-cümle aba-i kiram ve ecdad-i 'izamın zamanlarından berü mabeynde vakı olan 'ahd ü eman mukarrer olub geçmiş zararları için vekilleri
- [29] bir yere gelmek müyesser olmamagın 'ahdname tarihine gelince iki canibde olan ziyandan geçilüb istima' olunmaya ve min ba'd cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Tatar hanı canibine ma damki kral tarafından kadimden virilü-gelen
- [30] 'adetleri vakti ile eda olunub kral tarafından 'ahda muhalif bir iş sadır olmaya han tarafından ve Tatar 'askerinden kralın memleketine ve adamlarına dahl u ta'arruz olunmaya ve zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye

- [31] şöyle ki zarar irişe ferman-i şerifimle hakları alı-virile ve Bogdan voyvodasından ve Bogdan tayifesinden kiral vilayetine ve adamlarına zarar irişmeye zarar olursa sabit olduktan sonra
- [32] emr-i hümayunumla yerine konula ve kiral tarafından ve adamlarından dahi Tatar halkına ve Bogdan tayifesine ve adamlarına ve memleketlerine zarar olursa anların dahi yerine koyub ehl-i fesadın
- [33] hakkından geleler ve Bogdan vilayetinden ba'z kimesneler kaçub Lih vilayetine sığınub ba'dehu bir tarik ile gelüb memlekete fitne bıragub müfsidlik iderlermiş anun gibiler talep olunub virile
- [34] ve şimdiye degin alınan esirleri kiralın adamları memalik-i mahrusemde buldukları yerde [sahibleri]^m niçeye alınduğna yemin virüb satun alalar ziyade baha talep etmeyeler ol esirlerden
- [35] islama gelmiş olanlar azad ola küfr üzere olanları alub gitmege mani' olmayalar ve kiral vilayetinde olanları [esir olan Müslümanlar]ⁿ dahi anlar salı-virüb yerlerine gelmege mani' olmayalar ve <esir olan
- [36] Müslümanlar> dostluk içinde iken gelen ilçilere haber eyleyüb getüren kimesnelere mani' olmayalar ve serhaddlara geldüklerinde yarar adamlar<a> koşula öte canibinden dahi böylece ola
- [37] ve bazarganlara dahi 'adet ü kanun üzere gümrüklerin virdüklerinden sonra kimesne mani' ve müzahim olmaya ve bu tarafdı bir kimesnenin Leh kralına tabi' bir kimesnede hakkı olsa talep etdikde memleket hakimleri
- [38] alı-vireler ve hırsuz ve haramiler zarar u ziyan etdüklerinde hakim olanlar buldurub mu'accelen hakkından geleler ve hırsuzlukda aldıkları esbab ba'de's-sübut bi-kusur sahiblerine alı-virile
- [39] ve tüccar tayifesi bir kimesne ile bey' ü şıra eyleyeler sicillat veya hüccet olmayınca istima' olunmaya ve eger kefalet ve eger karz dır da'va ve talep etdüklerinde sicillata veya hüccete nazar oluna
- [40] bu ikisinden biri olmayınca şahid-i zur ikamet itmekle tezvir ü telbis etmeyeler kiral canibinden dahi memleket hakimlerinin ma'lumi olmayınca istima' olunmaya ve Silistre ve Akkerman
- [41] sancakları begleri ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları südde-i sa'adet-ma'abım kullarından ve iki canibin tacirlerinden gayri Turla^o suyundan Lih vilayetine kimesneyi koyu-virmeye ve eger öteden
- [42] ve beriden gelüb giden kimesnelerin yanlarında esir bulunursa ellerinden alub girü göndüreler ve çoban tayifesi Lih vilayetine geçdüklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin ve koyunların
- [43] bildirüb mahfı varmayalar ve otlak hakkın vireler çoban tayifesi kendülerin bildirdükden sonra koyunları zayi' olursa memleket hakiminden talep eyleyeler ve gelüb giden [tüccarın]^p

^m Cf. Document 21.

ⁿ Written erroneously below in lines 35-36. Apparently the text was mechanically copied from an earlier *'ahdname*, as the same mistake was made in the documents of 1554 and 1577; see Document 17, note ad, and Document 21, note n.

^o تۇرلى.

^p Cf. Document 17. Missing also in the *'ahdname* of 1577; cf. Document 21, note p.

- [44] bargirlerin ulak tutmaya ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeriler atların almayalar ve Bogdan voyvodası olanlar sabıkan olan kırallar ile ne vechle dostluk üzere olı-gelmişler ise
- [45] ol minval üzere [ola ve mabeynde]^q olan dostluk şartlarına muhalif iş sadır olmaya ve iki canibin tacirlerinin virgüleri ve gümrükleri ziyade olmaya ve kralın eli altında Ermeni
- [46] ve sayir kefare bazarganları Bogdan vilayetine ve sayir memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret itmek istediklerinde biyabandan ve mahfi yollardan gelmeyüb kadimden bazarganlar mürur ide-geldükleri
- [47] tarik-i 'ammdan geeler anun gibi birinin maline ve canine zarar gelürse ehl-i fesad ele getirilüb hakklarından geline ve istikamet üzere gelüb giden bazarganlar rencide olunmayub gümrükleri
- [48] kanun-i kadim üzere alına ve bir gayri kimesnenin borcu için tüccar tayifesi tutulmaya ve çavuşlar ve sipahiler ve yeniçeriler [Leh] re'aya-[sı]nın yol[un]da^r bargirlerin almayalar ve kralın
- [49] bazarganları memalik-i mahrusemde kendü ra'iyetlerinden esir olanları akçeler ile satun alub halas itmek istediklerinde kadılar mani' olmayalar ve bahası virilüb halas olanları
- [50] girü^s ellerinden çıkub almayalar amma Müslüman olanlar dahi kiral tarafından tekrar taleb olunmaya ve ba'z Müslüman olmayub efendisi yıl va'de virüb azad olub 'itk-namesi
- [51] var iken Müslüman oldı deyü mani' olurlarmış Müslüman olduğu sabit olmaz ise mani' olmayalar ve mahruse-i Brusada Lehlüden ziyade virgü ve gümrük taleb olunmayub
- [52] kanun-i kadim üzere alalar ve müşarun-ileyh kralın tasarrufunda olan vilayetine ve şimden sonra Moskovdan^t ve sayir kefare vilayetinden feth idecek yerlere bu taraftan dahl olunmayub
- [53] cümlesi taht-i yedinde ve kabza-i hükümetinde ola ve 'ahdname-i hümayunumda mestur olan şerayitin ri'ayeti babında Hakk celle ve 'alanın 'azametine ve hazret-i risalet-penahın ve cemi'-i peygamberlerin
- [54] ervah-i mukaddeselerine yemin iderim ki müddet-i baka ü sebat ve eyyam-i hayat-i sa'adet-simatımızda ma damki muma-ileyh kiral tarafından hilaf-i 'ahd ü eman vaz^s sudur etmeye cenab-i sa'adet-nisabım
- [55] tarafından dahi sulh u salaha ve 'ahd ü emana mugayir nesne sadır olmaya tahriren fi evahiri şehri Zi'l-hicce-ş-şerife min şühuri seneti tis'e ve tas'in ve tis'i mi'tin

bi-makami
Kostantiniye
'l-mahmiye

^q Cf. Document 21.

^r Cf. Document 21: *Leh re'ayasının yolunda*.

^s On this fragment, see note 10 to the translation.

^t مسعودن.

Translation:

[invocation is missing]

[tugra] *Murad-shah, son of Selim-shah, the ever victorious khan*

I who,

by the infinite grace of His Majesty, the Lord of Glory (exalted is His Power and elevated is His Word!), and by the miracles, full of divine blessings, of Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), the sun of the heaven of prophecy, the star of the constellation of apostleship, the leader of the class of prophets, the guide of the group of saints, the pride of the two worlds, and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of his four companions (may the ornament of the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—be upon them all!), and of all the noble saints and magnificent pious ones,

am the sultan of the sultans of the age, the proof of the emperors of the epoch, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusraws of the world, the shadow of God, the Munificent King, the servant of the two holy sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina], the second Alexander the Great,¹ according to the content of the felicitous verse: “but announce the favor of your Lord”² the padishah, the sultan, the shahinshah, and the emperor of the noblest of the towns and cities, the most holy among the dominions and districts, Mecca the honored and venerated, Medina the enlightened and respected, and Jerusalem the noble, and of Lahsa and al-Katif,³ Egypt and Yemen, Sana and Aden, Basra and Ethiopia, Sivas and Maraş, of Damascus, the abode of peace, of Haleb [i.e., Aleppo] and the Syrian Tripoli, Nehavend and Pelengan,⁴ Mosul, Diyarbakır and Van, Tabriz and Nakhichevan, Erzurum and Iran,⁵ of the provinces of Shirvan, Karabagh, and Georgia, and of the whole Kurdistan and Turkestan, of the provinces of Anatolia and Karaman, of Moldavia and Wallachia, of Derbend and of the climes of the Kıpçak steppe, of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea, the Black Sea, and the Red Sea,⁶ of

¹ *İskender Du'l-karneyn*, lit. “Alexander, lord of two horns.”

² Verse 11 of sura 93 of the *Koran*, see Muhammad F. ‘Abd al-Baqi, *al-Muʿjam al-mufahras li-alfaz al-Qurʾan al-Karim* (Istanbul, [1979]), p. 194.

³ The central fort of the second *sancak* in the province of Lahsa.

⁴ A province in Iranian Kurdistan, situated between Diyarbakır and Nehavend. A strong castle of the same name was destroyed by order of the shah Safi I in 1635; see L. Adamec, ed., *Historical Gazetteer of Iran*, vol. 1: *Tehran and Northwestern Iran* (Graz, 1976), p. 496 (Palangan); and Bekir Kütükoglu, *Osmanlı-Iran Siyâsi Münâsebetleri (1578–1612)* (Istanbul, 1993), p. 223. An order from 992 A.H./1584 A.D. mentions a *Pelengan beglerbegi* along with those of Baghdad and Basra (see BA, MD 44, p. 216, no. 455). Nehring and Kreiser erroneously considered Pelengan to be an “*epitheta ornamia*” of the city of Mosul, and not a real place-name; see Nehring, *Adam Freiherrn zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel. Ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606)* (Munich, 1983), p. 200.

⁵ In the text: *Irvan*. Cf. Document 27.

⁶ Tur. *Derya-i Kulzum*, a name derived from the medieval port of Kulzum (ancient Clysma), situated at the site of modern Suez.

Arabia and Persia, of the Turkish climes and of Dilem,⁷ of Baghdad and Shehrizul, and of the well-protected Istanbul, which afflicts the kings with nostalgia, and of Algiers and Western Tripoli, [being] the area of the holy war and combat, and of the native countries of Tunis, of the island of Cyprus, and of the chief among the provinces and regions, Rumelia, and of the regions of Temesvár, Bosnia, Buda, Caffa,⁸ and Trabzon [i.e., Trapezunt], and of many other prosperous provinces and unlimited byways, fortresses reaching the heavens and buildings of multiple benefits, such as these, Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Suleyman Khan, [son of Sultan Selim Khan,] son of Sultan Bayezid Khan, son of Sultan Mehemmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan.

As previously the Polish kings used to display all kinds of devotion and sincerity, affection and [wish of] taking refuge, attachment and close relation toward our high threshold, continually demonstrating friendship and affection, [also] now the Polish king, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Livonia, and other lands, the heir and the future king of Sweden, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Sigismund (may his latter days end with good!), has sent in [his] embassy to our felicitous threshold the cup-bearer [cześnik] of Łomża, Jan Zamoyski (may his obedience increase!), the model of the Christian commanders, from among his esteemed and chosen governors; and as he has demonstrated devotion and sincerity and requested in his letter sent with the aforementioned envoy that peace and amity be established between [us], as it used to be; and as he has asked anew for my imperial 'ahdname, his petition and request from our abundant high royal mercies and from our most honored exalted imperial excellence has received the glorious acceptance; according to the previous conditions I have given anew this imperial 'ahdname and I have ordered that:

From the side of my glorious majesty and from the side of my great viziers, illustrious mirmirans, noble emirs, and victorious soldiers no damage or harm should touch the land, country, fortresses, and towns of the aforementioned king and all the places being under his possession. And from the side of the aforementioned king, his governors, Cossack brigands, dependents, and other mischief-makers no meddling or interference, damage or harm should touch my well-protected dominions, my border fortresses, my towns and other boroughs, villages, and lands belonging to my well-guarded dominions. And in short [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy;

when the agents and envoys of the two sides enter and come between [the two countries], no damage or harm should touch them, their property, and belongings.

The aforementioned king should inquire with great care and attention for the captives of this side taken prisoners during the interregnum in the previous year[s] and cause them to be found; after they are sent [back] in this direction secure and safe, also the infidel captives taken from Poland during the aforementioned interregnum, provided that they have not become Muslim, will be handed over to the royal agents after proving that

⁷ The land of Dilem on the Caspian.

⁸ Today Teodosija (Ukr. Feodosija) in the Crimea.

they are Poles. If after the date of this my imperial 'ahdname captives are taken from either side in whichever way, no ransom shall be demanded and after proving that they are Poles their owners should set them free and let them go.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land, and sell and buy. According to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places. [But] nobody's property or life should be exposed to damage or harm.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from Poland dies in my well-protected dominions, the effects of the deceased will not be seized by our side but kept. When an heir [of the deceased] comes from the other side provided with a royal letter, [the effects of the deceased] should be handed over. If anybody from among our merchants dies in Poland, the king should proceed likewise.

If after the date of this my imperial 'ahdname damage or harm is done to the domain of the king by anybody from among the dependents of this side, such evildoers will be found and punished, and the damage will be compensated. One should not find any excuse or pretext. On the royal side one should proceed likewise.

If the debtor of anybody from my well-protected dominions arrives at the country of the king in whatever place, the petition should be heard and investigated by a local judge; if it is proved, [the goods or effects in question] should be handed over to their owner.

One should not arrest and injure a person, who has neither debt nor guilt, for the debt or guilt of another person. And [because of a dispute] between two sides one should not molest innocent people alike.

As the treaty and peace existing between [us] since the time of my noble fathers and magnificent grandfathers has been fixed, and since the commissioners [appointed] for [discussing] the previous damages did not manage to meet in one place, the damage incurred by either side prior to the date of [this] 'ahdname expires and should not be heard.

Henceforth, as long as the customary payments ['adetler], which used to be given since olden times, are paid on time by the king to His Higesty, the abode of leadership, the Tatar khan, and as long as the king does nothing contrary to the treaty, no meddling or interference, harm or damage should be done to the dominions and subjects of the king by the khan and the Tatar army; in such a manner that when a damage is done, they should be punished according to my noble order.

No damage should be done to the country or subjects of the king by the Moldavian hospodars and Moldavians. If any damage is done, after being proved, it should be compensated for according to my imperial order. If any damage is done to the Tatars or the Moldavians, their people and country, from the side of the king or his subjects, it should be compensated and the evildoers should be punished.

Certain individuals had fled Moldavia and taken refuge in Poland, [thereafter] they came [back] to the country and raised rebellion and intrigue. When requested, such individuals should be delivered.

When royal agents find in [various] sites of my well-protected dominions prisoners captured prior to the present time, they may ransom them, while [their owners] should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath and should not demand excessive prices. Those from among these prisoners who have become Muslim should be manumitted; and those who have persisted in infidelity may be taken and nobody should hinder them from leaving. Also in the royal country one should set free Muslim prisoners and one should not hinder them from going home.

Within the time period of friendship, nobody should hinder the envoys and agents who

come bringing messages. Upon reaching the borders, one should give them fit men as an escort. One should proceed likewise on the other side.

After merchants have paid customs duties according to tradition and law, one should not hinder them or give trouble to them. If a subject of the Polish king owes something to somebody from this side, when demanded, the land judicial authorities should execute [the debt].

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm or damage, the judicial authorities should find them and immediately punish them. After it is proved, the stolen goods should be handed over to their owners without deficiency.

If merchants conclude a transaction with anybody, as long as it is not certified in kadi records [sicillat] or a certificate issued by the kadi [hüccet], [their grievances] should not be heard. When a claim and demand arises concerning surety [kefalet] or a loan, one should look at the kadi record or certificate. When neither of these two [documents] exists, no false witness should be brought and one should not falsify and cheat. Also on the royal side, the land judicial authorities should not hear [a grievance], if [the matter] is not known to them.

The beys of the sancaks of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland across the river Dniester except the servants [kullar] of my felicitous threshold and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should take them from their hands and send them back.

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret; after the herdsmen have made their presence known, if their sheep are lost, they can demand from the land authorities [that they be returned].

The baggage horses of [merchants] who come and depart should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janissaries on campaign.

[The relationships] between the Moldavian hospodars and the aforementioned king should be kept in the same friendly way as they have been with the former kings. Nothing should be done against the conditions of [mutual] friendship.

One should not demand excessive taxes and customs duties from the merchants of both sides; when Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand [i.e., the royal subjects] want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted areas or use hidden roads, but they should come by the public road, which has been customarily traveled by merchants. If an injury is done to the property or soul [i.e., life] of any of such [merchants], the evil-doers should be captured and punished. Merchants, who come and go in sincerity,⁹ should not be molested and their customs duties should be collected according to the old law.

No merchant should be detained by reason of the debts of another person. Çavuşes,

⁹ The fragment: *istikamet üzere gelüb giden bazarganlar* could be also translated: "merchants, who come and go straight," i.e., by straight, public roads; however, in the respective fragment of the *'ahdname* of 1577 the word *istikamet* is used precisely to describe honest trade: *gelen bazarganlar istikamet üzere ticaret idüklerince*. In the Polish translation by Otwinowski this fragment reads: *w prostocie i szczerości jadącemu kupcowi* ("a merchant, who comes in candor and sincerity").

sipahis, and janissaries should not take baggage horses belonging to the traveling [Polish] subjects. The merchants of the king, who want to ransom and release prisoners from among his own subjects, kept in my well-protected dominions, should not be hindered by the kadis. As those, who have been redeemed and released, go out from their [i.e., the merchants'] hands, they [i.e., the kadis] should not take [them] again.¹⁰ But the king should not repeatedly¹¹ request for those, who have become Muslim. If an owner of those, who are not Muslims, has given them a fixed term of one year, [after this time elapses,] they should be manumitted; if one retains those having a letter of manumission, saying: "they have become Muslim," if their conversion to Islam is not proved, one should not hinder them [from going].

In the well-protected Bursa one should not demand excessive taxes and customs duties from the Poles, but one should collect them according to the old law.

From this side no interference will be done into the provinces being in the possession of the aforementioned king, and to the places, which he conquers in the future from Muscovy and other infidel countries. May they all remain under his hand and be held with his power.

In order to protect the clauses registered in my imperial 'ahdname, I swear by the greatness of the True God (may He be exalted!), and by the sanctified souls of the Refuge of Prophecy [i.e., Muhammad] and all the [other] prophets that for the remaining and fixed period [of our rule], and for the days of our life, marked with felicity, as from the side of the aforementioned king nothing should occur contrary to the treaty and peace, also from the side of my felicitous majesty nothing will occur contrary to the treaty, security, peace and amity.

Written in the third decade of the noble month of Zilhiĵje from among the months of the year 999, in the place of Constantinople, the well-protected.

¹⁰ As in Document 21, the place of the word *girü* in the Turkish text is somewhat confusing. Instead of *girü ellerinden çıkub almayalar* it should rather read *ellerinden çıkub girü almayalar*. Otwinowski translated this fragment: *Kupcy królewscy . . . gdyby więźnia kupiwszy wolnym go uczynić chcieli nie ma im bydź ode kadyow naszych broniono i odkupionych także uwolnionych nazad gwałtem brać im nie mają*. ("... they [i.e., the kadis] must not take them back by force").

¹¹ The word *tekrar* ("again, repeatedly") refers to earlier Polish requests in regard to this matter.

DOCUMENT 24 (15 JANUARY 1592)

The royal confirmation of the treaty

The original document is missing.

A Latin copy from the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna is published in *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, vol. III, pt. 1: 1576–1599. Edited by E. Hurmuzaki (Bucharest, 1880), pp. 160–62 (this copy is republished here).

Privilegium foederis regis Poloniae Sigismundi Tertii, Imperatori Turcarum Sulthano missum:

Sigismundus Tertius etc. Ad perpetuam memoriam significamus literis nostris, quorum interest, universis et singulis. Cum ad Serenissimum et Potentissimum Principem, Dominum Sulthanum Murath Han, Imperatorem Maximum Constantinopolitanum, atque Asiae, Europae etc. dominum, legatum nostrum, illustrem et magnificum Ioannem Zamoysky, pincernam Lomzensen aulicum et secretarium nostrum, eius foederis, quod maioribus nostris serenissimis regibus Poloniae, regnoque huic cum serenissimis et potentissimis Turcarum imperatoribus continuo diuturni temporis et multarum aetate [*sic*] decursu intercessit, renovandi causa misissemus, idemque Serenissimus et Potentissimus Imperator, Dominus Murath Han pristinis conditionibus illud foedus nobiscum sanxisset, ac literas, quibus conscriptum est, suas nobis transmisisset, nos mutua vicissim sponsione atque literis nostris haec foederis pacta pro nostra parte sancientes, mandamus in universum, quibuscunque regni nostri ac omnibus illi annexarum provinciarum palatinis, castellanis, capitaneis, exercituumque et militum praefectis, ac in universum cuiuscunque status et conditionis nostris, ne quisquam imperio Serenissimi et Potentissimi Turcarum Imperatoris, et in finibus existentibus arcibus et civitatibus, ac aliis ad imperium illius pertinentibus oppidis, pagis, omnibusque ad serenitatem suam spectantibus, nocere et damnum inferre audeat, neque manus in ea extendere praesumat. Ex parte etiam Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris omni imperio nostro, arcibus, civitatibusque et universis locis imperio nostro subiacentibus, vezirii, beglerbegi,¹ sangiakbegi,² capitanei et mancipia Suae Serenitatis universa nullo pacto nocere et damnum aliquod inferre audeant, summa hostium nostrorum hostis, et amicorum amicus existens, utriusque partis homines legatique euntes et redeuntes personis, rebus bonisque eorum nullum damnum inferatur et impedimentum fiat. In tumultu anni praeteriti ex parte Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris accepta mancipia et captivi accurate a nobis examinabuntur et exquirentur, inventaque incolumbia ad partes suas mit-

¹ From Tur. *beglerbegi*.

² From Tur. *sancakbegi*.

tentur, itidem vero e regno nostro ablata et abducta in religione christiana existentia permanentiaque homini nostro, postquam probatum fuerit Polonica esse, illuc venienti restituantur. Post diem autem huius foederis et privilegis ex utraque parte qualibet ratione mancipia fuerint, precio non petito, postquam Turcica fuisse probatum fuerit, domini eorum libera facientes, dimittant. Utriusque partis mercatores, mari terraque venientes et euntes, emant vendantque, et ubicunque inventi fuerint, iuxta normam et consuetudinem datum quodcunque persolvant, ut nullius bonis aut personis damnum inferatur aut impedimentum fiat. Ex imperio etiam Potentissimi Imperatoris advenientibus mercatoribus in regno nostro, si quis mortuus fuerit, bona mortui non confiscata reponantur, ex parteque illa literis Serenissimi Imperatoris advenientibus haeredibus restituantur. Etiam ex mercatoris huius partis, si aliquis in Imperio Turcico mortuus fuerit, Serenissimus quoque Imperator iuxta modum praedictum faciat. Post tempus huius privilegii, imperio et regnis Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris, si ab aliquo ad hanc partem pertinente damnum illatum fuerit, eiusmodi facinorosis inventis punitisque, damnum illatum resacciatur [*sic*], nullusque praetextus aut calumnia admittatur. Ex parte etiam Imperatoris ita fiat. Si ex subditis Serenissimi Imperatoris debitorem aliquem suum aliquis in regno nostro habuerit, quocunque in loco illo fuerit, praefecto illius loci praesentetur, examineturque, et postquam probatum fuerit, debitum recipiatur. Cumque aliquis debitorem aut delictum non habeat, ratione debiti aut delicti alterius nullus capiatur aut turbetur, in regnoque utriusque nostrum innocentes non turbentur. In summa tempore divorum atavorum praedecessorumque nostrorum, pace et foedere renovato, ratione damnorum praeteritorum cum procuratores utriusque partis in unum locum convenire non potuissent, ad tempus huius novi foederis, damno utriusque partis neglecto, non recipiatur. Ex parte principis Tartarorum et exercitus Tartarici regno hominibusque, rebus et subditis nullum nocumentum fiat, nec damnum inferatur. Dativum porro ex liberalitate et munificentia divorum praedecessorum nostrorum, principibus Tartarorum concessum, praestabitur, cum Tartarorum princeps pacta et ea quae tempore divorum praedecessorum nostrorum cum ipsius antecessoribus sunt constituta, integre nobis regnoque nostro praestabit. Si vero damnum aliquod ab ipso regno nostro illatum fuerit, mandato Turcarum imperatoris, damnum illatum resarciatur. A palatino Moldaviensi et incolis Moldaviae, regno hominibusque nostris nullum damnum inferatur; si damnum illatum fuerit, postquam probatum fuerit, damno recompensato, damnorum illatores puniantur. E Moldavia quidam fugientes, si in regnum nostrum se receperint, et aliquo praetextu Moldaviam turbare vellent, aut tumultum excitare, tales, ubicunque fuerint inventi, reddantur. Adhuc usque mancipia e regno nostro ablata, ab hominibus nostris e Regno Turcico ubicunque inventa fuerint, quo precio empta sint, iuramento imposito, emantur, neque precium maius requiratur; quae musulmanica facta sunt, illa libera sint, in christiana religione permanentia, auferri nemo vetet. Ex regno etiam nostro dimissis huiusmodi mancipiis in loca sua venire nemo contradicet. Legatis utriusque nostrum eundo et redeunto liberum pateat iter, neque in loco ullo retineantur. Legatis etiam venire volentibus, liber ad nos pateat aditus.

Cum vero terminos ditionum ingressi fuerint, statim bono et fideli adiuncto viro, ad locum propositum deducantur. Hoc modo et utraque parte agatur. Mercatoribus tricesimam debitum, legitimumque theloneum persolventibus, nemo eis vim inferre aut eos retinere turbareque audeat. Si quis subditorum causam aut litem aliquam, cum subditis imperatoris Turcarum habuerit, citra dilationem iudices iustitiam administrare teneantur. Fures homicidaeque damnum aliquod si intulerint, praefecti eos inveniri facientes, citra moram ullam puniant, et bona furto ablata, cum probata fuerint, sine defectu haeredibus eorum restituant. Mercatores cum aliquo mercaturam exercentes, sine chyrographo aut literarum iudicis exhibitione non audiantur, sive sponso sive mutatio sit, si iure petatur, chyrographum aut vero sententia iudicis inspiciatur. Quorum alterum si non fuerit, testium falsorum calumniis nihil fiat. Ex parte etiam nostra iudicibus re non cognita non adiudicetur. Sangiakbeg Ziliztriensis et Bellogradiensis, portuumque theloneatores, tricesimatoresque Serenissimi Turcarum Imperatoris, praeter mercatores utriusque partis, per fluvium Turli neminem in regnum nostrum transmittant; si autem penes illos, qui Polonia veniunt, mancipium aliquod inventum fuerit, illud eripientes, retromittant. Pastores ovium, cum in ditiones nostras transierint, capitaneis nostris se ipsos significantes et oves suas praesentantes, sine scita [*sic*] capitaneorum nostrorum non transeant, et mercedem pascuorum persolvant. Pastores vero, si hac ratione sese significantibus illis oves perierint, a capitaneis regni requirant. Postae equos nostrorum eundo et redeundo non accipiant janitzari tempore belli. Equos, ad regnum nostrum pertinentes non accipiant. Palatini Moldavienses, cum praedecessoribus regibus Poloniae, qua ratione amicitiam colere debeant, iuxta eundem ordinem ex parte palatinorum, nihil contra amicitiam committatur. Mercatorum utriusque partis datum et tricesimae non ampliuntur. In imperium nostrum mercatores ex imperio Turcarum imperatoris venientes, mercaturamque exercere volentes, ac itidem nostri in eius ditiones regnaque profiscentes, per loca incognita et periculosa non veniant. Ab antiquo mercatores, qua via venire sunt soliti, ea via publica veniant. Hoc pacto si bonis aut vietae alicuius damnum illatum fuerit, facinorosi inveniantur punianturque, simplicitate et integritate venientibus mercatoribus nulla vis inferatur, tricesimaeque eorum iuxta consuetudinem antiquam accipiantur. Ratione debiti alicuius, nullus mercator turbetur. Chiausy,³ spahy⁴ et janitzari⁵ equos subditorum nostrorum in itinere non accipiant. Mercatores e regno nostro subditos nostros, in Imperio Turcico captivos existentes, si emere et liberare voluerint, iudices non contradicant, et precio liberato mancipia e manibus non accipiantur. Qui autem subditorum nostrorum [*sic*] musulmani facti sunt, ex parte nostra non petantur. Aliqui cum musulmani facti non sint, et a dominis suis termino proposito completoque liberati si fuerint, in manibusque suae libertatis literas habuerint, praetextu musul-

³ From Tur. *çavuşes*.

⁴ From Tur. *sipahi*.

⁵ From Tur. *jenîçeri* ("janissaries").

manitatis resistunt, quae si suscepta non fuerit, nemo contradicat. In ditione Serenissimi Imperatoris Bursa a subditis nostris plus tributi aut thelonei non exigatur, secundum consuetudinem antiquam accipiatur. Regno nostro atque provinciis illi adiunctis si quid in posterum aut a Mosco aut aliis christianorum locis additum fuerit, ex parte Turcarum imperatoris non contradicatur, totumque id sit in nostra potestate. Quos quidem omnes articulos, omnesque conditiones huius foederis ex ea parte, quae ad nos pertinet, Sancte et inviolabiliter, usque ad extremum exitum vitae nostrae servaturos esse, in Dei Optimi Maximi, salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi nomen iuramus et spondemus; atque tum a Serenissimo Imperatore Turcarum contra iuramentum et foedus, tranquillitatemque commissum aliquid non fuerit, ex parte etiam nostra nihil paci, foederi, iuramento et tranquillitati contrarium fiet. In cuius rei fidem hasce literas, sigillo regni nostri consignari iussimus. Datum Visliciae 15-ta Ianuarii 1592. Regni vero nostri V-to.

DOCUMENT 25 (22 OCTOBER 1595)
The Ottoman-Crimean document of the Polish-Ottoman-Crimean
agreement of Cecora (Țuțora)

The original document is missing.

Serbian copy:¹ Bibl. Kórn., ms. 1874 (folder: "Turcica"), no. 11, fol. 2b–3a.

Przepis rozejmu po serbsku

My, swetli Kazi Gerej Han i Fetigeraj Soltan Galga, i Ahmet Bej sendziak tehiński i kilijski, cesarza gospodarstwasy tureckiego z jednej strony, a od drugiej strony jaśnie wielmożny Iwoan Zamoyski, kanclerz i hetman Koronej Ladianskojej, i Stanisław Żółkiewski kasztelan lwowski, i Iwoan Gólski^a kasztelan halicki, starosta barski, i Iwoan Tomasz Dro[ho]jowski^b referendarz koronnej, starosta przemyski—rada i uradnicy i poddani Najjaśniejszego Zygmunta Trzeciego króla polskiego i szwedzkiego—, oznajmujem komu to wiedety należy, jere kogda sesde se wykupili wojska Jego Cesarskoj Mosci i wojska tatarskie, i też wojska Jego Mosci Króla polskiego, site mesdo soboju potokmihom poniedemi:

Car imajucy poruczenie od gospodarstwasy cesarza tureckiego i wadaneja chorągwie na ziemię mołdawską, tedy dogadajucz bratolubiu Jego Królewskojej Miłości, Hieremy Mohile na gospodarstwo jej oddajemy, o ktorago jasnie wielmożnego pana kanclerza i hetmana koronnego ziemia wasja prosiła. Który buducy gospodarem bendet powinien dawaty gospodstwasy cesarzu tureckiemu harac do Porty Jego Cesarskojej Miłości i legde^c carstwasy powelit. Także i Hanowi Miłości imajet dawaty przyhod, jakoze prezde dawano iny gospodary. Wojska Jego Cesarskoj Miłości tureckiego i Jego Miłości Hanowy nie imajut kazity toju ziemi, ani polskoju, ale Jego Miłost Han zaraz imajet się ruszyty ise ziemi i do tretiego dnia imajet izity wen. Gospodar może imaty dwór swój rady strady swój od swojego nieprzyjателя. Temu, kotoreho Jego Miłost król polski posłet do Cesarza Jego Miłości tureckiego, imajet imati przejazd wolnoy do Turek, i czausa rady prowadzenia jeha, jakoże był obyczaj, aby przeszedł, imajet się poslaty, aby tego czerez wojska Jego Miłości Cesarza przeprowadził u pokoju do cesarza. Posłanca też Hana Jego Miłości i listy, jeze posłet do Jego Królewski Miłości, my, rady i uradnicy Jego Królewskojej Miłości, mamy daty jeha prowadzety do Jego Królewski Miłości zanieze postarodawnemu obyczajowi, do końca Han przystupity choczet do pokoju i od swojej strony choszczet obnowity i

¹ This sole preserved copy is written in broken Serbian in Polish (i.e., modified Latin) characters.

^a In the original orthography: *Gulski*.

^b In the original orthography: *Droiwowski*.

^c Perhaps it should read *li gde?*

nienaruszono dierżaty. My też—rady i uradnicy i poddani Jego Krolewski Milosti polskiego—ufowajem, jere Jego Krolewska Milost od zwykłych i godnych rzeczy, jako i przed tym prysno bywało, trudno jemu uczynity niebudet. A sto sie dotyczet o chorugwie Jego Cesarskoj Miłosty, Hieremy Mohile na gospodstwo my Han oddajemo na zemloju mołdawskoju istenstwojem, i prerekajemo, jere Jego Cesarska Milost toje i ne izmenit, ale jeszcze jeho u pokoji i mirno do żywota jeho zadzierżaty choszczet na tym gospodarstwie mołdawskojim. I jeze jesmy wysej potokmili i napisali, każdy z nas według teho ispisku ispełnity imajet, na kotoreho sto należyt na nas, obiecztajem sebe i obezuje use poprawde i pod prysęgami naszymi derżaty. Dan z pod Cocory 12 dnia Octobra roku 95.

(as the text and contents of Documents 25 and 26 are nearly identical, a translation is given only once following Document 26)

DOCUMENT 26 (22 OCTOBER 1595)
The Polish document of the agreement of Cecora

The original document is missing.

Polish copies:

A. Bibl. Czart., ms. 351, pp. 270–71.

B. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 1874 (folder: “Turcica”), no. 11, fol. 3b–4a.

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 96 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 69–70.

D. Bibl. Czart., ms. 2482, pp. 228–29.

E. AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich [AZ], sign. 146, pp. 10–11.

Published in *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, suppl. II, vol. I: 1510–1600. Edited by I. Bogdan (Bucharest, 1893), pp. 353–54.

Pacta między cesarzem tureckim a Polską Koroną anno 1595 o ziemię wołoską.

My, oświecony Kazy Cherej^a Chan, Fedet Herej^b Sultán Gałga, i Achmet Beg sendziak tehiński i kilijski, Cesarza Jego Mości tureckiego z jedną stronę, a z drugą stronę Jaśnie Wielmożny Jan Zamoyski kanclerz i hetman Korony Polskiej, Stanisław Żółkiewski kasztelan lwowski, Jan Gólski^c kasztelan halicki, starosta barski, Jan Tomasz Dro[ho]jowski^d referendarz koronny i starosta przemyski—rady, urzędnicy i poddani Najjaśniejszego Zygmunta Trzeciego króla polskiego i szwedzkiego. Oznajmujemy komu to wiedzieć należy, że gdy się tu zeszli Cesarza Jego Mości tureckiego i tatarskie wojsko, i także wojsko Króla Jego Mości polskiego, takieśmy między sobą namowy uczynili, iż my, car, mając zlecenie od Cesarza Jego Mości tureckiego i powierzona chorągiew na ziemię wołoską, tedy chcąc dogodzić Króla Jego Mości polskiego łasce braterskiej, Heremii Mogile^e na gospodarstwo ją oddajemy, o którego Jaśnie Wielmożnego pana kanclerza i hetmana Korony Polskiej ziemia tuteczna prosiła; który będąc hospodarem ma to, co powinna oddawać Cesarzowi Jego Mości tureckiemu przez ręce tego, jako Cesarz Jego Mość będzie chciał. Także Carowi Jego Mości ma oddawać co inni gospodarowie dawali carom przeszłym. Wojska Cesarza Jego Mości tureckiego i carskie nie mają kazić tej ziemi, ani polskiej, i owszem Car Jego Mość zaraz się ruszy i z tej ziemi trzeciego dnia wynijdzie. Gospodar może mieć dwór swój dla strażej swojej od swego nieprzyjaciela. Temu, którego Król Jego Mość polski poszle do Cesarza Jego Mości tureckiego, ma być

^a D. *Kazi Gierej*.

^b B. *Feted Cherej*; D. *Fedet Gerej*; E. *Fotid Cherej*.

^c In the original orthography: *Gulski*; in D. it reads erroneously *Stanisław Golski*.

^d In the original orthography: *Droiowski*. Only in D. it reads *Drohoiowski*.

^e B., D. and E. *Hieremii Mohile*.

wolny przejazd do Turek i czausz dla przeprowadzenia go zwykłym obyczajem ma być zesłany, żeby go między wojska Cesarza Jego Mości tureckiego przeprowadził. Cara Jego Mości pośląca z listy my rady, urzędnicy i poddani Króla Jego Mości mamy dać doprowadzić do Jego Królewskiej Mości, gdyż do zwykłego skończenia przystąpić Car Jego Mość chce, i one z swej strony odnowić i nienaruszenie trzymać. My też—rady, urzędnicy i poddani Króla Jego Mości polskiego—ufamy, że Jego Królewska Mość od zwykłych rzeczy i słusznych, jako przedtym zawsze bywało, trudnem nie będzie. A co się dotycze chorągwie, którą Heremii Mogile na gospodarstwo my car oddajemy, upewniamy i przyrzekamy, że Cesarz Jego Mość turecki tego nie odmieni, i owszem, jego^f w pokoju na gospodarstwie zawsze zachowa. Ze każdy z nas wedle tego spisku wypełni co któremu z nas należy, obiecuję sobie i przyrzekamy pod prawdą i przysięgami naszymi. Działo się na Cocorze die 22 Octobra roku tysiąc pięćset dziewięćdziesiąt piątego.^g

Translation:

The treaty between the Turkish emperor and the Polish Crown anno 1595, concerning Moldavia.

We, the enlightened Ghazi Giray Khan, Feth Giray Sultan Kalga, and Ahmed Bey, the sancakbey of Bender and Kilia, from the side of His Majesty the Turkish emperor—on the one hand; and on the other—His Excellency Jan Zamoyski, the chancellor and the hetman of the Polish Crown; Stanisław Żółkiewski, the castellan of Lwów; Jan Gólski, the castellan of Halicz and the starosta of Bar; Jan Tomasz Drohojowski, the Crown referendary [referendarz] and the starosta of Przemyśl—the councillors, officials, and subjects of His Excellency Sigismund III, the king of Poland and Sweden;

we announce to anybody who should be notified that when the army of His Majesty the Turkish emperor, along with the Tatar army, met here with the army of His Majesty the Polish king, we mutually agreed that we, the khan,¹ charged and entrusted from the side of His Majesty the Turkish emperor with the banner of the Moldavian land [i.e., with the right to confer the hospodarship to a fit person], having in mind the brotherly favor of His Majesty the Polish king, we have conferred the hospodarship on Jeremiy Movila in accordance with the request from this land [i.e., from the Moldavian bojars], addressed to His Excellency, the chancellor and the hetman of the Polish Crown. Having become a hospodar, he should send customary payments to His Majesty the Turkish emperor, delivered to the hands of an agent appointed by His Majesty the emperor. He should also send to the khan the same amount, which used to be sent to the former khans by other hospodars. The troops of His Majesty the Turkish emperor, as well as

^f B. and E. *że go*.

^g B. *Działo się na Cocorze dnia 21 Octobris roku 1595*; D. dated erroneously 21 Septembris; in E. the last sentence is missing though it appears in the nineteenth-century publication of this copy.

¹ Referred to as *car* ("tzar") in the Polish text.

[the troops] of the khan, should not annoy either this land, or the Polish land; moreover, His Majesty the khan should set out immediately and should leave this land within three days. The hospodar can maintain his own court [i.e., retinue] for the purpose of defence against his enemy. An envoy sent by His Majesty the Polish king to His Majesty the Turkish emperor should be granted free passage to Turkey and, according to the custom, a çavuş should be sent as an escort in order to conduct him to the troops of His Majesty the Turkish emperor. As His Majesty the khan wants to join the peace and to renew and keep inviolably its conditions, we—the councillors, officials, and subjects of His Majesty the king—should engage that his envoy with letters be [safely] conducted to His Royal Majesty. Also we—the councillors, officials, and subjects of His Majesty the Polish king—trust that His Royal Majesty will not oppose to simple and just matters, which previously always used to be accepted. As concerns the banner given by us, the khan, to Jeremy Movila for hospodarship, we confirm and promise that His Majesty the Turkish emperor will not change this, moreover, that he will keep him forever in peace on the hospodarship.

We mutually promise, verify and confirm by our oaths that everyone from among us fulfil his duty according to these letters.

Recorded at Tufora on 22 October 1595.

DOCUMENT 27 (11–20 NOVEMBER 1597)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Mehmed III to King Sigismund III
[Facs. IX]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 276, no. 511 (*KDT*, pp. 229–30).

244 × 43 cm.

the upper part of the document with the invocation is missing [cut off]

formula devotionis (gold): *sülüs* script

tugra (gold with black edge)

text (black with gold insertions, sprinkled with gold sand): *divani celisi* script

Polish translation by Krzysztof Dzierżek: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 273, no. 508; b) AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 26, fol. 15a–18a.

- [I] **Hazret-i Rabbü'l-İzzet cellet kudretühü ve ‘allet kelimetühünün ‘inayet-i bi-gayeti ve mihr-i sipehr-i nübüvvet ahter-i burc-i risalet**
- [II] **pişva-yi zümre-i enbiya mukteda-yi fırka-i asfiya iki cihan fahri Muhammed Mustafa salla'llahu ‘aleyhi ve sellemin**
- [III] **mu‘cizat-i kesiretü'l-berekatı ile ve çar yar ke-zaynu ridvanu'llah ta‘ala ‘aleyhim ecma‘in ve cemi‘-i evliya-i ‘izam**
- [IV] **ve etkiya-i kiramın ervah-i mukaddeseleri mürafakatı ile**

Mehmed bin Murad han muzaffer da‘ima

- [1] Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i zaman ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i cihan zillu'llahi'l-Meliki'l-Mennan hadimü'l-haremeyni'ş-şerifeyn sani Iskender Du'l-karneyn ber mucceb-i fehva-i sa‘adet-ihtivayi **wa amma bi-ni‘mati Rabbika fa-haddis** eşrefü'l-meda'in ü'l-emsar
- [2] akdesü'l-memalik ü'l-aktar Mekke-i müşerrefe-i mükەرreme ve Medine-i münevvere-i mu‘azzamenin ve Kuds-i şerif ve Lahsa ve Katif ve Mısır ve Yemen ve San‘a ve ‘Adenin ve Basra ve Habeş ve Sivas ve Mar‘aş ve Şam daru’s-salam ve Haleb ve Trablus-i Şam ve Nihavend ve Pelengan ve Musul
- [3] ve Diyarbekir ve Revan ve Tebriz ve Nahcivan ve Erzurum ve İranın ve memalik-i Şirvan ve Kara Bag ve Gürcistan ve ‘umumen Kürdistan ve Türkistanın ve Anadolu ve Karaman vilayetlerinin ve Bogdan ve Eflak ve Demür Kapu ve Deşt-i Kıpçak iklimlerinin
- [4] ve Ak Deniz ve Kara Deniz ve Derya-i Kulzumun ve Diyar-i ‘Arab ve ‘Acem ve ekalim-i Türk ve Dilemin ve Bagdad ve Şehrizul ve hasretü'l-müluk olan İstanbul ve darü'l-cihad ve l-harb Cezayir-i Magrib ve Trablus-i Garb

- [5] ve evtan-i Tunus ve cezire-i Kıbrısın ve 'umdetü'l-memalik ü diyar Rum-ili ve Temeşvar ve Bosna ve Budun ve Kefe ve Trabzon caniblerinin ve bunların emsali dahi niçe memalik-i ma'mure ve mesalik-i na-mahsurenin kılâ-i felek-irtifa'
- [6] ve bika'-i kesirü'l-intifa'ın padişahı ve sultanı ve şehinşahı ve hakani **Sultan Mehmed Han** ibn Sultan Murad Han ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Süleyman Han ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Bayezid Han ibn Sultan Mehmed Han ibn
- [7] Sultan Murad Hanım bundan akdem Lih kralı olanlar 'atebe-i 'aliye-mize enva'-i sadakat u ihlasıyla ihtisas ve iltica ve intisab ve intima idüb dostluk ve muhabbet 'arz ide-gelmegin haliya Lih kralı ve Litvanya^a ve Rusya^b ve Purusya^c ve Mazovya^d ve Livonya^e
- [8] ve sayir yerlerin ulu dukası ve Sviçya^f vilayetinin varisi ve kralı olacak iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fiham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihîye muslihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar
- [9] Jigmune^g hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr asitane-i sa'adet-aşıyanemize mu'teber ve güzide beglerinden olan kıdvetü ümera'i'l-milleti'l-mesihîye İstanislav Pan Gulska Bar istarotası^h zidet ita'atuhuyı ilçilik ile göndürüb izhar-i sadakat u ihlas eyleyüb
- [10] müşarun-ileyh ilçisi ile irsal eylediği namesinde ke-ma kan mabeyn sulh u salah üzere olmasın istid'a ve müceddeden 'ahdname-i hümayunum rica eylediği ecelden mezid-i merahim-i 'aliye-i şahane ve meziyet-i ekarim-i seniye-i padişahanemizden istid'a ve iltiması şeref-kabula
- [11] peyveste olub üslub-i sabık üzere müceddeden işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunu virdüm ve buyurdum ki muma-ileyh kralın memleket ve vilayetlerine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına ve bi'l-cümle taht-i tasarruflarında olan yerlerine cenab-i celalet-ma'abım
- [12] tarafından ve vüzera-i 'izam ve mirmiran-i fiham ve ümera'-i kiram ve sayir 'asakir-i mansuremden bir vechle zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye ve müşarun-ileyh kral tarafından ve beglerinden ve Kazak eşkıyasından ve tevabi'inden ve sayir ehl-i fesaddan memalik-i mahruseme ve ser-haddlarda olan
- [13] kal'elerime ve varoşlarıma ve sayir memalik-i mahmiyeme tabi' olan kasabat ve kuraya ve araziye be-vech mine'l-vücuha dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub ve zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye ve'l-hasıl dostuma dost ve düşmanıma düşman olub mabeynde iki canibin adamı ve ilçisi varub gelüb

^a لتوانيه.

^b روسيه.

^c پورسيه.

^d مازويا.

^e ليونيا.

^f سويچيه.

^g ژيغمونه.

^h استانسلاو پان کولسکه بار استاروتاسی.

- [14] kendülerine ve mallerine ve rızklarına zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve geçen senede vakı' olan fetretde bu canibden aldıkları esirleri muma-ileyh kiral dikkat ve ihtimam ile teftiş idüb buldurub emin ü salim bu canibe göndürdükden sonra zıkr olunan
- [15] fetretde Lih vilayetinden alınub islama gelmeyüb küfr üzere olan esirler dahi Lehlü idükleri sabit oldukdan sonra kralın gelen adamisine teslim oluna ve işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunum tarihinden sonra iki tarafdandır birer tarik ile esir alurlar ise baha taleb olunmayub
- [16] Lehlü idükleri sabit oldukdan sonra sahibleri azad idüb salı-vireler ve iki canibin bazarganları denizden ve karadan gelüb gidüb bey' ü şıra ideler bulundukları yerlerde 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsumi her ne ise vireler kimesnenin maline ve nefesine zarar u ziyan olmaya ve vilayet-i Lihden gelen
- [17] bazarganlardan memalik-i mahrusemde fevt olur ise müteveffanın muhallefati bu canibden alınmayub hıfz oluna ol canibden kralın mektubi ile varisi geldikde teslim oluna ve eger bizim bazarganlarımızdan memalik-i Lihde fevt olur ise kiral dahi vech-i meşruh üzere eyleye ve işbu
- [18] 'ahdname-i hümayunum tarihinden sonra kralın memleketine bu tarafa müta'allık bir kimesneden zarar u ziyan olursa anun gibi yaramazlık iden bulunub hakkın gelenüb vakı' olan zararı yerine döndüreler özür ve bahane eylemeyeler ve kral tarafından dahi öylece ola ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesnenin medyuni kiral vilayetine varsa her ne yerde
- [19] olur ise ol yerin hakimine müraf'a olub teftiş olundukda sabit olursa sahibine alı-virile ve bir kimesnenin borcu ve günahı olmadın aharın borcu ve günahı için kimesne-yiⁱ tutub rencide eylemeyeler ve iki canibin vilayetleri mabeyninde anların gibi bi-günahları üsennemeyeler ve bi'l-cümle aba-i kiram ve ecdad-i 'izamım zamanlarından bertü
- [20] mabeynde vakı olan 'ahd ü eman mukarrer olub geçmiş zararları için vekilleri bir yere gelmek müyesser olmamagn 'ahdname tarihine gelince iki canibden olan ziyandan geçüb istima' olunmaya ve min ba'd cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Tatar hanı canibine ma damki kiral tarafından kadimden virilü-gelen 'adetleri vakti ile eda olunub
- [21] kiral tarafından 'ahda muhalif bir iş sadır olmaya han tarafından ve Tatar 'askerinden kralın memleketine ve adamlarına dahl u ta'arruz olunmaya ve zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye şöyle ki ziyan irişe ferman-i şerifimle hakları alı-virile ve Bogdan voyvodasından ve Bogdan tayifesinden kiral vilayetine ve adamlarına zarar irişmeye zarar olursa
- [22] sabit oldukdan sonra emr-i hümayunum ile yerine konula ve kiral tarafından ve adamlarından dahi Tatar halkına ve Bogdan tayifesine ve adamlarına ve memleketlerine zarar olur ise anlar dahi yerine koyub ehl-i fesadın hakkından geleler ve Bogdan vilayetinden ba'z kimesneler

ⁱ Written with a "false izafet." It should read *kimesneyi* as in Document 23.

kaçub Lih vilayetine sığınub ba'dehu bir tarık ile gelüb memlekete fitne bıragub

- [23] müfsidlik iderler imiş anın gibiler taleb olunub virile ve şimdiye degin alınan esirleri kralın adamları [memalik-i mahrusemde]^j buldukları yerde [sahibleri]^k niçeye aldıklarına yemin virüb satun alalar ziyade baha taleb eylemeyeler ve ol esirlerden islama gelmiş olanlar azad ola küfr üzere olanları alub gitmege mani' olmayalar ve kral vilayetinde olanları [esir olan Müslümanlar]^l dahi
- [24] anlar salı-virüb yerine gelmege mani' olmayalar ve <esir olan Müslümanlar> dostluk içinde iken gelen ilçilere haber idüb getüren kimesnelere mani' olmayalar ve serhaddlara geldiklerinde yarar adamlar koşula öte canibden dahi böylece ola ve bazarganlara dahi 'adet ü kanun üzere gümrüklerin
- [25] virdüklerinden sonra kimesne mani' ve müzahim olmaya ve bu taraftan bir kimesnenin Lih kralına tabi' bir kimesnede hakkı olsa taleb etdikde memleket hakimleri alı-vireler ve hırsız ve haramiler zarar u ziyan etdiklerinde hakim olanlar buldurub mu'accelen hakkından geeler ve hırsızlukda aldıkları esbab
- [26] ba'de's-sübut bi-kusur eshabına alı-virile ve tüccar tayifesi bir kimesne ile bey' ü şıra eyleyeler sicillat veya hüccet olmayınca istima' olunmaya ve eger kefalet ve eger karzdır da'va ve taleb etdiklerinde sicil-lat[a] veya hüccete nazar oluna bu ikisi^m olmayınca şahid-i zur ikamet etmek ile tezvir ü telbis etmeyeler kral canibinden dahi memleket hakimlerinin
- [27] ma'lumı olmayınca istima' olunmaya ve Silistre ve Akkerman sancakları begleri ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları südde-i sa'adetim kullarından ve iki canibin tacirlerinden gayri Turlaⁿ suyundan Lih vilayetine kimesneyi koyı-virmeyeler ve öteden ve berüden gelüb giden kimesnelerin yanlarında esir bulunur ise ellerinden alub girüye göndüreler ve çoban tayifesi
- [28] Lih vilayetine geçdiklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin ve koyunların bildirüb mahfi varmayalar ve [otlak hakkını vireler]^o çoban tayifesi kendülerin bildirdikden sonra koyunları zayı' olur ise memleket hakimlerinden taleb eyleyeler ve gelüb giden bargirlerden^p ulak tutmaya ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeriler atlardan almayalar ve Bogdan voyvodası olanlar sabıkan olan

^j Cf. Document 23.

^k Cf. Document 21; missing also in the 'ahdname of 1591; see Document 23, note m.

^l Written erroneously below in line 24; the same error is repeated in the documents of 1554, 1577, and 1591; cf. Document 23, note n.

^m In Document 23: *bu ikisinden biri*.

ⁿ تۇرلى.

^o Cf. Document 23.

^p In the 'ahdname of 1553 it reads *tüccarın bargirlerin*, but in the 'ahdnames of 1577 and 1591 the word *tüccarın* was omitted; cf. Document 23, note p. Here the scribe tried to solve the grammatical inconsistency by changing *bargirlerin* into *bargirlerden*.

- [29] kırallar ile ne vechle dostluk üzere olı-gelmişler ise ol minval üzere [ola ve mabeynde]^q olan dostluk şartlarına muhalif iş sadır olmaya ve iki canibin tacirlerinin virgüleri ve gümrükleri ziyade olmaya ve kırılın eli altında Ermeni ve sayır kefere bazarganları Bogdan vilayetine ve sayır memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret etmek istediklerinde biya-bandan
- [30] ve mahfi yollardan gelmeyüb kadimden bazarganlar mürur ide-geldikleri tarik-i ‘ammdan geeler anın gibi birinin maline ve canine zarar gelür ise ehl-i fesad ele getirilüb hakklarından geline ve istikamet üzere gelüb giden bazarganlar rencide olunmayub gümrükleri kanun-i kadim üzere alına ve bir gayri kimesnenin borcu içün tüccar tayifesi tutulmaya
- [31] ve çavuşlar ve sipahiler ve yeniçeriler [Lih] re‘aya[sı]nın yol[un]da^r bargirlerin almayalar ve kırılın bazarganları memalik-i mahrusemde kendü ra‘iyetlerinden esir olanları akçeler ile satun alub halas etmek istedikde kadılar mani^r olmayalar ve bahası virilüb halas olanları girü ellerinden çıkub almayalar amma Müslüman olanlar dahi kiral tarafından taleb olunmaya
- [32] ve ba‘z Müslüman olmayub efendisi yıl veya va‘de virüb azad olub ‘ıtk-namesi var iken Müslüman oldı deyü mani^r olurlar imiş Müslüman olduğı sabit olmaz ise mani^r olmayalar ve mahruse-i Brusada Lehlüden ziyade virgü ve gümrük taleb olunmayub kanun-i kadim üzere alalar ve müşarun-ileyh kırılın tasarrufunda olan vilayetine ve şimden sonra Moskov^s ve sayır kefere
- [33] vilayetinden feth idecek yerlere bu tarafdah olunmayub cümlesi taht-i yedinde ve kabza-i hükümetinde ola ve ‘ahdname-i hümayunumda mestur olan şerayitün ri‘ayeti babında Hakk celle ve ‘alanın ‘azame-tine ve hazret-i risalet-penah ve cemi‘-i peygamberlerin ervah-i mukaddeselerine yemin iderim ki müddet-i baka ü sebat ve eyyam-i hayat-i sa‘adet-encamında ma damki muma-ileyh kırıl tarafından
- [34] hilaf-i ‘ahd ü eman vaz^r sudur etmeye cenab-i celalet-ma‘abım tarafından dahi sulh u salaha ve ‘ahd ü emana mugayir nesne sadır olmaya ve dergah-i ‘izzet-destgahımıza da‘ima ilçilerinüz geldikde ilçilerinüzün guruslarından ve kendü mata‘larından gümrük ve reft ve kassab akçesi deyü bir akçe ve bir habbe alınmaya
- [35] tahriren fi evayili şehri Rebi‘i‘l-ahir seneti sitta ve elf mine‘l-hicreti‘n-nebeviye ‘aleyh efzalü‘t-tahiye

bi-makami
Kostantiniye
‘l-mahruse

^q Cf. Document 21; missing also in the ‘ahdname of 1591; see Document 23, note q.

^r Cf. Document 21; identically corrupted in the ‘ahdname of 1591; see Document 23, note r.

^s مسکو.

Translation:

[invocation is missing]

[tugra] *Mehmed, son of Murad, the ever victorious khan*

I who,
by the infinite grace of His Majesty, the Lord of glory (exalted is His Power and elevated is His Word!), and by the miracles, full of divine blessings, of Muhammad Mustafa (may God command and salute him!), the sun of the heaven of prophecy, the star of the constellation of apostleship, the leader of the class of prophets, the guide of the group of saints, the pride of the two worlds, and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of his four companions (may the ornament of the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—be upon them all!), and of all the magnificent saints and noble pious ones,

am the sultan of the sultans of the age, the proof of the emperors of the epoch, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusravs of the world, the shadow of God, the Munificent King, the servant of the two holy sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina], the second Alexander the Great, according to the content of the felicitous verse: “but announce the favor of your Lord”¹ the padishah, the sultan, the shahinshah, and the emperor of the noblest of the towns and cities, the most holy among the dominions and districts, Mecca the honored and venerated, Medina the enlightened and respected, and Jerusalem the noble, and of Lahsa and al-Katif, Egypt and Yemen, Sana and Aden, Basra and Ethiopia, Sivas and Maraş, of Damascus, the abode of peace, of Haleb [i.e., Aleppo] and the Syrian Tripoli, Nehavend and Pelengan, Mosul, Diyarbakır and Erevan,² Tabriz and Nakhichevan, Erzurum and Iran, of the provinces of Shirvan, Karabagh, and Georgia, and of the whole Kurdistan and Turkestan, of the provinces of Anatolia and Karaman, of Moldavia and Wallachia, of Derbend and of the climes of the Kipchak steppe, of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea, the Black Sea, and the Red Sea, of Arabia and Persia, of the Turkish climes and of Dilem, of Baghdad and Shehrizul, and of Istanbul, which afflicts the kings with nostalgia, and of Algiers and Western Tripoli, [being] the area of the holy war and combat, and of the native countries of Tunis, of the island of Cyprus, and of the chief among the provinces and regions, Rumelia, and of the regions of Temesvár, Bosnia, Buda, Caffa, and Trabzon [i.e., Trapezunt], and of many other prosperous provinces and unlimited byways, fortresses reaching the heavens and buildings of multiple benefits, such as these, Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Suleyman Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Bayezid Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan.

¹ See Document 23, note 2.

² In the text: *Revān*. Perhaps it should read *Van* as in the ‘ahdnames of 1591 and 1598 (cf. Documents 23 and 28), though the inclusion of Erevan into the sultan’s intitution after the Ottoman conquests in Caucasus in the war of 1576–1590 is possible as well.

As previously the Polish kings used to display all kinds of devotion and sincerity, affection and [wish of] taking refuge, attachment and close relation toward our high threshold, demonstrating friendship and affection, [also] now the Polish king, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Livonia, and other lands, the heir and the future king of Sweden, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Sigismund (may his latter days end with good!), has sent in [his] embassy to our felicitous threshold the starosta of Bar, Pan³ Stanisław Gólski (may his obedience increase!), the model of the Christian commanders, from among his esteemed and chosen governors; and as he has demonstrated devotion and sincerity, and requested in his letter sent with the aforementioned envoy that peace and amity be established between [us] as it used to be, and as he has asked anew for my imperial 'ahdname, his petition and request from our abundant high royal mercies and from our most honored exalted imperial excellence has received the glorious acceptance; according to the previous conditions I have given anew this imperial 'ahdname and I have ordered that:

From the side of my glorious majesty and from the side of my great viziers, illustrious mirmirans, noble emirs, and victorious soldiers no damage or harm should touch the land, country, fortresses, and towns of the aforementioned king and all the places being under his possession. And from the side of the aforementioned king, his governors, Cossack brigands, dependents, and other mischief-makers no meddling or interference, damage or harm should touch my well-protected dominions, my border fortresses, my towns and other boroughs, villages, and lands belonging to my well-guarded dominions. And in short [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy;

when the agents and envoys of the two sides enter and come between [the two countries], no damage or harm should touch them, their property, and belongings.

The aforementioned king should inquire with great care and attention for the captives of this side taken prisoners during the interregnum⁴ in the previous year[s] and cause them to be found; after they are sent [back] in this direction secure and safe, also the infidel captives taken from Poland during the aforementioned interregnum, provided that they have not become Muslim, will be handed over to the royal agents after proving that they are Poles. If after the date of this my imperial 'ahdname captives are taken from either side in whichever way, no ransom shall be demanded and after proving that they are Poles their owners should set them free and let them go.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land, and sell and buy. According to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places. [But] nobody's property or life should be exposed to damage or harm.

³ In the Turkish text: *Istanislaw Pan Gulska*. The Polish title *pan*, here regarded as a part of a proper name by the Ottoman scribe, is difficult to translate. Unlike the English "sir" it applied not only to the aristocracy. On the other hand, such modern terms as "gentleman" or "mister" sound anachronistic in a sixteenth-century Ottoman document.

⁴ This article, specifically related to the Polish interregnum of 1586–1587, is mechanically copied from the document of 1591; cf. Document 23.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from Poland dies in my well-protected dominions, the effects of the deceased will not be seized by our side but kept. When an heir [of the deceased] comes from the other side provided with a royal letter, [the effects of the deceased] should be handed over. If anybody from among our merchants dies in Poland, the king should proceed likewise.

If after the date of this my imperial 'ahdname damage or harm is done to the domain of the king by anybody from among the dependents of this side, such evildoers will be found and punished, and the damage will be compensated. One should not find any excuse or pretext. On the royal side one should proceed likewise.

If the debtor of anybody from my well-protected dominions arrives at the country of the king in whatever place, the petition should be heard and investigated by a local judge; if it is proved, [the goods or effects in question] should be handed over to their owner.

One should not arrest and injure a person, who has neither debt nor guilt, for the debt or guilt of another person. And [because of a dispute] between two sides one should not molest innocent people alike.

As the treaty and peace existing between [us] since the time of my noble fathers and magnificent grandfathers has been fixed, and since the commissioners [appointed] for [discussing] the previous damages did not manage to meet in one place, the damage incurred by either side prior to the date of [this] 'ahdname expires and should not be heard.

Henceforth, as long as the customary payments ['adetler], which used to be given since olden times, are paid on time by the king to His Majesty, the abode of leadership, the Tatar khan, and as long as the king does nothing contrary to the treaty, no meddling or interference, harm or damage should be done to the dominions and subjects of the king by the khan and the Tatar army; in such a manner that when a damage is done, they should be punished according to my noble order.

No damage should be done to the country or subjects of the king by the Moldavian hospodars and Moldavians. If any damage is done, after being proved, it should be compensated for according to my imperial order. If any damage is done to the Tatars or the Moldavians, their people and country, from the side of the king or his subjects, it should be compensated for and the evildoers should be punished.

Certain individuals had fled Moldavia and taken refuge in Poland, [thereafter] they came [back] to the country and raised rebellion and intrigue. When requested, such individuals should be delivered.

When royal agents find in [various] sites of [my well-protected dominions]⁵ prisoners captured prior to the present time, they may ransom them, while [their owners] should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath and should not demand excessive prices. Those from among these prisoners who have become Muslim should be manumitted; and those who have persisted in infidelity may be taken and nobody should hinder them from leaving. Also in the royal country one should set free Muslim prisoners and one should not hinder them from going home.

Within the time period of friendship, nobody should hinder the envoys and agents who come bringing messages. Upon reaching the borders, one should give them fit men as an escort. One should proceed likewise on the other side.

⁵ Cf. Document 23.

After merchants have paid customs duties according to tradition and law, one should not hinder them or give trouble to them. If a subject of the Polish king owes something to somebody from this side, when demanded, the land judicial authorities should execute [the debt].

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm or damage, the judicial authorities should find them and immediately punish them. After it is proved, the stolen goods should be handed over to their owners without deficiency.

If merchants conclude a transaction with anybody, as long as it is not certified in kadi records [sicillat] or a certificate issued by the kadi [hüccet], [their grievances] should not be heard. When a claim and demand arises concerning surety [kefalet] or a loan, one should look at the kadi record or certificate. When neither of these two [documents] exists, no false witness should be brought and one should not falsify and cheat. Also on the royal side, the land judicial authorities should not hear [a grievance], if [the matter] is not known to them.

The beys of the sancaks of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland across the river Dniester except the servants [kullar] of my felicitous threshold and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should take them from their hands and send them back.

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep [and pay pasture taxes],⁶ and should not arrive in secret; after the herdsmen have made their presence known, if their sheep are lost, they can demand from the land authorities [that they be returned].

The baggage horses from among those who come and depart⁷ should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should the [merchants'] horses be taken by janissaries on campaign.

[The relationships] between the Moldavian hospodars and the aforementioned king should be kept in the same friendly way as they have been with the former kings. Nothing should be done against the conditions of [mutual] friendship.

One should not demand excessive taxes and customs duties from the merchants of both sides; when Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand [i.e., the royal subjects] want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted areas or use hidden roads, but they should come by the public road, which has been customarily traveled by merchants. If an injury is done to the property or soul [i.e., life] of any of such [merchants], the evil-doers should be captured and punished. Merchants, who come and go in sincerity, should not be molested and their customs duties should be collected according to the old law.

No merchant should be detained by reason of the debts of another person. Çavuşes, sipahis, and janissaries should not take baggage horses belonging to the traveling [Polish]

⁶ This fragment is missing, apparently omitted by mistake; cf. Documents 21 and 23.

⁷ This somewhat comic expression was caused by the copyist, who tried to amend the previous mistake of his colleagues who had copied the texts of 1577 and 1591. In the text of 1553 this fragment reads correctly: "the baggage horses of the merchants who come and depart," but in the later copies the word "merchants" disappeared. See also note p to the Turkish text.

subjects. The merchants of the king, who want to ransom and release prisoners from among his own subjects, kept in my well-protected dominions, should not be hindered by the kadis. As those, who have been redeemed and released, go out from their [i.e., the merchants'] hands, they [i.e., the kadis] should not take [them] again.⁸ But the king should not request for those, who have become Muslim. If an owner of those, who are not Muslims, has given them one year or [another] fixed term, [after this time elapses,] they should be manumitted; if one retains those having a letter of manumission, saying: "they have become Muslim," if their conversion to Islam is not proved, one should not hinder them [from going].

In the well-protected Bursa one should not demand excessive taxes and customs duties from the Poles, but one should collect them according to the old law.

From this side no interference will be done into the provinces being in the possession of the aforementioned king, and to the places, which he conquers in the future from Muscovy and other infidel countries. May they all remain under his hand and be held with his power.

In order to protect the clauses registered in the imperial 'ahdname, I swear by the greatness of the True God (may He be exalted!), and by the sanctified souls of the Refuge of Prophecy [i.e., Muhammad] and all the [other] prophets that for the remaining and fixed period [of my rule], and for the days of my life, resulting with felicity, as from the side of the aforementioned king nothing should occur contrary to the treaty and peace, also from the side of my glorious majesty nothing will occur contrary to the treaty, security, peace and amity.

And always, when your envoys come to our glorious court, not a smallest silver coin [akçe] or grain will be taken from their money [guruş] and from their own goods under the title of customs duties, departure money [reft akçesi], or the tax on animals [kassab akçesi].⁹

Written in the first decade of the month of Rebi II of the year 1006 since the emigration [Hegira] of the Prophet (may the most superior salutation be upon him!) in the place of Constantinople, the well-protected.

⁸ Cf. Document 23, note 10.

⁹ This last clause was apparently added on the request of the Polish envoy.

DOCUMENT 28 (4 AUGUST 1598)
The *'ahdname* sent by Mehmed III to King Sigismund III
[Facs. X]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 280, no. 518 (*KDT*, pp. 232–33).

318 × 56 cm.

the upper part of the document with the invocation is missing [cut off]

formula devotionis (gold): *sülüs* script

tugra (gold with black, blue, pink, and green)

text (black with *zerefsan*, sprinkled with gold sand): *divani celisi* script

Turkish copies:

A. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien fonds turc, no. 130, fol. 132b–128b.

Polish translation by Krzysztof Dzierżek: a) AGAD, AKW, k. 71, t. 280, no. 519 (signed by Dzierżek); b) AGAD, AKW, k. 71, t. 280, no. 520 (copied by Crutta); c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 197–208 [213–24]; d) Bibl. Czart., ms. 97, pp. 653–67.

Polish translation by Otwinowski: a) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 203b–206b; b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 280, no. 521 (copied by Crutta); c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 285–95 [301–311]; d) Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 42a–45b; e) L'vivs'ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 5 (Oss.), opys 1, no. II–436, fol. 53a–55b.

- [I] **Hazret-i Rabbü'l-'Izzet cellet kudretühü ve 'allet kelimetühünün 'inayet-i bi-gayeti ve mihr-i sipehr-i nübüvvet ahter-i burc-i risalet**
- [II] **pişva-yi zümre-i enbiya ve mukteda-yi fırka-i asfiya iki cihan fahri Muhammed Mustafa salla'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sel-lemün mu'cizat-i kesiretü'l-berekatı ile**
- [III] **ve çar yar ke-zaynu ridvanu'llah ta'ala 'aleyhim ecma'in ve cemi'-i evliya-i 'izam ve etkiya-i kiramın ervah-i mukadde-seleri mürafakatı ile**

Mehmed bin Murad-şah han muzaffer da'ima^a

- [I] Ben ki sultan-i şelatin-i zaman ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i cihan zillu'llahi'l-Meliki'l-Mennan hadimü'l-haremeyni'ş-şerifeyn sani Iskender Du'l-karneyn eşrefü'l-meda'in ü'l-emsar

^a This *tugra* is different from that on the *'ahdname* of 1597. Here, between the words *Murad* and *han* one can see clearly written *şin* and *alef*, as in the word *şah*.

- [2] akdestü'l-memalik ü'l-aktar Mekke-i mükerrerme-i müşerreffe ve Medine-i mu'azzamenin ve Kuds-i şerif ve Lahsa ve Katif ve Mısır ve Yemen ve San'a ve 'Adenin ve Basra ve Habeş ve Sivas ve Mar'aş ve Şam darü's-salam
- [3] ve Haleb ve Trablus-i Şamın ve Nihavend ve Pelengan ve Musul ve Diyarbekir ve Van ve Tebriz ve Nahcivan ve Erzurum ve İranın ve memalik-i Şirvan ve Kara Bag ve Gürcistan ve 'umumen Kürdistanın ve Anadolu
- [4] ve Karaman vilayetlerinin ve Bogdan ve Eflak ve Demür Kapu ve Deşt-i Kıpçak iklimlerinin ve Ak Deniz ve Kara Deniz ve Derya-i Kulzumun ve Diyar-i 'Arab ve 'Acem ve ekalim-i Türk ve Dilemin ve Bagdad ve Şehrizul
- [5] ve hasretü'l-müluk olan mahmiye-i İstanbulun ve darü'l-cihad ve'l-harb Cezayir-i Magrib ve Trablus-i Garb ve evtan-i Tunus ve cezire-i Kıbrısın ve 'umdetü'l-memalik ü diyar Rum-ili ve Temeşvar ve Bosna ve Budun
- [6] ve Kefe ve Trabzon caniblerinin ve bunların emsali dahi niçe memalik-i ma'mure ve mesalik-i na-mahsurenin ve kıla'-i felek-irtifa' ve bika'-i kesirü'l-intifa'ın padişahı ve sultanı ve şehinşahı ve hakanı
- [7] Sultan Mehemed Han ibn Sultan Murad Han ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Süleyman Han ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Bayezid Han ibn Sultan Mehemed Han ibn Sultan Murad Hanım bundan akdem Lih kralı olanlar
- [8] 'atebe-i 'aliyemize enva'-i sadakat u ihlas ile ihtisas ve iltica ve intisab ve intima idüb da'ima dostluk ve muhabbet 'arz ide-gelmegin haliya Lih kralı ve Li[t]vanya^b ve Rusya^c ve Purusya^d
- [9] ve Mazovya^e ve Livonya^f ve sayir yerlerin ulu dukası ve Şiviçya^g vilayetinin varisi ve kralı olacak iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fıham fı'l-milleti'l-mesihkiye muslihu masalihan
- [10] cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-ifihâr Jigmund^h hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr asitane-i sa'adet-aşyanemize mu'teber ve güzide beglerinden kıdvetü'l-ümera'i'l-milleti'l-mesihkiye
- [11] Pan Ştisni Herbudⁱ nam ilçinüz göndürüb izhar-i sadakat u ihlas eyleyüb müşarun-ileyh ilçisiyle irsal eylediği namesinde ke-ma kan mabeyn sulh u salah üzere olmasın istid'a ve müceddeden

^b لیوانیه.

^c روسیه.

^d پورسیه.

^e مازویا.

^f لیونیا.

^g شیویچیہ.

^h جیگموند.

ⁱ پان شتیسنی خاربود. Abrahamowicz erroneously reads: *Yan Ştisni Herbud* (خاربود (یان شتیسنى); cf. *KDT*, p. 232. The envoy's full name was indeed Jan Szcześny Herburt (John Felix Herburt), but in this document only the second name is used, preceded

- [12] 'ahdname-i hümayunum rica eylediği ecelden mezid-i merakim-i 'aliye-i şahane ve meziyet-i ekarım-i seniye-i padişahanemizden istid'a ve iltiması şeref-kabula peyveste olub üslub-i sabık üzere müceddeden işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunı virdüm ve buyurdum ki
- [13] muma-ileyh kralın memleket ve vilayetlerine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına ve bi'l-cümle taht-i tasarruflarında olan yerlerine cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından ve vüzera-i 'izam ve mirmiran-i fiham ve ümera'-i kiram
- [14] ve sayir 'asakir-i mansuremden bir vechle zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye ve müşarun-ileyh kral tarafından ve beglerinden ve Kazak eşkıyasından ve tevabi'inden ve sayir ehl-i fesaddan
- [15] memalik-i mahruseme ve serhaddlarda olan kal'elerime ve varoşlarıma ve sayir memalik-i mahmiyeme tabi' olan kasabat ve kuraya ve araziye be-vech mine'l-vücuha dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub ve zarar u ziyan
- [16] irişdirilmeye ve'l-hasıl dostuma dost ve düşmanıma düşman olub mabeynde iki canibin adamı ve ilçisi varub gelüb kendülerine ve mallerine ve rızklarına zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve bundan akdemi
- [17] vakı' olan fetretde bu canibden aldıkları esirleri muma-ileyh kral dikkat ve ihtimam ile teftiş idüb buldurub emin ü salim bu canibe göndürdükden sonra zikr olunan fetretde Lih vilayetinden alınub
- [18] islama gelmeyüb küfr üzere olan esirler dahi Lehlü idüğü sabit olduktan sonra kralın gelen adamisine teslim oluna ve işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunum tarihinden sonra iki tarafdan birer tarikle esir olurlar ise
- [19] baha taleb olunmayub Lehlü idüğü sabit olduktan sonra sahibleri azad idüb salı-vireler iki canibin bazarganları denizden ve karadan gelüb gideler ve bey' ü şıra ideler bulundukları yerlerde 'adet [ü] kanun üzere
- [20] rüsumi her ne ise vireler kimesnenin maline ve nefesine zarar u ziyan olmaya ve vilayet-i Lihden gelen bazarganlardan memalik-i mahrusemde mürd olur ise müteveffanın muhallelafatı bu canibden alınmayub
- [21] karban başlarına teslim oluna ki vilayetlerine alub gidüb varislerine teslim vire ve eger bizim bazarganlarımızdan memalik-i Lihde fevt olur ise kral dahi vech-i meşruh üzere eyleye ve işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunum
- [22] tarihinden sonra kralın memleketine bu tarafa müta'allık bir kimesneden zarar u ziyan olursa anun gibi yaramazlık iden bulunub hakkından gelenüb vakı' olan zararı yerine döndüreler özür ve bahane etmeyeler
- [23] ve kral canibinden dahi öylece ola ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesnenin medyuni kral vilayetine varsa her ne yerde ise ol yerin hakimine mürâf'a olunub teftiş olundukda sabit olur ise

by the Polish title *pan*. Three dots under the first letter *pe* are very clear. Also in a contemporary Polish transcription of another Ottoman letter from the same year, the Polish envoy is referred to as: *Pan Szczęsny Herbut*; see Tadeusz Majda, "A Letter by Sultan Mehmet III to King Sigismund III in Polish Transcription," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 38 (1976) = *Księga dla uczczenia pamięci Jana Reychmana*: 199–215, esp. p. 200.

- [24] sahibine alı-virile ve bir kimesnenin borcu ve günahı olmadın ahârın borcu ve günahı için kimesneyi zarar-i mala kefil olmayınca tutub rencide etmeyeler ve iki canibin vilayetleri mabeyninde anların gibi bi-günahları
- [25] üşendirmeyeler ve bi'l-cümle aba-i kiram ve ecdad-i 'izamımız zamanlarından berü mabeynde vakı olan 'ahd ü eman mukarrer olub geçmiş zararları için vekilleri bir yere gelmek müyesser olmamagın 'ahdname tarihine gelince
- [26] iki canibde olan ziyandan geçülüb istima' olunmaya ve min ba'd cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Tatar hanı canibine ma damki kral tarafından kadimden virilü-gelen 'adetleri vakti ile eda olunub' kral tarafından 'ahda muhalif
- [27] bir iş sadır olmaya han tarafından ve Tatar 'askerinden kralın memleketine ve adamlarına dahl u ta'arruz olunmaya ve zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye şöyleki zarar irişe ferman-i şerifimle hakları alı-virile ve anun gibi
- [28] Tatar hanı bir canibe sefer-i hümayun emr olunub han dahi 'asakir-i Tatar ile kalkub tevcih etmelü oldukda Lih vilayetine ugramayub ahâr münasib olan yerden geçüb gideler Lih vilayetini rencide etmeyeler
- [29] ve kral müşarun-ileyhin üzerine ahardan düşman-i müstevli olub müşarun-ileyh tarafından han muma-ileyhe mektub ve adam göndürüb mu'avenet ve imdad etdükde muma-ileyh dahi 'asakir-i Tatar ile münasib gördüğü üzere
- [30] düşman üzerine varub iktiza etdüğüne göre mu'avenet ve muzaheret eyleyüb dostlugun izhar eyleye ve Bogdan voyvodasından ve Bogdan tayifesinden kral vilayetine ve adamlarına zarar irişmeye zarar olursa
- [31] sabit oldukdan sonra emr-i hümayunumla yerine konula ve kral tarafından ve adamlarından dahi Tatar halkına ve Bogdan tayifesine ve adamlarına ve memleketlerine zarar olursa anlar dahi yerine koyub ehl-i fesadın hakklarından geeler
- [32] ve Bogdan vilayetinden ba'z kimesneler kaçub Lih vilayetine sığınub ba'dehu bir tarikle gelüb memleketine fitne bıragub müfsidlik iderlermiş anun gibiler taleb olunub virile alınub hakklarından geline ve şimdiye degin
- [33] alınan esirleri kralın adamları memalik-i mahrusemde buldukları yerde [sahibleri]^k niçeye aldugına yemin virüb satun alalar ziyade baha taleb etmeyeler ol esirlerden islama gelmiş olanlar azad olalar
- [34] ve küfr üzere olanları alub gitmege mani' olmayalar ve kral vilayetinde olanları [esir olan Müslümanlar]^l dahi anlar salı-virüb yerine gelmege

^j Written with a peculiar orthography, with one *elif* only, "doubled" with a *madde* (اداولنوب).

^k Cf. Document 21; missing also in the 'ahdnames of 1591 and 1597; see Document 27, note k.

^l Written erroneously below in the same line; the same error is repeated in the documents of 1554, 1577, 1591, and 1597; cf. Document 27, note l.

- mani^m olmayalar ve <esir olan Müslümanlar> dostluk içinde iken gelen ilçilere haber eyleyüb getüren kimesnelere
- [35] mani^m olmayalar ve serhaddlara geldüklerinde yarar adamlar<a> koşula öte canibden dahi böylece ola ve Bogdan voyvodası Ermiya^m voyvoda ma dam ki yüce asitaneme sadakat ve istikamet eyleyüb vakti ve zamanı ile
- [36] virilü-gelen haracın sal be-sal asitane-i sa'adetime irsal ve 'atebe-i 'aliyemden göndürülen evamir-i 'aliyeme imtisal eyleye ma dam ki hayatda ola Bogdan vilayetine voyvoda olub voyvodahı ahara viril-meye
- [37] mürd oldukda ogluna virile ve bazarganları dahi 'adet ü kanun üzere gümrüklerin virdüklerinden sonra kimesne mani^m ve müzahim olmaya ve bu taraftan bir kimesnenin Lih kuralına tabi^m bir kimesnede hakkı olsa talep etdükde
- [38] memleket hakimleri alı-vireler ve hırsuz ve haramiler zarar u ziyan etdüklerinde hakim olanlar buldurub mu'accelen hakkından geeler ve hırsuzlukda aldıkları esbab ba'de's-sübut bi-kusur sahiblerine alı-virile
- [39] ve tüccar tayifesi bir kimesne ile bey^m ü şıra eyleyeler sicillat veya hüccet olmayınca istima^m olunmaya ve eger kefalet ve eger karz dır da'va ve talep etdüklerinde sicillata veya hüccete nazar oluna bu ikisinden biri olmayınca
- [40] şahid-i zur ikamet itmekle tezvır ü telbis etmeyeler kiral canibinden dahi memleket hakimlerinin ma'lumı olmayınca istima^m olunmaya ve Silistre ve Akkerman sancakları begleri ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları
- [41] südde-i sa'adetim kullarından ve iki canibin tacirlerinden gayri Turlaⁿ suyundan Lih vilayetine kimesneyi koyu-virmeyeler ve eger öteden ve beriden gelüb giden kimesnelerin yanlarında esir bulunur ise ellerinden
- [42] alub girü göndüreler ve çoban tayifesi Lih vilayetine geçdüklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin ve koyunların bildirüb mahfi var-mayalar ve otlak hakkı vireler ve çoban tayifesi kendülerin bildirdik-den sonra
- [43] koyunları zayı^m olursa memleket hakiminden talep eyleyeler ve gelüb giden [tüccarın] bargirlerin^o ulak tutmaya ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeriler atların almayalar ve Bogdan voyvodası olanlar sabıkan olan kiral-lar ile ne vechle dostluk üzere
- [44] olı-gelmişler ise ol minval üzere [ola ve mabeynde]^p olan dostluk şart-larına muhalif iş sadır olmaya ve iki canib tacirlerinin virgüleri ve gümrükleri ziyade olmayub ne vechle ve ne mikdar vire-gelmişler ise girü olmikdar vireler

^m ارمیه.

ⁿ تورلی.

^o It should read *tüccarın bargirlerin* as in the *'ahdname* of 1553; cf. Document 27, note p, and note 7 to its translation.

^p Cf. Document 21; missing also in the *'ahdnames* of 1591 and 1597; see Document 27, note q.

- [45] ziyade virmeyeler ve kralın eli altında Ermeni ve sayir kefere bazarganları Bogdan vilayetine ve sayir memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret itmek istediklerinde biyabandan ve mahfi yollardan gelmeyüb kadimden bazarganlar mürur ide-geldikleri
- [46] tarik-i 'ammdan geleler anun gibi birinin maline ve canine zarar gelürse ehl-i fesad ele getirilüb hakklarından geline ve istikamet üzere gelüb giden bazarganlar rencide olunmayub gümrükleri kanun-i kadim üzere alına ve getürdükleri
- [47] ve alub gittükleri mata'larının 'adet ü kanun üzere gümrüklerin virdükden sonra Istanbulda ve Brusa ve Edirne de refi akçesi ve kassab akçesi deyü akçe taleb olunmaya ve getürdükleri guruslarından dahi
- [48] gümrük taleb olunmaya deyü hatt-i hümayunumla ferman-i 'ali-şanın sadır olmuştur mucebi ile 'amal oluna ve bir gayri kimesnenin borcu için zarar-i mala kefil olunmayınca tüccar tayifesi tutulmaya ve çavuşlar ve sipahiler
- [49] ve yeniçeriler [Lih] re'aya[sı]nın yol[un]da^a bargirlerin almayalar ve kralın bazarganları memalik-i mahrusemde kendü ra'iyetlerinden esir olanları akçeler ile satun alub halas itmek istediklerinde kadılar mani' olmayalar
- [50] ve bahası virilüb halas olanları girü ellerinden çıkub almayalar amma Müslüman olanlar dahi kral tarafından tekrar taleb olunmaya ve ba'z Müslüman olmayub efendisi yıl veya va'de virüb
- [51] azad olub 'ıtk-namesi var iken^r Müslüman oldu deyü mani' olurlarımış Müslüman olduğu sabit olmaz ise mani' olmayalar ve müşarun-ileyh kralın tasarrufunda olan vilayetine ve şimden sonra
- [52] Moskovdan^s ve sayir kefere vilayetinden feth idecek yerlere bu taraftan dahl olunmayub cümlesi taht-i yedinde ve kabza-i hükümetinde ola ve Erdel sınırında vakı^t olub Peç^t kralına tabi^t olan
- [53] Kaşova^u ve Hust^v ve Mukaç^w nam üç pare kal'eleri kendüler zabt itmek iltimas etmiş ol vilayet kuvvet-i kahire-i padişahanemle feth olmazdan mukaddem Lih kralı tarafından
- [54] alınub zabt olunursa bu canibden dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub kendüler tasarruflarında ola ve 'ahdname-i hümayunumda mestur olan şerayitin ri'ayeti babında Hakk celle ve 'alanın 'azametini ve hazret-i risalet-penahın
- [55] ve cemi'-i peygamberlerin ervah-i mukaddeselerine yemin iderim ki müddet-i baka ü sebat ve eyyam-i hayat-i sa'adet-encamında ma damki muma-ileyh kral tarafından hilaf-i 'ahd ü eman vaz^w sudur etmeye

^a Cf. Document 21; identically corrupted in the 'ahdnames of 1591 and 1597; see Document 27, note r.

^r Written without *alef*.

^s مسقودن.

^t بیچ.

^u قاشوہ.

^v خوشت; in A. *Hust* (حوشت).

^w موچاج.

[56] cenab-i sa'adet-nisabım tarafından dahi sulh u salaha ve 'ahd ü emana mugayir nesne sadır olmaya tahriren fi gurreti şehri Muharremi'l-haram seneti seb'a ve elf mine'l-hicreti'n-nebeviye 'aleyh efzalü't-tahiye

bi-makami
Kostantiniye
'l-mahmiye

Translation:

[invocation is missing]

[tugra] *Mehmed, son of Murad-shah, the ever victorious khan*

I who,

by the infinite grace of His Majesty, the Lord of glory (exalted is His Power and elevated is His Word!), and by the miracles, full of divine blessings, of Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), the sun of the heaven of prophecy, the star of the constellation of apostleship, the leader of the class of prophets, the guide of the group of saints, the pride of the two worlds, and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of his four companions (may the ornament of the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—be upon them all!), and of all the magnificent saints and noble pious ones,

am the sultan of the sultans of the age, the proof of the emperors of the epoch, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusraws of the world, the shadow of God, the Munificent King, the servant of the two holy sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina], the second Alexander the Great, the padishah, the sultan, the shahinshah, and the emperor of the noblest of the towns and cities, the most holy among the dominions and districts, Mecca the venerated and honored, Medina the respected, and Jerusalem the noble, and of Lahsa and al-Katif, Egypt and Yemen, Sana and Aden, Basra and Ethiopia, Sivas and Maraş, of Damascus, the abode of peace, of Haleb [i.e., Aleppo] and the Syrian Tripoli, Nehavend and Pelengan, Mosul, Diyarbakır and Van, Tabriz and Nakhichevan, Erzurum and Iran, of the provinces of Shirvan, Karabagh, and Georgia, and of the whole of Kurdistan, of the provinces of Anatolia and Karaman, of Moldavia and Wallachia, of Derbend and of the climes of the Kipchak steppe, of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea, the Black Sea, and the Red Sea, of Arabia and Persia, of the Turkish climes and of Dilem, of Baghdad and Shehrizul, and of the well-protected Istanbul, which afflicts the kings with nostalgia, and of Algiers and Western Tripoli, [being] the area of the holy war and combat, and of the native countries of Tunis, of the island of Cyprus, and of the chief among the provinces and regions, Rumelia, and of the regions of Temesvár, Bosnia, Buda, Caffa, and Trabzon [i.e., Trapezunt], and of many other prosperous provinces and unlimited byways, fortresses reaching the heavens and buildings of multiple benefits, such as these, Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Suleyman Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Bayezid Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan.

As previously the Polish kings used to display all kinds of devotion and sincerity, affection and [wish of] taking refuge, attachment and close relation toward our high

threshold, continually demonstrating friendship and affection, [also] now the Polish king, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Livonia, and other lands, the heir and the future king of Sweden, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Sigismund (may his latter days end with good!), has sent to our felicitous threshold <your>¹ envoy named Pan Szcześny Herbert,² the model of the Christian commanders, from among his esteemed and chosen governors; and as he has demonstrated devotion and sincerity, and requested in his letter sent with the aforementioned envoy that peace and amity be established between [us] as it used to be, and as he has asked anew for my imperial 'ahdname, his petition and request from our abundant high royal mercies and from our most honored exalted imperial excellence has received the glorious acceptance; according to the previous conditions I have given anew this imperial 'ahdname and I have ordered that:

From the side of my glorious majesty and from the side of my great viziers, illustrious mirmirans, noble emirs, and victorious soldiers no damage or harm should touch the land, country, fortresses, and towns of the aforementioned king and all the places being under his possession. And from the side of the aforementioned king, his governors, Cossack brigands, dependents, and other mischief-makers no meddling or interference, damage or harm should touch my well-protected dominions, my border fortresses, my towns and other boroughs, villages, and lands belonging to my well-guarded dominions. And in short [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy;

when the agents and envoys of the two sides enter and come between [the two countries], no damage or harm should touch them, their property, and belongings.

The aforementioned king should inquire with great care and attention for the captives of this side taken prisoners during the previous interregnum and cause them to be found; after they are sent [back] in this direction secure and safe, also the infidel captives taken from Poland during the aforementioned interregnum, provided that they have not become Muslim, will be handed over to the royal agents after proving that they are Poles. If after the date of this my imperial 'ahdname captives are taken from either side in whichever way, no ransom shall be demanded and after proving that they are Poles their owners should set them free and let them go.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land, and sell and buy. According to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places. [But] nobody's property or life should be exposed to damage or harm.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from Poland dies in my well-protected dominions, the effects of the deceased will not be seized by our side but handed over to the

¹ In the text: *ilçinüz*, as if the king were addressed in the second person. This construction is based on a typical Ottoman correspondence formula: *sen ki . . . ilçinüz göndürüb* ("you, who are . . . have sent your envoy"); however, in a typical 'ahdname the foreign ruler is not addressed in the second person, but rather indicated in the third person. Theunissen calls it "indirect *inscriptio*;" see Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian diplomacy," p. 272.

² For the Polish title *pan* see Document 27, note 3. Szcześny is the old Polish form for Felix.

heads of the caravan, so that they may take them to their country and hand them over to his heirs. If anybody from among our merchants dies in Poland, the king should proceed likewise.

If after the date of this my imperial 'ahdname damage or harm is done to the domain of the king by anybody from among the dependents of this side, such evildoers will be found and punished, and the damage will be compensated. One should not find any excuse or pretext. On the royal side one should proceed likewise.

If the debtor of anybody from my well-protected dominions arrives at the country of the king in whatever place, the petition should be heard and investigated by a local judge, if it is proved, [the goods or effects in question] should be handed over to their owner.

One should not arrest and injure a person, who has neither debt nor guilt, for the debt or guilt of another person, unless [this person] has stood as surety for a loss of goods. And [because of a dispute] between two sides one should not molest innocent people alike.

As the treaty and peace existing between [us] since the time of our noble fathers and magnificent grandfathers has been fixed, and since the commissioners [appointed] for [discussing] the previous damages did not manage to meet in one place, the damage incurred by either side prior to the date of [this] 'ahdname expires and should not be heard.

Henceforth, as long as the customary payments ['adetler], which used to be given since olden times, are paid on time by the king to His Majesty, the abode of leadership, the Tatar khan, and as long as the king does nothing contrary to the treaty, no meddling or interference, harm or damage should be done to the dominions or subjects of the king by the khan and the Tatar army; in such a manner that when a damage is done, they should be punished according to my noble order.

Likewise, if an imperial campaign is ordered in any direction, while the Tatar khan with the Tatar army must set out and head [in this direction], they should not enter Poland but they should pass through another suitable territory, and they should not annoy Poland. If an enemy invades the aforementioned king, and the aforementioned [king] sends a letter and envoy to the aforementioned khan, while bringing help and rescue, the aforementioned [khan] with the Tatar army should—if he deems it reasonable—attack the enemy and provide the required help and support, showing thusly his friendship.

No damage should be done to the country or subjects of the king by the Moldavian hospodars and Moldavians. If any damage is done, after being proved, it should be compensated for according to my imperial order. And if any damage is done to the Tatars or the Moldavians, their people and country, from the side of the king or his subjects, they should compensate it as well, and the evildoers should be punished.

Certain individuals had fled Moldavia and taken refuge in Poland, [thereafter] they came [back] to their country and raised rebellion and intrigue. When requested, such individuals should be delivered so that after being captured they may get their punishment.

When royal agents find in [various] sites of my well-protected dominions prisoners captured prior to the present time, they may ransom them, while [their owners] should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath and should not demand excessive prices. Those from among these prisoners who have become Muslim should be manumitted; and those who have persisted in infidelity may be taken and nobody should hinder them from leaving. Also in the royal country one should set free Muslim prisoners and one should not hinder them from going home.

Within the time period of friendship, nobody should hinder the envoys and agents who

come bringing messages. Upon reaching the borders, one should give them fit men as an escort. One should proceed likewise on the other side.

The Moldavian hospodar, Hospodar Jeremy,³ will remain the hospodar of Moldavia for his lifetime, provided that he displays loyalty and honesty toward my high threshold, sends his harac on time to my felicitous threshold, year by year, as it used to be given, and that he follows my high orders sent from my high threshold; his hospodarship will not be given to anybody else, and when he dies it will be given to his son.

After merchants have paid their customs duties according to tradition and law, nobody should hinder them or give trouble to them. If a subject of the Polish king owes something to anybody from this side, when demanded, the land judicial authorities should execute [the debt].

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm or damage, the judicial authorities should find them and immediately punish them. After it is proved, the stolen goods should be handed over to their owners without deficiency.

If merchants conclude a transaction with anybody, as long as it is not certified in kadi records [sicillat] or a certificate issued by the kadi [hüccet], [their grievances] should not be heard. When a claim and demand arises concerning surety [kefalet] or a loan, one should look at the kadi record or certificate. When neither of these two [documents] exists, no false witness should be brought and one should not falsify and cheat. Also on the royal side, the land judicial authorities should not hear [a grievance], if [the matter] is not known to them.

The boys of the sancaks of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland across the river Dniester except the servants [kullar] of my felicitous threshold and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should take them from their hands and send them back.

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret; after the herdsmen have made their presence known, if their sheep are lost, they can demand from the land authorities [that they be returned].

The baggage horses [of the merchants] who come and depart⁴ should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janissaries on campaign.

[The relationships] between the Moldavian hospodars and the aforementioned king should be kept in the same friendly way as they have been with the former kings. Nothing should be done against the conditions of [mutual] friendship.

One should not demand excessive taxes and customs duties from the merchants of both sides; they should pay in the same manner and size as they used to pay, and they should not pay more. When Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand [i.e., the royal subjects] want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted areas or use hidden roads, but they should come by the public road, which has been customarily traveled by merchants. If an injury is done to the property or soul [i.e., life] of any of such [mer-

³ Jeremy (Jeremia) Movila.

⁴ Cf. Document 27, note 7. Here again the original form is used (*bargirlerin* and not *bargirlerden*), but the word *tüccarn* ("of merchants") is still missing.

chants], the evildoers should be captured and punished. Merchants, who come and go in sincerity, should not be molested and their customs duties should be collected according to the old law.

[Also] an illustrious firman provided with my imperial writing [i.e., *tugra*] was issued, ordering that after they pay customs duties from goods, which they bring and take away, according to tradition and law, one should not demand [that they pay] taxes called departure money [*reft akçesi*] or the tax on animals [*kassab akçesi*] in Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne. And also one should not impose customs duties on the cash [*guruşlar*] which they bring. One should proceed accordingly.

No merchant should be detained by reason of the debts of another person unless he has stood as surety for a loss of goods. Çavuşes, sipahis, and janissaries should not take baggage horses belonging to the traveling [Polish] subjects. The merchants of the king, who want to ransom and release prisoners from among his own subjects, kept in my well-protected dominions, should not be hindered by the kadis. As those, who have been redeemed and released, go out from their [i.e., the merchants'] hands, they [i.e., the kadis] should not take [them] again.⁵ But the king should not repeatedly request for those, who have become Muslim. If an owner of those, who are not Muslims, has given them one year or [another] fixed term, [after this time elapses,] they should be manumitted; if one retains those having a letter of manumission, saying: "they have become Muslim," if their conversion to Islam is not proved, one should not hinder them [from going].

From this side no interference will be done into the provinces being in the possession of the aforementioned king, and to the places, which he conquers in the future from Muscovy and other infidel countries. May they all remain under his hand and be held with his power. [The king] has also requested that he would like to seize three castles situated within the borders of Transylvania and belonging to the king of Vienna⁶—Kassau, Huszt, and Munkács.⁷ As this country has not been conquered yet by my royal overwhelming force, if [these fortresses] are taken and conquered earlier by the Polish king, from this side there will be no meddling or interference, and [the fortresses] may remain under their [i.e., Polish] possession.

In order to protect the clauses registered in the imperial *'ahdname*, I swear by the greatness of the True God (may He be exalted!), and by the sanctified souls of the Refuge of Prophecy [i.e., Muhammad] and all the [other] prophets that for the remaining and fixed period [of my rule], and for the days of my life, resulting with felicity, as from the side of the aforementioned king nothing should occur contrary to the treaty and peace, also from the side of my felicitous majesty nothing will occur contrary to the treaty, security, peace and amity.

Written on the first of the sacred month of Muharrem of the year 1007 since the emigration [*Hegira*] of the Prophet (may the most superior salutation be upon him!) in the place of Constantinople, the well-protected.

⁵ Cf. Document 23, note 10.

⁶ I.e., to the Habsburg emperor.

⁷ Today Košice in Slovakia, and Xust and Mukačeve in Ukrainian Transcarpathia.

DOCUMENT 29 (3 APRIL 1606)
The royal confirmation of the treaty of 1598¹

The original document is missing.

Latin copy: Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 263–75 [279–91].

Kopia pakt między Zygmuntem III a Sultanem Achmetem cesarzem tureckim:²

Sigismundus III., Dei gratia Rex Poloniae, Magnus Dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Masoviae, Samogitiae, Livoniaeque etc., nec non Suedorum, Gottorum, Vandalorumque haereditarius rex. Significamus praesentibus literis nostris, quorum interest, universis et singulis, cum ad Serenissimum et Potentissimum Dominum Sultan Achmet Han, Imperatorem Maximum Constantinopolitanum, atque Asiae, Europae, Arabum, Persarum, Cyprique ac Aegypti etc. dominum, per magnificum N. N.³ eius foederis, quod maioribus nostris serenissimis regibus Poloniae regnoque huic cum serenissimis et potentissimis Turcarum imperatoribus continuo diuturni temporis [*sic*], ac multarum aetatum decursu intercessit, renovandi et tanto magis firmandi causa misissemus, idemque Serenissimus et Potentissimus Imperator, Dominus Sultan Achmet Han foedus nobiscum sanciendum putasset, nos infrascriptis conditionibus foedus cum eius Serenitate sancientes mandamus in universum, omnibus regni nostri ac omnibus illi adnexarum provinciarum, palatinis, castellanis, exercituum et militum praefectis, arcium et locorum capitaneis, ac in universum cuiuscunque status et conditionis subditis nostris, ne quisquam Serenissimi et Potentissimi Turcarum Imperatoris imperio, ac in finibus existentibus arcibus et civitatibus, ac aliis ad imperium Serenitatis illius pertinentibus oppidis, pagis, omnibusque ad Serenitatem Suam spectantibus, nocere aut damnum terra marique inferre audeat, neque manus in ea extendere praesumat. Ex parte etiam Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris, in imperio nostro provinciis, ditionibus, arcibus, civitatibus, curiis, villis et universis locis nobis subiacentibus, vezirii, beglerbegi, sandzakebegi, capitanei et mancipia ne subditi eius Serenitatis universi nullo pacto nocere et damnum

¹ The document, preserved in a single copy in the Czartoryski Library, is undated. It was given to the Polish envoy Adam Stadnicki by Sigismund III to be delivered to the new sultan Ahmed I (1603–1617). The royal instruction to Stadnicki is dated 3 April 1606 (see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 288, no. 533). The article concerning three Hungarian fortresses, Kassau, Huszt, and Munkács (today Košice in Slovakia, and Xust and Mukačeve in Ukrainian Transcarpathia) corresponds to the respective clause of the *‘ahdname* of Mehmed III of 1598 (see Document 28). This clause was omitted in the new *‘ahdname* brought by Daniłowicz in 1607, after the Ottoman-Habsburg pacification of Zsitvatorok (see Document 30).

² “A copy of the treaty between Sigismund III and the Turkish emperor, Sultan Ahmed.”

³ A blank space was left after N. N. for the name of the envoy.

aliquod terra marique inferre audeant. In summa hostium nostrorum hostis, et amicorum amicus existat. Utriusque partis homines legatique euntes et redeuntes tuti sint, et personis, rebus, bonisque eorum nullum damnum inferatur et impedimentum fiat. Si quae superiore tumultu mancipia et subditi eius Serenitatis a nostris capti sint accurate a nobis conquiuntur, inventique, salvi et incolumes ad suas partes mittuntur. Itidem vero e regno nostro ablati et abducti in religione christianae existentes permanentesque hominibus nostris, postquam probatum fuerit subditos nostros esse, illuc venientibus restituantur ac eos conquiendi nostris legatis, nuncii, aulicis et subditis, et reperto libere redeundi potestus sit [*sic*]. Post diem autem renovati huius foederis ex utraque parte qualibet ratione captos precio non petito, postquam cuius nostrum e ditionibus abducti fuerint, probatum sit, domini eorum liberos facientes, dimittant. Utriusque partis mercatores terrae marique venientes et euntes, emant vendantque, et ubicunque mercaturam exercebunt, iuxta normam et consuetudinem datum persolvant, et nullius bonis aut personis damnum inferatur aut impedimentum fiat. Quod si ex imperio Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris advenientium mercatorum aliquis in regno nostro mortuus fuerit, bona mortui non confiscantur, sed reponantur, et haeredibus cum letteris Serenissimi Imperatoris advenientibus restituantur. Itidem si quis mercatorum et subditorum nostrorum in Imperio Turcico mortuus fuerit, bona eius a Serenissimo Imperatore, et eius praefectis, ac iudicibus, et ministris, non debent confiscari, sed reponi, et haeredibus cum litteris nostris advenientibus restitui. Post tempus renovationis huius foederis, imperio et regnis Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris si ab aliquo ad nostram partem pertinente damnum illatum fuerit, eius modi facinorosis inventis punitisque, damnum illatum resarciatur, nullusque praetextus aut calumnia admittatur. Ex parte etiam imperatoris ita fiat. Si ex subditis Serenissimi Imperatoris debitorem aliquem suum aliquis in regno nostro habuerit, praefecto illius loci praesentetur examineturque, et postquam probatum fuerit, debitum recipitur. Si vero apparuerit eum nihil debere, absolvatur, nec ullus propter debitum aut delictum alicuius ad solutionem compellatur aut puniatur, molestetur, nec ulli innoxii in regnis nostris turben-
tur. Quod attinet ad damna utrinque data temporibus maiorum nostrorum superioribusque, cum commissarii utriusque nostrum, ad iniurias utrinque illatas, componendas et sarcindas, non convenerint, ea ad diem renovati huius foederis utrinque remitti et condonari debent, neque utrinque ea amplius repetere debebimus aut poterimus. Tartarorum caesar sive chanus erga nos officio suo fungi debet et contra hostes nostros operam nobis navare. Nos etiam consuetum donatum illi dabimus; ac Tartarorum chanus praesens et futuri eorumque fratres, filii, ac murzae,⁴ begii et alii quivis Tartarorum incursiones in ditiones nostras non debent facere, aut per illas unquam ire aut redire, et prope fines nostros. Similiter copiae Turcica ingredi in Regnum Poloniae debent, nec damna dare, aut prope illius fines

⁴ From Tur.-Tat. *murza*, a Crimean nobleman.

interfacere. Cum provincia Bogdania⁵ per hos annos superiores turbata sit et vastata, ob culpam falsorum principum, qui Porta Serenissimorum Imperatorum obtrudebantur; idque fiebat cum utriusque nostrum populorum, que nostrorum incommodo, deinceps ibi principes constituentur, quos nos nostrique successore Serenissimo Imperatori eiusque Serenitatis successoribus commendabimus, quivis autem princeps tenebitur tributi Serenissimo Imperatori solvere tantum, quantum pendebatur sub Solimano imperatore Turcarum, amicitiamque inter nos successoresque nostros ac serenissimos imperatores favere, transitum tutum ac securum legatis utrinque et mercatoribus praestare. Nec vero etiam iniuriae illis inferri, aut ipsi eas inferre, et si quae illatae fuerint, sarciri debent. Falsi etiam principes, genus comminiscentes, et eam provinciam turbare volentes, quandocunque reperti fuerint puniantur. Qui huc usque capti e regno ac ditionibus nostris subditi nostri fuerint atque sint ubicunque in Regno Turcico inventi fuerint, restituto, quo empti fuerint praecio, nec aucto, quod iuramento liquidari debet, recipiantur, neque legatos et nuntios aliosque subditos nostros, quandocunque ibi fuerint adire retentur; qui musulmani facti sint, sinantur; in christiana religione permanentes auferre nemo vetet. Ex regno etiam nostro dimissa mancipia nemo in loca sua venire prohibeat. Legatis et nuntiis utriusque nostrum euntibus et redeuntibus liberam inter pateat, neque ullo in loco retineantur, iis etiam, qui eos convenire voluerint, liber aditus esto. Cum vero fines ditionum attinerint, statim bono et fideli adiuncto viro ad locum, quo pergunt, deduci curentur. Hoc modo ex utraque parte agatur. Cum solutis theloneis consuetis mercatoribus utriusque partis, nemo vim inferre aut eos detinere possit. Si quis subditorum nostrorum causam aut litem aliquam cum subdito imperatoris Turcarum habuerit, iudices et praefecti civitatis cuiusque et loci iustitiam citra dilationem et procrastinationem administrare teneantur. Similiter de furibus, latronibus et homicidis, iustitia sine mora administrari debet sique puniri, et quae per illos erepta fuerint, conquisita integre reddi iis, quorum fuerint, aut eorum haeredibus. Subditi utrinque nostri qui mercaturas inter se exercebunt et contrahent, inscriptiones alter alteri facere, vel chyrografa dare debebunt, et si quis eius Serenitatis subditorum inscriptione aut chyrographo non exhibito, a subdito nostro quidpiam repetet, sive ratione debiti, sive fideiussionis non est audiendus, nec ulla alias probationes quam inscriptiones et chyrographa intueri iudices debent. Similiter etiam nostri iudices et praefecti civitatum et locorum facere debent, et nisi re bene cognita ac intellecta, aliquid cuiquam advdicare.^a Sendziak begi⁶ Silistriensis, Białogrodensis⁷ et caeteri, portuumque custodes et theloneatores Serenissimi et Potentissimi Turcarum Imperatoris, praeter mercatores utriusque partis neminem in regnum nostrum transmittant. Si autem penes illos, qui in Poloniam aut ex Polonia

⁵ From Tur. Bogdan, Moldavia.

^a *Sic*; it should read *adiudicare*.

⁶ From Tur. *sancakbegi*.

⁷ From Białogród, the Polish name of Akkerman.

eunt, mancipium aliquod inventum fuerit, auferri et remitti debet. Pastores cum gregibus et ovibus transmittentes, et greges ducentes in pascua ditio-
nis nostrae, finitimis capitaneis et praefectis denunciare id debent nec insciis
illis, aut non solutio precis pascere. Si vero persoluto precio, oves perierint,
praefecti et capitanei de damno requirantur. Nemini equi pro angariis, seu
podwodis,⁸ vel ulak⁹ subditorum nostrorum in Turcia existentium accipi
debent, nec etiam a janizeris¹⁰ in bellum tendentibus. Palatini Moldaviae
seu Bogdaniae, quae antea Poloniae regibus iuxta morem maiorem et foe-
dus tenentur praestent, nec contrarium quicquam committant, nec telonea
maiora mercatoribus utriusque partis imponant. Mercatores autem ex Turcia
in regnum ditionesque nostras venire mercaturasque exercere volentes, ac
itidem nostri mercatores in Turcicum Imperium ditionesque venire volentes
et mercaturam cum subditis eius Serenitatis exercere, viisque publicis ac
consuetis venire debent, non per loca deserta et vias insuetas. Ita si ten-
dentibus viis a latronibus allata, vel bona ablata fuerint, malefici quaeri et
puniri et mercatores innoxii liberum ubique transitum habere debent, nec
theloneis maioribus praeter consuetudinem gravari aut pro aliorum debitis
ex culpa vexari. Nec poterunt illorum a czausiis,¹¹ spagiis¹² et janiczeris equi
ullo modo accepi. Licebitque illis in imperio Turcico captivos redimere et
liberare, qua in re illos iudices impedire non debent, nec contradicere, aut
redemptos captivos eripere. Si tamen, qui musulmanismum iam professi
fuerint, peti non debent. Qui etiam eo nondum suscepto, a dominis, quibus
servierint, tempore servitutis expleto, liberi facti fuerint literasque liberatio-
nis habuerint, si quis iis impedimentum fecerit, literasque liberationis eripue-
rit et musulmanismum obiecerit, nec musulmanismum suscepisse liquido
probaverit, nemo quo minus reducantur in patriam contradicere debet; sicut
in aliis omnibus ditionibus Serenissimi Imperatoris, ita in Bursa, a subditis
nostris plus tributi aut thelonei non exigatur, sed tantum secundum antiquam
consuetudinem accipiatur. Si quid in posterum aut a Moscho, aut aliis chris-
tianorum regno nostro atque provinciis illi adiunctis additum fuerit, ex parte
Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris non contradicatur, totumque sit in
nostra ditione et potestate, nec in ea in quae nobis ius competere potest
eius Serenitas se intromittet. Atque cum firmam et sinceram amicitiam
habere mutuo inter nos verique velimus, Serenissimus Imperator eiusque
posterius non amplius versus fines nostros in Hungaria bellum proferre debent,
oppidaque versus fines nostros vergentia, pro nobis relinquent, ac nomina-
tim arces, civitates et oppida Cassoviam, Muncatium, Hustum, Scepusienses-
que,¹³ quarum dimidiam partem etiam nunc tenemus, caeterasque omnes

⁸ From Pol. *podwoda*, "cart service," or "transport service."

⁹ From Tur. *ulak*, "courier service." In seventeenth-century Polish this word was in use, pronounced after the Crimean dialect as *ulak*.

¹⁰ I.e., janissaries.

¹¹ From Tur. *çavuş*, or rather from its Polish loanword, *czauusz*.

¹² From Tur. *sipahi*.

¹³ On Kassau, Huszt, and Munkács see note 1. Scepusium is the Latin name of

versus fines nostros. Transilvania provincia christiano homini, qui nobis successoribusque nostris probabitur regenda et gubernanda a Serenissimo Imperatore eiusque successoribus, bona vicinitatis causa, committi debet. De campis ad ostium fluminis Boristhensis,¹⁴ cum sint controversia, eas per legatos utrinque bonos viros salvis conductibus nostrum utriusque munitos comitatuque illorum circumscripto, quamprimum definiemus. Interim vero superius in campis ex quibus iuxta pacta gloriosissimae memoriae Solimani Imperatoris exactio ab ovibus regibus Poloniae dari debuit, subditi nostri nec a Turcis, nec a Tartaris, quo minus illis libere utantur conque [*sic*] colant et inhabitent, impediri debent, ac ex utraque parte maxime procurari debet, ut inde homines vagi latrones Kozacy¹⁵ arceantur et excludantur, oraque illa pacata propter mercaturas et commercia inter nostros ac Serenissimi Imperatoris subditos exercenda reddatur. Quos quidem omnes articulos omnesque conditiones huius foederis hisce litteris comprachensas, ex ea parte, quae ad nos pertinet, nos sancte et inviolabiliter toto vitae nostrae tempore servaturos esse in Dei Optimi Maximi Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi nomen iuramus, spondemus, et pollicemur, atque dum a Serenissimo Imperatore nihil contra iuramentum et foedus tranquillitatemque commissum fuerit, ex parte etiam nostra nihil paci foederi, iuramento et tranquillitati contrarium fiet. In cuius rei perpetuum testimonium literas hasce.

the Carpathian region of Zips (Pol. Spisz, Slov. Spiš), situated on the historical border between Poland and Upper Hungary (today Slovakia). A portion of Zips was held by the Polish kings between 1412 and 1769. The Polish claim to the remaining part of Zips, held by the Habsburgs, was repeated in the royal instruction to Stadnicki: "*Hust, Muhacz, Koszycze i druga potowa ziemi spiskiej, czo wszystko własnie do Korony należy*," see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71, t. 288, no. 533, p. 5.

¹⁴ Boristhenes, the Latin name of the Dnieper.

¹⁵ From Pol. *Kozacy*, i.e., Cossacks.

DOCUMENT 30 (15 JULY 1607)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Ahmed I to King Sigismund III

The original document is missing.

Turkish copies:

- A. BA, *Düvel-i Ecnebiye* [Ecnebi Defterleri], 55/1, pp. 4–7.
- B. An unidentified copy published in Feridun Bey, *Münşe’atü’s-Selatin*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1274/1857–1858), pp. 504–507.
- C. TSMK, R. 1942, fol. 34b–37a.

Merhum Sultan Ahmed Han hazretleri dergahından Leh kralına virilen *‘ahdnamedir*^a

Hazret-i Huda-yi müta’al celle şanehü ‘ani’ş-şebihi ve’l-misal[ün] [teyamün-i te’yidat-i ezeliye ve meyamün-i tevfiqat-i lem-yezeliyesiyle]^b [ve]^c hazret-i sultan-i ^d[taht-gah-i risalet olan mesned-nişin-i bar-gah lev la ke]^e müfahhar-i evlad-i beni Adem maksud-i aferiniş-i halk-i ‘alem hatem-i cümle-i rüsul ü enbiya pişva-yi zümre-i asfiya mahremün harimün^f li ma’a’llah Muhammed resulü’llah salla’llahu ‘aleyhi ve sellem^g mu’cizat-i kesiretü’l-berekatı muvafakatı^h ve çahar yar ke-zaynu ridvanu’llah ta’ala ‘aleyhim ecma’in ve cemi’-i evliya-i ‘izam hidayet-karınⁱ ve etkiya-i kiram sa’adet-rehinin ervah-i mukaddeseleri mürafakatı^j ile

mahall-i tugra^k

Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i şark u garb ve^l sahib-kıran-i memalik-i Rum u^m ‘Acem ü ‘Arab tac-bahş-i husrevan-i cihan zillu’llahi’l-Meliki’l-Mennan hadimü’l-haremeyni’ş-şerifeyn sani Iskender Du’l-karneyn eşrefü’l-büldanⁿ

^a B. *Sultan Ahmed Han hazretleri dergahından Leh kralına virilen ‘ahdnamenin suretidir 1016*; C. *Lih kralına yazılan ‘ahdname-i hümayunun suretidir*.

^b The most complete formula appears in C. In A. and B. *meyamin-i te’yidat-i ezeliye ve tevfiqat-i lem-yezeliyesiyle*.

^c In C. only.

^{d-e} In C. only; A. *taht-neşin olan*, B. *taht-neşin lev la ke olan*.

^f Written correctly only in C. (حریم). In A. and B. written without *ya* (حرم).

^g B. *sellem efendimizin*.

^h B. and C. *mürafakatı*.

ⁱ B. *diyanet-karın*.

^j B. and C. *muvafakatı*.

^k B. *mahall-i tugra-i garra*; C. *mahall-i nişan-i hümayun*; the *tugra* of Ahmed I should read: “*Ahmed-şah bin Mehmed han muzaffer da’ima*.”

^l Missing in B. and C.

^m Missing in C.

ⁿ C. *eşrefü’l-meda’in*.

u'l-emsar akdesü'l-memalik ü'l-aktar Mekke-i mükerreme[-i şerife]^o ve Medine-i münevvere[-i mu'azzame]^pnin ve Kuds-i şerif [vacibü't-teşrif]^q ve Ak Denizin ve Kara Denizin ve taht-i Masr nadiretü'l-'asrın^r ve vilayet-i Yemen ve 'Aden ve San'anın ve daru's-salam Bagdad ve Basra ve Lahsanın ve diyar-i <Cezayir ve>^s Azerbaycanın ve Deşt-i Kıpçak ve diyar-i Tatarın ve Diyarbekir ve Kürdistan^t ve Sivas ve Gürcistanın^u ve Mar'aş ve Habeş ve Şam daru's-salamın ve Haleb ve Trablus-i Şamın ve Van ve Erzurum ve Çıldır ve Şirvanın ve Anadolu ve Karaman vilayetlerinin ve Eflak ve Bogdan ve Erdel memleketinin ve ekalim-i Türk ve Dilemin ve hasretü'l-müluk olan daru's-saltanatı'l-'aliye mahmiye-i İstanbul ve darü'l-cihad ve'l-harb Cezayir-i Magrib ve Trablus-i Garb ve Tunusun^v ve cezire-i Kıbrıs ve Rodosun ve külliye Rum-ili ve Temeşvar ve Bosna ve Egri ve Budin^w ve Kanije ve Sigetvar ve Kefe ve Trabzon caniblerinin ve bunların emsali niçe memalik-i ma'mure ve mesalik-i gayr-i mahsurenin ve kıla'-i felek-i irtifa'ın padişahı ve sultanı ve hakan-i 'azimü's-şani Sultan Ahmed Han ibn Sultan Mehmed^x Han ibn Sultan Murad Han ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Süleyman Han[ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Bayezid Han ibn Sultan Mehmed Han ibn Sultan Murad Han]^yım.

Kadimü'l-eyyamdan berü Leh kralı olanlar 'atebe-i 'aliye-i selatin-penah ve südde-i seniye-i felek-destgahımıza 'arz-i sadakat [u ittihad]^z u ihlas ve hemişe iltica [ve istinad]^{aa} ve izhar-i ihtisas idüb dostluk ve muhabbet idelgelmegin^{ab} haliya Leh^{ac} [kralı] ve Hivanya^{ad} ve Rusya^{ae} ve Pusna^{af} ve Varak^{ag} ve Setva^{ah} ve sa'irlerin ulu dukası ve Silunca^{ai} vilayetinin [varisi ve kralı

^o In C. only.

^p In C. only.

^q In C. only; A. and B. *Kuds-i şerifin*.

^r B. *nadire-i 'asrın*. Though standard pronunciation is *Mısr*, I would tentatively read the whole phrase *Masr nadiretü'l-'asr*, like *Şam daru's-salam*. The changing of a vowel in order to fit the rhyme is common in Oriental poetry.

^s In C. only.

^t B. *Kürdistanın*.

^u C. *ve Gürcistanın ve Sivas*.

^v C. *Tunus*.

^w B. and C. *Budun ve Egri*.

^x B. *Mehmed*.

^y In C. only.

^z In B. and C. only.

^{aa} In B. and C. only.

^{ab} C. *yalvara-gelmegin*.

^{ac} In B. *Lih*. The royal *inscriptio* is corrupt in all the copies, with *Mazovia* and *Livonya* completely unrecognizable. For a correct reading see the previous documents.

^{ad} حیوانیه.

^{ae} روسیه.

^{af} پسته; B. *Pusta* (پسته).

^{ag} وراق; B. and C. (وارق).

^{ah} ستوه; B. *Senwa*, C. *Senular* (سنولار).

^{ai} سیلونجه; in B. and C. rendered more precisely as *Sivenca* (سیونجه).

olan]^{aj} iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fıham fı'l-milleti'l-mesihîye muslihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Jigmun^{ak} hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr melaz-i ekasire-i devran ve melce'-i kayasire-i zaman olan asitane-i sa'adet-aşyanemize mu'teber ve güzide beglerinden kıdvetü^{al} ümera'i'l-milleti'l-mesihîye [falan]^{am} nam ilçisin göndürüb izhar-i sadakat u ihlas ve 'arz-i muhabbet ü ihtisas eyleyüb müşarun-ileyh elçi^{an} ile irsal eylediği namesinde yüce dergahımızla ke-ma kan [mabeynde barışıklık ve dostluk olmasın]^{ao} rica ve istid'a idüb mukaddema firdevs-mekan 'illiyin-aşyan merhum ve magfurun-leh babam hüdavendigar ta'be serahü zamanında kendülere virilen 'ahdname-i hümayunda 'ahd ü şart olundugı^{ap} üzere

kendünün memleketine^{aq} ve vilayetlerine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına ve cümle taht-i tasarrufunda olan yerlerine bir vechle cenab-i hilafet-ma'abım^{ar} tarafından ve cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Kırım hanı^{as} tarafından ve vüzera-i 'izam ve mirmiran-i fıham ve ümera'-i kiram ve sa'ir 'asakir-i mansuremenden bir vechle zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye^{at} au-ve müşarun-ileyh kiral tarafından^{av} ve beglerinden ve Kazak eşkıyasından ve tevabi'inden ve gayriden benim il ve memleketime ve kal'elerime^{aw} ve varoşlarıma ve bi'l-cümle kasabat ve kura ve taht-i tasarrufumda [olan]^{ax} yerlerime vechen mine'l-vücuha^{ay} zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeyüb dostuma dost ve düşmanıma düşman olub mabeynde iki canibin adamı ve elçisi^{az} varub gelüb kendülerine ve mallerine ve rızklarına zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve bundan akdem vakı' olan fetrede bu canibden aldıkları esirleri müşarun-ileyh^{ba} kiral dikkat ve ihtimam üzere^{bb} teftiş idüb buldurub^{bc} emin ü salim bu canibe göndürdikden sonra zıkr olunan^{bd} fetretde Leh^{be} vilayetinden alınub islama gelmeyüb küfri^{bf} üzere olan esirler^{bg} dahi

^{aj} Thusly in C.; B. *kıralı olan*, A. only *kıralı*.

^{ak} ژيگمون; in C. rendered more correctly as *Jigmund* (ژيگموند).

^{al} In C. *kıdvetü'l-ümera* etc.

^{am} In B. only. In A. and C. a blank space was left for the envoy's name.

^{an} B. and C. *ilçi*.

^{ao} Thusly in C.; A. and B. *barışıklık babında dostluk olmasını*. Perhaps *babında* in both copies origins from a corrupt word *mabeynde*?

^{ap} B. *olundığı*.

^{aq} C. *memleketlerine*.

^{ar} B. and C. *cenab-i celalet-ma'abım*.

^{as} In B. *cenab* is missing; C. *cenab-i imaret Kırım hanı*.

^{at} C. *irışdirilmeye*.

^{au-av} In C. erroneously repeated.

^{aw} C. *memleketiime ve kal'eleriime*.

^{ax} In B. and C. only.

^{ay} C. *yerleriime be-vech mine'l-vücuha*.

^{az} B. and C. *ilçisi*.

^{ba} C. *muma-ileyh*.

^{bb} C. *ile*.

^{bc} B. *buldurub*.

^{bd} C. *olan*.

^{be} C. *Lih*.

^{bf} B. and C. *küfr*.

^{bg} B. *esirleri*.

anların [Lehlü] idügi sabit olduktan sonra kırıaldan^{bh} gelen adamisine teslim oluna işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunum tarihinden sonra iki taraftan bir tarikle esir alınursa^{bi} bahaları taleb olunmayub Lehlü idügi sabit olduktan sonra sahibleri salı-vireler iki canibin bazarganları denizden ve karadan gelüb gideler ve bey' ü şıra idenler bulundukları yerlerde 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsumı her ne ise vireler kimesnenin maline ve nefesine zarar u ziyan olmaya ve vilayet-i Lehden gelen bazarganlardan^{bj} memalik-i mahrusemde mürd olursa mürd-i mezburun^{bk} muhallefati bu canibden alınmayub karban başlarına^{bl} teslim oluna^{bm} ki vilayetlerine alub gidüb varislerine vire ve eger bizim bazarganlarımızdan Leh^{bn} vilayetinde kimesne^{bo} fevt olursa kiral dahi vech-i meşruh üzere eyleye ve bu 'ahdname-i hümayunum tarihinden sonra kiral memleketine bu tarafa müta'allık bir kimesneden zarar u ziyan olursa anın gibi yaramazlık iden bulunub hakkından gelenüb vakı' olan zararı yerine döndüreler özür ve bahane etmeyeler ve kiral canibinden dahi öyle ola^{bp} ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesnenin medyuni kiral vilayetine varsa her ne yerde<n>^{bq} ise ol yerin hakimine^{br} nezdinde müräf'a olunub^{bs} teftiş olunduktansonra sabit olursa sahibine hakkı^{bt} alı-virile ve bir kimesnenin [borcu ve günahı olmadın aharın borcu ve günahı için ve kimesneyi]^{bu} zarar-i mala kefil olmayınca tutub rencide etmeyeler ve iki canibin vilayetleri mabeyninde onların gibi^{bv} bi-günahları üşendirmeyeler ve bi'l-cümle aba-i kiram ve ecdad-i 'izamun zamanlarından berü mabeynde [vakı']^{bw} olan 'ahd ü eman mukarrer olub geçmiş zararları^{bx} için vekilleri bir yere gelmek mümkün^{by} olmamagın 'ahdname[-i hümayunum]^{bz} tarihine gelince iki canibde olan ziyandan geçüb istima' olunmaya ve cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Kırım hanına^{ca} ma damki kiral [müşarun-ileyh]^{cb} tarafından kadimden vire-gelen 'adetleri vaktıyla^{cc} eda olunub kiral tarafından 'ahda mugayir^{cd} bir

bh C. *kırılının*.

bi C. *alurlarsa*.

bj C. *vilayet-i Lehden gelen bazarganlarından*.

bk C. *muteveffanın*.

bl B. and C. *başlarına*.

bm C. *ola*.

bn C. *Lih*.

bo Missing in C.

bp Missing in C.

bq In B. and C. written correctly: *yerde*.

br B. *hakimi nezdinde*.

bs C. *olub*.

bt Missing in C.

bu Thusly in C.; A. and B. *borcu ve günahı için ahar kimesne*.

bv C. *mabeynde onların gibi*; in B. erroneously: *babında anlar gibi*.

bw In B. and C. only.

bx B. and C. *zararlar*.

by B. and C. *miyesser*.

bz Thusly in C.; in B. *'ahdname-i hümayun*.

ca B. *Kırım Tatar hanına*; C. *Tatar hanına*.

cb In B. only; C. *muma-ileyh*.

cc C. *kadimi virilü-gelen 'adetler vaktıları*.

cd C. *muhalif*.

iş sadır olmaya han tarafından ve Tatar ‘askerinden kılalın memleketine ve adamlarına dahl u ta’arruz olunmaya ve zarar u ziyan iriştirilmeye şöyleki zarar iriştirile^{ce} ferman-i şerifimle hakları alı-virile ve [müşarun-ileyh]^{cf} Kırım hanına bir canibe sefer-i hümayun emr olunub [han dahi]^{cg} ‘asker-i Tatar ile [kalkub] ol hizmete tevcih itmeli^{ch} oldukda Leh^{ci} vilayetine ugramayub münasib olan ahar yerden geçüb gideler Leh vilayetini rencide olunmaya^{cj} ve kılal müşarun-ileyhin üzerine ahar yerden düşman-i müstevli olub muma-ileyh tarafından han müşarun-ileyhe mektub ve adam varub mu’avenet ve imdad taleb itdikle canib-i şerifimizden ferman-i hümayunumuz oldukda han müşarun-ileyh^{ck} dahi ‘asker-i Tatar ile münasib gördüğü^{cl} üzere düşman üzerine iktiza idüğüne^{cm} göre mu’avenet ve muzaheret eyleyüb dostluk yerine getirile^{cn} [ve]^{co} Bogdan voyvodasından ve [Bogdan]^{cp} ta’ifesinden kılal muma-ileyhin^{cq} vilayetine ve adamisine^{cr} zarar itdirilmeye^{cs} eger^{ct} zarar iriştirilürse^{cu} sabit oldukdansonra emr-i şerifimle yerine konıla ve^{cv} kılal tarafından ve adamlarından dahi Tatar halkına ve Bogdan memlekelerine^{cw} ve adamlarına zarar olursa anlar dahi yerine koyub ehl-i fesadın haklarından geline^{cx} ve Bogdan vilayetlerinin bazarganları ‘adet ü kanun üzere gümrüklerin virdikdensonra kimesne mani’ ve müzahim olmaya ve Bogdan vilayetinden ba’z kimesneler kaçub Leh^{cý} vilayetine sığınub ba’dehu bir tarikle memleketine fitne bıragub müfsidlik ideler anın gibiler taleb olunub haklarından geline ve şimdiye değin alınan esirleri kılalın adamları memalik-i mahrusemde buldukları yerde [sahibleri]^{cz} niçe alduguna yemin virüb satun alınlar ziyade baha taleb itmeyeler^{da} ve^{db} ol esirlerden islama

^{ce} C. *iriştirile*.

^{cf} In B. only; A. *Kırım hanına*; C. *anın gibi Tatar hanına*.

^{cg} In C. only.

^{ch} C. ‘asker-i Tatar ile kalkub sefere tevcih etmeli.

^{ci} C. *Lih*.

^{cj} B. *itmeyeler*; C. *etmeyeler*.

^{ck} C. *muma-ileyh*.

^{cl} B. *gördüğü*.

^{cm} C. *etdüğüne*.

^{cn} B. and C. *dostluğu yerine getirüb*.

^{co} In C. only.

^{cp} In C. only.

^{cq} B. *müşarun-ileyhin*; C. *muma-ileyh*.

^{cr} C. *adamlarına*.

^{cs} B. and C. *iriştirilmeye*.

^{ct} Missing in C.

^{cu} C. *iriştirilürse*.

^{cv} Missing in C.

^{cw} C. *tayşesine*.

^{cx} B. and C. *geleler*.

^{cý} C. *Lih*.

^{cz} Cf. Document 21; missing also in the *ahdnames* of 1591, 1597, and 1598; see Document 28, note k.

^{da} B. and C. *eylemeyeler*.

^{db} Missing in B. and C.

gelmiş bulunanlar^{dc} taleb olunmayub halas olalar ve küfri üzerine^{dd} kalanları^{de} gitmege mani' olmayalar ve kiral vilayetinde olanları [esir olan Müslümanlar] anlar dahi^{df} salı-virüb yerlerine gitmege mani' olmayalar [<esir olan Müslümanlar> ve dostluk içinde iken gelen ilçilere haber eyleyüb getüren kimesnelere mani' olmayalar]^{dg} ve serhaddlara geldiklerinde yarar adamlar koşıla öte taraftan dahi böylece ola ve bu tarafda[n]^{dh} bir kimesnenin Leh kiralına tabi' olan^{di} kimesnelerde hakkı olsa taleb itdikde^{dj} memleket hakimleri alı-vireler ve hırsız^{dk} ve haramiler zarar u ziyan itdiklerinde hakimler bulub^{dl} mu'accelen hakkından geleler ve hırsız elinden alınan esbabı^{dm} ba'de's-sübut bi-kusur sahibine vireler ve tüccar ta'ifesinin bir kimesne ile bey' ü şırası^{dn} niza'ı olsa^{do} dp-sicil olundukda hüccet olmayınca^{dq} istima' olunmaya eger kefalet ve eger karzdır da'va ve taleb itdiklerinde^{dr} sicil^{ds} ve hüccete nazar oluna bu ikisinden biri olmayınca şahid-i zur ile^{dt} telbis ü tezvir itmeyeler^{du} kiral canibinden dahi memleketi hakimlerinin ma'lumları olmayınca istima' olunmaya ve Silistre ve Akkerman sancakları begleri ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları südde-i sa'adetim kullarından^{dv} ve iki canibin tacirlerinden gayri kimesneyi Leh^{dw} vilayetine koyı-virmeyeler^{dx} [ve]^{dy} eger öteden [ve]^{dz} eger berüden gelüb kimesnelerin yanlarında esir bulunursa tarafeynden ellerinden alınub^{ea} girü döndüreler^{eb} ve eger öteden ve eger^{ec} berüden gelüb giden çoban^{ed} ta'ifesi Leh^{ee} vilayetine geçdiklerinde

^{dc} C. *islama gelenler*.

^{dd} B. and C. *küfri üzere*.

^{de} C. *olanları*.

^{df} C. *dahi anlar*.

^{dg} This whole line, including the fragment: *esir olan Müslümanlar* written, as usual, in the wrong place, is evidently omitted; cf. Document 28, note 1.

^{dh} Only in C. written correctly; A. and B. *tarafta*.

^{di} C. *Lih kiralına tabi'*.

^{dj} C. *etdikde*.

^{dk} C. *hırsuz*.

^{dl} B. *hakimler buldurub*; C. *hakim olanlar buldurub*.

^{dm} C. *ve hırsuz kefare aldıkları esbabı*.

^{dn} C. *bey' ü iştirâ'da*.

^{do} Missing in B.

^{dp-dq} B. *sicil oluna ve sicil ve hüccet olmayınca*; C. *sicil ve hüccet olmayınca*.

^{dr} C. *etdiklerinde*.

^{ds} C. *sicille*.

^{dt} C. *ikamet etmekle*.

^{du} C. *etmeyeler*.

^{dv} B. *kullarımdan*.

^{dw} C. *Lih*.

^{dx} B. and C. *koyı-virmeyeler*.

^{dy} In B. only.

^{dz} In B. and C. only.

^{ea} B. and C. *alub*.

^{eb} C. *göndüreler*.

^{ec} Missing in B. and C.

^{ed} C. *çaban*.

^{ee} C. *Lih*.

memleket hakimlerine kendülerin ve koyunların bildirüb^{ef} mahfı varmayalar ve otlak hakkı vireler ve çoban ta'ifesi kendülerin bildirdikten sonra koyunları zayı^g olursa memleket hakimlerinden taleb eyle<me>yeler^{eg} ve gelüb gidenlerin [tüccarın]^{eh} bargirlerin ulak tutmaya^{ei} ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeriler atların^{ej} almayalar [ve Bogdan] voyvoda[sı]^{ek} olanlar sabıkan olan kırıllar ile ne vechle dostluk üzere olı-gelmişlerse^{el} ana göre^{em} ol minval üzere dostluk eyleyeler şartlarına muhalif iş sadır olmaya ve iki canib tacirlerinin virgülerin ve gümrüklerin ziyade almayub^{en} ne vechle ve ne mikdar vire-gelmişler ise [girü]^{eo} ana göre vireler [ve kırıllın eli altında Ermeni ve sa'ir kefare bazarganları]^{ep} Bogdan vilayetine ve sa'ir memalik-i mahrusemize gelüb ticaret itmek istediklerinde^{eq} biyabandan ve mahuf yerlerden ve yollardan^{er} gelmeyüb kadimden^{es} bazarganlar ve ayende ve revende geldüğü yollardan geleler anın gibi birinin maline ve canine zarar gelürse ehl-i fesad olanlar^{et} ele getirilüb hakklarından geline [ve]^{eu} istikamet üzere gelüb giden bazarganlar rencide olunmayub^{ev} gümrükleri kanun üzere alına ve getürdikleri mata'larının kanun üzere^{ew} gümrüklerin virdiklerinden^{ex} sonra İstanbul^{ey} ve Edirne'de reft akçesi ve kassab akçesi virmeyeler ve getürdikleri guruslarından gümrük taleb olunmaya lakin Leh^{ez} tarafında^{fa} cari olan arslanlı gurusun 'ayarı kem olub halis olmayub zarar-i 'amm^{fb} olub sikke-i hümayunun ihtilaline ba'is olmağla min ba'd memalik-i mahrusemde^{fc} arslanlı ve nakısu'l-'ayar gurusu cari ve rayic olmamak için hatt-i hümayun-i şevket-makrunumla^{fd} ferman-i 'ali-şanım sadır olmuştur min ba'd memalik-i mahruseme ol tarafından kem-'ayar gurusu gelmeyüb sahihü'l-'ayar-gurusu ile^{fe} [emti'a-i]^{ff} mütenevvi'e

^{ef} C. *bildürüb*.

^{eg} In B. and C. written correctly: *eyleyeler*.

^{eh} It should read *tüccarın bargirlerin* as in the 'ahdname of 1553; cf. Document 28, note o.

^{ei} B. *tutmayalar*.

^{ej} C. *atlar*.

^{ek} Cf. Document 28.

^{el} B. and C. *gelmişler ise*.

^{em} Missing in B. and C.

^{en} C. *virgüler ve gümrükler ziyade olmayub*.

^{eo} In C. only.

^{ep} This fragment is evidently omitted; cf. Document 28.

^{eq-er} Thusly in C.; A. and B. *mahuf yollardan*.

^{es} C. *kadimi*.

^{et} Missing in C.

^{eu} In B. and C. only.

^{ev-ew} Missing in C.

^{ex} C. *virdüklerinden*.

^{ey} C. *İstanbulda*.

^{ez} C. *Lih*.

^{fa} B. and C. *tarafından*.

^{fb} C. *zarar-i 'amme*.

^{fc} C. *mahrusede*.

^{fd} B. and C. *hatt-i hümayunumla*.

^{fe} C. *guruşla*.

^{ff} In B. and C. only.

gele ve bir gayri kimesnenin borcu için zarar-i mala kefil olmayınca tüccar ta'ifesi tutulmaya ve çavuşlar ve sipahiler yolda [Leh] re'aya[sı]nın bargirlerinin^{fg} almayalar ve kralın bazarganları memalik-i mahrusemde kendü ra'iyetlerinden sabıkda esir olanları akçe ile satun alub^{fh} halas itmek^{fi} istediklerinde kadılar mani' olmayalar ve bahası virilüb halas olanları girü ellerinden çıkub almayalar amma Müslüman^{fj} olanları kral tarafından [tekrar]^{fk} talep etmeyeler^{fl} ve müşarun-ileyh kralın tasarrufunda olan vilayetine ve şimdensonra sefer idüb^{fm} sa'ir kefere vilayetinden feth idecek yerlerine^{fn} bu taraftan dahl olunmayub cümle taht-i yedinde ve kabza-i tasarrufunda ola

deyü tasrih olunan şartlar cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından dahi mukarrer ve mu'teber tutulub^{fo} bunlardan gayri Leh^{fp} bazarganları memalik-i mahruseme^{fq} ticarete geldiklerinde mata'ların Edirne ve Brusada^{fr} her kime isterlerse^{fs} satub bu hususda kimesne mani' olmaya^{ft} tüccar ta'ifesi mabeyninde bir husus veya katl vakı' olub ba'z da'vaları düşerse^{fu} aralarında karban başları^{fv} kim olursa^{fw} ol göre ve lazım gelen yerlerde^{fx} cevap vire ve Lehlüden^{fy} borc taleb olundukda elinde mühürlü temessigi olmayandan borc taleb olunmaya ve Leh^{fz} bazarganları kadimü'l-eyyamdan gümrüklerin Istanbulda viregelmişler iken haliya^{ga} ba'z yerlerde [dahi]^{gb} tekrar gümrük taleb olunurmuş^{gc} üslub-i sabık üzere 'amal olunub bir daf'e [mahrus-e-i]^{gd} Istanbulda gümrük virdiklerin[den] sonra^{ge} tekrar ahar yerde gümrük taleb olunmayub ren-

^{fg} B. and C. [Leh] re'aya[sı]nın yol[un]da bargirlerin; cf. Document 21 and Document 28, note q.

^{fh} C. alalar.

^{fi} C. etmek.

^{fj} C. Müslümanlar.

^{fk} In C. only.

^{fl} C. olunmaya.

^{fm} C. seferden ve.

^{fn} C. yerlere.

^{fo} C. tutulub ve.

^{fp} C. Lih.

^{fq} C. mahrusemde.

^{fr} C. Brusa ve Edirne.

^{fs} C. her kim isterler ise.

^{ft-fu} C. ve tüccar mabeynlerinde bir husus vakı' olub veya katl-i nefis olub ba'z da'valar düşerse; in B. this fragment is apparently corrupt: *tüccar ta'ifesi yanında bir husus için ya kal ve kal vakı' olub da'vaları düşerse*; see note 13 to the translation.

^{fv} C. başı.

^{fw} Corrupt in C.

^{fx} B. *lazım olana*; C. *lazım olan yerde*.

^{fy} C. Lihluden.

^{fz} C. Lih.

^{ga} C. hala.

^{gb} In C. only.

^{gc} B. *iderlermiş*; C. *iderler imiş*.

^{gd} In C. only.

^{ge} In B. written correctly: *gümrük virdiklerinden sonra*; C. *gümrüklerin eda etdikden sonra*.

cide etmeyeler^{gf} ve Leh^{gg} bazarganları memalik-i mahruseme ticarete^{gh} geldiklerinde Tatar ta'ifesi rencide idermiş^{gi} olmakule Tatar ta'ifesi^{gj} memalik-i mahrusemizden her kangı vilayetde olurlarsa^{gk} ol vilayetin hakimi ve sancakbegi^{gl} men' ü def' idüb 'ahdname-i hümayunum mucebince ticaret tarikiyle gelenlere Tatar ta'ifesi dahl itmeyüb^{gm} eger bir nesneleri alınmış ise bi-kusur [girü]^{gn} alı-virilüb hilaf-i 'ahd ü misak bir^{go} iş itdirilmeye^{gp} ve reft ve kasabiye ve sa'ir 'ahdnamelerimizde muharrer ve mestur ve mukayyed olandan^{gq} ziyade nesne alınmaya

deyü bu hususun^{gr} cümlesi makbul-i hümayunum olub müceddeden 'ahdname-i hümayunum virilmek babında 'inayet rica eylediği ecelden mezid-i 'inayet-i ['aliye-i]^{gs} şahane ve meziyet-i mekarim-i [seniye-i]^{gt} padişahanemden^{gu} istid'a ve iltiması şeref-kabula peyveste ve zıkr olunan 'uhud u şurut rişte-i devam u istihkam ile beste^{gv} kılınub haliya^{gw} cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından rica eyledikleri cümle zıkr olunan hususlar bi't-tamam makbul-i şerifim olub müceddeden işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunı virdim ve buyurdumki muma-ileyh^{gx} kiral tarafından ve beglerinden ve gayriden muceb-i ihtilal-i^{gy} 'akd-i^{gz} 'ahd ü peyman ve ba'is-i ihtilaf-i^{ha} şart u iman bir vaz' sadır olmayub zıkr olunan şerayit-i emn ü emanı dostluk üzere ri'ayet iderlerse^{hb} cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından dahi eyman-i gulaz^{hc} ile yemin iderimki yeri ve göği Yaradan Perverdegar hakkıyçün ve ulu 'aziz peygamberimiz^{hd} mu'cizati hürmetiyçün^{he} bu mu'ahede olunanlardan tecavüz olunmayub^{hf} müddet-i

^{gf} B. *itmeyeler*.

^{gg} C. *Lih*.

^{gh} C. *memalik-i mahruseme <ve> ticarete*.

^{gi} B. and C. *iderler imiş*.

^{gj} C. *tayife-i Tatar*.

^{gk} C. *memleketde olurlar ise*.

^{gl} C. *sancakbegleri*.

^{gm} C. *etdirilmeyüb*.

^{gn} In C. only.

^{go} Missing in C.

^{gp} C. *etdirilmeye*.

^{gq} B. *tahrir ve mestur ve mukayyed olandan*; C. *mestur ve mahzur olandan*.

^{gr} B. and C. *hususlarn*.

^{gs} In C. only.

^{gt} In C. only.

^{gu} B. and C. *padişahanemizden*.

^{gv} C. *peyveste*.

^{gw} B. *hala*.

^{gx} B. *müşarun-ileyh*.

^{gy} B. and C. *inhilal-i*.

^{gz} Missing in C.

^{ha} B. and C. *ihtilal-i*.

^{hb} C. *zıkr olunan dostluk şerayiti emn ü eman üzere ri'ayet etdürile*.

^{hc} B. *galize*; C. *mugallaza*.

^{hd} B. *peygamberizim efendimiz*.

^{he} C. *hakkıyçün*.

^{hf} C. *eylemeyüb*.

devlet-i ruz-efzun ve zaman-i sebat-i hilafet ü saltanat-i sa'adet-makrunum-da^{hg} bu sulh u salah mukarrer ve pay-dar ve bu dostluk ve barışıklık^{hh} mü'ebbed ve ber-karar ola.

Bu 'ahdname-i şerifimiz bizim ulu peygamberimiz hazret-i Muhammed el-Mustafa^{hi} salla'llahu 'aleyhi ve sellem^{hj} hicreti tarihinden bin on altı senesi şehr-i Rebi'ü'l-evvelinin yigirminci gününde^{hk} daru's-saltanatı'l-'aliye mah-miye-i Kostantiniyede yazılmışdır.^{hl}

Translation:

This is the 'ahdname given to the Polish king from the court of His Excellency, the late Sultan Ahmed Khan

The place of the tuga¹

I who,
by the upright everlasting support and the auspicious eternal assistance² of His Majesty, the most Supreme God (may His glory be exalted above any comparison and similarity!), and by the consent of the miracles, full of divine blessings, of His Excellency Muhammad, the Prophet of God (may God command and salute him!), the sultan of the throne of prophecy seated in the [divine] court, Hadst thou not been,³ the exalted from among the sons of Adam, the purpose of the creation of mankind, the seal of all the apostles and prophets, the leader of the class of saints, my intimate confidant with God,⁴ and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of his four companions (may the ornament of the approbation of God be upon them all!), and of all the magnificent saints associated with the right way, and the felicitous noble pious ones,

^{hg} C. müddet-i sa'adet ve devlet-i ruz-efzun ve ferman-i sebat-i hilafet ü saltanat-i sa'adet-makrununda.

^{hh} B. barışlık.

^{hi} B. hazret-i Muhammed Mustafa; C. hazret-i Risalet.

^{hj} B. sellem efendimizin.

^{hk} C. bin on altı Rebi'ü'l-evvel ayının yigirminci gününde.

^{hl} C. tahrir olunmuşdur.

¹ The *tuga* of Ahmed I should read: "Ahmed-shah, son of Mehmed, the ever victorious khan."

² The word *teyamün* (lit. "a going to the right hand side") is rendered here as "upright." An identical fragment (*teyamün-i te'yidat-i ezeliye ve meyamin-i tevfikat-i lem-yezeliyesiyle*) is translated by Schaendlinger: "Mit der guten ewigen Hilfe Gottes . . . und Seinem glückhaften unaufhörlichen Beistand;" see Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*, pt. 1, p. 90.

³ *Lev la ke*, a symbolic name of Prophet Muhammad, originating from the exclamation: "Hadst thou not been, the spheres would not have been created."

⁴ *Mahremün harimün li ma'a'llah*, translated by Schaendlinger: "mein naher Vertraute bei Allah;" see Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans*, pt. 1, p. 70.

am the sultan of the sultans of the East and the West, the lord of the fortunate conjunction of the Roman, Persian, and Arab kingdoms, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusraws of the world, the shadow of God, the Munificent King, the servant of the two holy sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina], the second Alexander the Great, the padishah, the sultan, and the emperor of the great dignity of the noblest of the towns and cities, the most holy among the dominions and districts, Mecca the venerated and sacred, Medina the enlightened and respected, and Jerusalem the noble, deserving to be honored, and of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea, of the throne of Egypt, being the prodigy of the epoch, of the provinces of Yemen, Aden, and Sana, of Baghdad, the abode of peace,⁵ of Basra and Lahsa, of the country of Azerbaijan,⁶ of the Kipchak steppe, of the Tatar country, of Diyarbakır, Kurdistan, Sivas, Georgia, Maras, Ethiopia, and of Damascus, the abode of peace, of Haleb [i.e., Aleppo] and the Syrian Tripoli, Van, Erzurum, Childir, and Shirvan, of the provinces of Anatolia and Karaman, of the countries of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, and of the Turkish climes and of Dilem, and of the abode of the high sultanate, the well-protected Istanbul, which afflicts the kings with nostalgia, and of Algiers, Western Tripoli, and Tunis, [being] the area of the holy war and combat, and of the island of Cyprus and Rhodes, and the whole of Rumelia, and of the regions of Temesvár, Bosnia, Eger, Buda, Kanizsa,⁷ Szigetvár, Caffa, and Trabzon [i.e., Trapezunt], and of many other prosperous provinces and unlimited byways, and of fortresses reaching the heavens, such as these, Sultan Ahmed Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Suleyman Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Bayezid Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan.

As since olden days the Polish kings used to display amity, unity, sincerity, constant [wish off] taking refuge, reliance, exclusive devotion, friendship, and affection toward our high threshold, the refuge of the sultans, and toward our exalted court, which is the seat of the fortune, [also] now the Polish [king], the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Livonia, and other lands, the heir and the king of Sweden, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Sigismund (may his latter days end with good!), has sent to our felicitous threshold, which is the shelter of the Khusraws of the age and the refuge of the Caesars of the epoch, his envoy named such and such,⁸ the model of the Christian commanders,

⁵ The Baghdad of the caliph al-Mansur was called Daru's-salam, Abode of Peace, a name given to paradise in the *Koran*, see Gülrü Necipoglu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power. The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1991), p. 52.

⁶ In the C. copy: *diyar-i Cezayir ve Azerbaycanın* ("of the country of Cezayir and Azerbaijan"). Since Algiers (*Cezayir-i Magrib*) is mentioned in the same document below, the term *Cezayir* may refer to the province of Aegean islands centered in Gallipoli (Tur. Gelibolu). It is more likely, however, that this term, missing in other copies and in the earlier *'ahdnames* as well, was inserted here by mistake.

⁷ Today Nagykanizsa.

⁸ Tur. *şalan*; the Polish envoy was Mikołaj Daniłowicz.

from among his esteemed and chosen governors; and as he has demonstrated amity, sincerity, affection, and exclusive devotion, and asked and requested in his letter sent with the aforementioned envoy that peace and amity between [us] be established with our high threshold, as it used to be, from the side of my glorious majesty it has been agreed to fix and respect the conditions promised and agreed in the imperial 'ahdname given to them [i.e., to the Poles] previously, in the epoch of my late father, whose sins are forgiven, the sultan residing in heaven and seating in the eighth Paradise (may he rest in peace!), which [conditions] are specified [below].⁹

"From the side of my glorious majesty and from the side of the Crimean khan, the abode of leadership, and of my great viziers, illustrious mirmirans, noble emirs, and victorious soldiers no damage or harm should touch his [i.e., the royal] land, country, fortresses, towns, and all the places being under his possession. And from the side of the aforementioned king, his governors, Cossack brigands, dependents, and others no damage or harm should touch my country, my land, my fortresses, my towns, and all the boroughs, villages, and places being under my possession; [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy;

when the agents and envoys of the two sides enter and come between [the two countries], no damage or harm should touch them, their property, and belongings.

The aforementioned king should inquire with great care and attention for the captives of this side taken prisoners during the previous interregnum and cause them to be found; after they are sent [back] in this direction secure and safe, also the infidel captives taken from Poland during the aforementioned interregnum, provided that they have not become Muslim, will be handed over to the royal agents after proving that they are [Poles]. If after the date of this my imperial 'ahdname captives are taken from either side in whichever way, no ransom shall be demanded and after proving that they are Poles their owners should let them go.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land, and sell and buy. According to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places. [But] nobody's property or life should be exposed to damage or harm.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from Poland dies in my well-protected dominions, the effects of the aforementioned deceased will not be seized by our side but handed over to the heads of the caravan, so that they may take them to their country and hand them over to his heirs. If anybody from among our merchants dies in Poland, the king should proceed likewise.

If after the date of this my imperial 'ahdname damage or harm is done to the domain of the king by anybody from among the dependents of this side, such evildoers will be found and punished, and the damage will be compensated. One should not find any excuse or pretext. On the royal side one should proceed likewise.

If the debtor of anybody from my well-protected dominions arrives at the country of the king in whatever place, the petition should be heard and investigated in the presence

⁹ The whole text of the disposition of the previous 'ahdname of 1598 (though with some amendments and changes) is quoted below as an integral part of this very long Turkish sentence. The sentence ends with the declaration of Sultan Ahmed I to accept the conditions of the previous treaty: "... *deyü tasrih olunan şartlar cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından dahi mukarrer ve mu'teber tutulub.*"

of a local judge, then if it is proved, the debt should be handed over to its owner.

One should not arrest and injure a person, who has neither debt nor guilt, for the debt or guilt of another person, unless [this person] has stood as surety for a loss of goods. And [because of a dispute] between two sides one should not molest innocent people alike.

As the treaty and peace existing between [us] since the time of my noble fathers and magnificent grandfathers has been fixed, and since the commissioners [appointed] for [discussing] the previous damages did not manage to meet in one place, the damage incurred by either side prior to the date of [this] imperial 'ahdname expires and should not be heard.

As long as the customary payments ['adetler], which used to be given since olden times, are paid on time by the aforementioned king to His Majesty, the abode of leadership, the Crimean khan, and as the king does nothing contrary to the treaty, no meddling or interference, harm or damage should be done to the dominions or subjects of the king by the khan and the Tatar army; in such a manner that when a damage is done, they should be punished according to my noble order.

If the aforementioned Crimean khan receives an order concerning an imperial campaign in any direction, while the khan with the Tatar army must set out and head [in this direction] performing their duty, they should not enter Poland but they should pass through another suitable territory, and they should not annoy Poland. If an enemy invades the aforementioned king, and a letter and envoy from the aforementioned [king] reach the aforementioned khan asking for help and rescue, upon our imperial order being given from our noble side, the aforementioned khan with the Tatar army should—if he deems it reasonable—attack the enemy and provide the required help and support, proving thusly his friendship.

No damage should be done to the country or subjects of the aforementioned king by the Moldavian hospodars and Moldavians. If any damage is done, after being proved, it should be compensated for according to my noble order. And if any damage is done to the Tatars or the Moldavian country and people from the side of the king or his subjects, they should compensate it as well, and the evildoers should be punished.

After the Moldavian merchants have paid their customs duties according to tradition and law, nobody should hinder them or give trouble to them.

Certain individuals had fled Moldavia and taken refuge in Poland, [thereafter] they came [back] to the country and raised rebellion and intrigue. When requested, such individuals should get their punishment.

When royal agents find in [various] sites of my well-protected dominions prisoners captured prior to the present time, they may be ransomed, while [their owners] should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath and should not demand excessive prices. Those from among these prisoners who have become Muslim should not be reclaimed, but they should be manumitted; and those who have persisted in infidelity should not be hindered from leaving. Also in the royal country one should set free Muslim prisoners and one should not hinder them from going home.

[Within the time period of friendship, nobody should hinder the envoys and agents who come bringing messages.] Upon reaching the borders, one should give them fit men as an escort. One should proceed likewise on the other side.

If a subject of the Polish king owes something to anybody from this side, when demanded, the land judicial authorities should execute [the debt].

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm or damage, the judicial authorities should find them and immediately punish them. After it is proved, the goods seized from the hands of the thieves should be given to their owners without deficiency.

If a dispute arises concerning a transaction between merchants and other persons, as long as it is not certified in a kadi record [sicil] or a certificate issued by the kadi [hüccet], [the grievance] should not be heard. When a claim and demand arises concerning surety [kefalet] or a loan, one should look at the kadi record or certificate. When neither of these two [documents] exists, no false witness should be brought and one should not falsify and cheat. Also on the royal side, the land judicial authorities should not hear [a grievance] if [the matter] is not known to them.

The beys of the sancaks of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland except the servants [kullar] of my felicitous threshold and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should take them from their hands and send them back.

Herdsmen, who wander hither and yonder, while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret; after the herdsmen have made their presence known, if their sheep are lost, they can demand from the land authorities [that they be returned].

The baggage horses [of the merchants] who come and depart¹⁰ should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janissaries on campaign.

[The relationships] between the [Moldavian] hospodars and the aforementioned king should be kept in the same friendly way as they have been with the former kings; nothing should be done against the conditions of friendship.

One should not collect from the merchants of both sides excessive taxes and customs duties; they should pay in the same manner and size as they used to pay, and they should not pay more. When [Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand]¹¹ want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted areas or use dangerous roads, but they should come by the road used since olden times by merchants and those, who come and go. If an injury is done to the property or soul [i.e., life] of any of such [merchants], the evildoers should be captured and punished. Merchants, who come and go in sincerity, should not be molested, and their customs duties should be collected according to the law.

After they pay customs duties from goods, which they bring, according to the law, they should not pay [taxes called] departure money [reft akçesi] or the tax on animals [kassab akçesi] in Istanbul and Edirne. And also one should not impose customs duties on the cash [guruşlar] which they bring. But, because the lion thalers [arslanlu gurus] current in Poland are debased and are not pure, they cause a public loss and disturbance of the imperial coin [i.e., currency market]; thus my illustrious firman provided with my glorious imperial writing [i.e., tugra] was issued, ordering that from now on the lion thalers of deficient standard will not be current and valid in my well-protected dominions. Henceforth debased thalers cannot be brought from that direction to

¹⁰ Cf. Document 28, note 4.

¹¹ Cf. note ep to the Turkish text and Document 28.

my well-protected dominions, but thalers of good standard as well as various goods may be brought.

No merchant should be detained by reason of the debts of another person unless he has stood as surety for a loss of goods. Çavuşes and sipahis should not take baggage horses belonging to the traveling [Polish] subjects. The merchants of the king, who want to ransom and release prisoners from among his own subjects, who have been captured previously and are kept in my well-protected dominions, should not be hindered by the kadis. As those, who have been redeemed and released, go out from their [i.e., the merchants'] hands, they [i.e., the kadis] should not take [them] again.¹² But the king should not repeatedly request for those, who have become Muslim.

And from this side no interference will be done into the provinces being in the possession of the aforementioned king, and to the places, which he conquers in the future from other infidel countries. May they all remain under his hand and be held within his disposal."

And besides [the above mentioned clauses], my imperial consent was given to the [following] conditions:

"Nobody should hinder Polish merchants from coming to trade in my well-protected dominions, and from selling their goods in Edirne and Bursa to whoever they want. If between the merchants a dispute arises concerning any matter or murder,¹³ whoever from among them is the head of the caravan, he should look at the matter and give the necessary resolve. If anybody demands a loan [repayment] from a Pole, but has not a sealed bill in his hand, the loan cannot be claimed. While since olden days the Polish merchants used to pay their customs duties in Istanbul, recently they were asked to pay customs duties again in some [other] places as well. One should proceed according to the old rules, and after they pay customs duties once in Istanbul, one should not demand that they pay customs duties again in other places; and one should not molest [them]. As the Polish merchants, while coming to trade in my well-protected dominions, were molested by the Tatars, in whichever of the provinces of our well-protected dominions dwells this sort of Tatars, the judges and sancakbeys of this province should forbid and repulse it, and according to my imperial 'ahdname the Tatars should not molest those coming for the purpose of trade; if they take anything [from the merchants] it should be handed over [to the owners] without deficiency, and nothing should be done against the treaty and pact. And one should not collect [from the merchants] departure money [reft akçesi], the tax on animals [kassabiye] or any other [tax] above those written, mentioned, and registered in our 'ahdname."

As [the king] asked anew for a favor that my imperial 'ahdname be given, his petition and request from our abundant high royal grace and from the excellence of our exalted imperial generosity received glorious acceptance, and the aforementioned conditions

¹² Cf. Document 23, note 10.

¹³ While both versions in the copies A. and C. refer to murder, in B. "murder" (*katl*) was replaced by "tittle-tattle" (*kal ve kal*); cf. note ft-fu to the Turkish text. Perhaps the nineteenth-century editor of Feridun Bey's *Münşe'at*, tried to interpret thusly a corrupt or illegible portion of the copy at his disposal.

and articles were tied with permanence and bound with stability; now all the aforementioned matters requested from my glorious majesty have been entirely accepted; and I have given anew this imperial 'ahdname and I have ordered that:

If on the part of the aforementioned king, his governors, and others nothing is done to cause a dissolution of the tie of the treaty and agreement or to provoke a disturbance of the [treaty] articles and confidence, and if the aforementioned clauses of safety and security are respected in a friendly way, also from the side of my glorious majesty I swear with a strong oath by the sake of God, the Creator of earth and heaven, and by the respect to the miracles of our great and dear Prophet [Muhammad], that this treaty will not be violated, and for the period of my long-lived government and for the fixed time of my felicitous caliphate and sultanate this peace and amity will remain fixed and firm, and this friendship and harmony will be perpetual and constant.

This our noble 'ahdname has been written on the twentieth day of Rebi I of the year 1016 since the date of the emigration [Hegira] of our great prophet, His Excellency Muhammad Mustafa¹⁴ (may God command and salute him!) in the abode of the high sultanate, the well-protected Constantinople.

¹⁴ Mustafa, the second name of Prophet Muhammad, means in Arabic "the chosen" i.e., "the elect of God."

DOCUMENT 31 (23 SEPTEMBER 1617)

The Polish document of the agreement of Busza (or Jaruga)

The original document is missing.

Polish copies:

- A. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 110, fol. 79b–81a [90b–92a].
 - B. Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie. Oddział I (na Wawelu), Archiwum Sanguszków, ms. 72, pp. 115–17.
 - C. L'viv's'ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 5 (Oss.), opys 1, no. II–475, pp. 46–48.
- Published in a) *Żbiór pamiątek historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 6 (Lwów, 1833), pp. 33–37; b) A. Bielowski, ed., *Pisma Stanisława Żółkiewskiego, kanclerza koronnego i hetmana* (Lwów, 1861), pp. 280–81.

Script od Pana Hetmana Koronnego Skinder Paszy dany:

Za przyjściem nad Dniestr mnie Stanisława Żółkiewskiego, wojewody kijowskiego, hetmana Korony Polskiej z wojski najjaśniejszego Zygmunta Trzeciego, polskiego, szwedzkiego, gotskiego, wandalskiego króla, wielkiego księcia litewskiego, ruskiego, pruskiego, mazowieckiego, żmudzkiego, inflantskiego i inszych, a to dla zahamowania i ujęcia najazdów tatarskich w państwa najjaśniejszego Króla Jego Mości pana mego, także też dla zahamowania kozackich zbrodni. W którym wojsku byli obecni: Jaśnie Wielmożny Jan Daniłowicz z Żurowa ruski, Jan z Ostroga książę Zasławskie wołyński, wojewodowie; Marcin Krasicki lwowski, Jan Zamoyski chełmski, kasztelani; Adam Hieronim Sieniawski podczaszcy koronny, Jerzy książę Zbaraskie krajczy koronny, Stanisław Koniecpolski podstoli koronny, Walenty Aleksander Kalinowski kamieniecki, Aleksander Bałaban winnicki, Jerzy Szczucki halicki, Piotr Ożga trembowelski, Jan Zebrzydowski lanckoroński, starostowie; Gabriel Chojski chorąży kijowski, Marcin Kazanowski i niemało innych pułkowników, rotmistrzów, także ludzi zacnych szlachetnych. Gdy potym w kilku dniach nastąpił z drugiej strony Dniestru na wołoskim brzegu Jaśnie Wielmożny Skinder Pasza, beglerbeg bosnenski, hetman najjaśniejszego cesarza tureckiego, gdy się już wojska z sobą zesłi i do bitwy się prawie miało, [jeden]^a do drugiego posły śląc, dla utwierdzenia przyjaźni starożytnej, która się od dawnych wieków zachowała między najjaśniejszym królem polskim i najjaśniejszym cesarzem tureckim i państwom ich, stała się umowa i postanowienie między nami:

Pierwsza rzecz.

Łotrostwo kozackie na Czarne Morze z Dniepru aby nie wychodziło i w państwach pod najjaśniejszym cesarzem będącym [sic] żadnych szkód aby

^a Thusly in B. and C.; A. *wielu do drugiego posły śląc*.

nie czynili, i owszem jakimkolwiek sposobem aby wygładzeni byli, aby więcej ani od nas, ani od Kozaków szkód żadnych się nie działo, żeby już na potym armacie cesarskiej wychodzić na Czarne Morze nie było potrzeba, i że lub ziemią wojska, lub Kozaki uskromić i skarać obiecujemy i podejmujemy się.

Druga rzecz.

Strony Tatarów, według dawnych zwyczajów, i według umowy i postanowienia z jasnie wielmożnym nieboszczykiem^b panem Janem Zamoyskim kanclerzem i hetmanem koronnym uczynionego i potwierdzone[go] na Cecorze, i według niego dane były z obu stron skrypty, i postanowienia albo umowy posła Jego Królewskiej Mości z kajmakanem jego mością Achmet Paszą, zwyczajne upominki na przyszłe lata za prześciem od najjaśniejszego cesarza współ i z posłem chanowym czausza do Króla Jego Mości aby wzięli; oni też więcej w państwach Korony naszej żadnemu miejscu najmniejszych szkód aby nie czynili, abyśmy w zobopólnej przyjaźni żyli, aby według dawnych pakt i podjęcia się swego mocno w punkciech stali.

Trzecia rzecz.

Siedmiogrodzkiej ziemi aby od nas i ludzi naszych żadnej szkody nie było, lub Humanajego synowi, lub komużkolwiek inszemu, przez ziemię swoje drogi nie dając, ani skarbem, ani ludźmi pomagać nie będziemy, obiecujemy. Kupcom według dawnych zwyczajów droga wolna, nic nowego na nie stanowiono ma być.^c

Czwarta rzecz.

Do wołoskiej ziemi, lub to chciwością panowania uwiedzeni, lub dla uczynienia szkody jakiej, żaden z naszych ludzi chodzić nie ma. A tym, którzyby chcieli wchodzić, ani wojskiem, ani pieniędzmi pomagać nie mamy, obiecujemy. Gospodar wołoski zasię, według dawnych zwyczajów zachowując się, przyjaźń trzymać ma, żeby między najjaśniejszym cesarzem otomańskim a Królem Jego Mością polskim będące przymierze aby się nie naruszało, starać się ma; przeciwko kupcom także nic nowego nie stanowiąc, według starych zwyczajów zachować się ma.

Piąta rzecz.

Multańskiej ziemi także z naszej strony nikt najeżdzać nie ma, lubo Serbanowi, lubo komużkolwiek [inszemu]^d chciwością panowania uwiedzionemu drogi pozwalać, wojskiem, ani pieniędzmi pomagać nie mamy. Kupcom także, nic nowego na nie nie stanowiąc, według starych zwyczajów zachować się mamy.^e

^b Missing in C. and in Bielowski's edition.

^c B. *kupcom według dawnych zwyczajów droga wolna, nic nowego na nich nie stanowiąc, ma być.*

^d In B. only.

^e This sentence is missing in C. and in Bielowski's edition.

Działo się w obozie nad rzeką Niestrem przy miasteczku Jarudze, dnia 23 miesiąca września 1617.

Translation:

A receipt [script] given to Iskender Pasha by the Crown hetman:

Upon the arrival on the Dniester of myself, Stanisław Żółkiewski, the palatine of Kiew and the hetman of the Polish Crown, with the army of His Majesty Sigismund III, the king of Poland, Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, and other [lands], in order to stop and to prevent the Tatar raids into the domains of my lord, His Royal Majesty, and in order to stop the Cossack crimes; in which army there were present: the palatines of Ruthenia, Jan Daniłowicz of Żurów, and of Wolhynia, Jan from Ostróg the prince of Zasław; the castellans of Lwów, Marcin Krasicki, and of Chełm, Jan Żamoyski; the Crown cup-bearer [podczaszy] Adam Hieronim Sieniawski, the Crown carver [krajczy] Jerzy the prince of Żbaraż, and the Crown steward [podstoli] Stanisław Koniecpolski; the starostas: of Kamieniec, Walenty Aleksander Kalinowski, of Winnica, Aleksander Bałaban, of Halicz, Jerzy Szczucki, of Trembowla, Piotr Ożga, of Lanckorona, Jan Żebrzydowski; the standard-bearer [chorąży] of Kiew Gabriel Chojski, Marcin Kazanowski, and many other colonels, captains of cavalry [rotmistrzów], and esteemed nobles.

When a few days later the governor of Bosnia and the hetman [i.e., commander of the troops] of His Majesty, the Turkish emperor, His Excellency Iskender Pasha, approached the Dniester from the opposite side, on the Moldavian shore, when [both] armies met and a battle was about to begin, by sending envoys one to another an agreement and settlement was concluded between us, in order to strengthen the ancient friendship, existing since olden ages between His Majesty the Polish king and His Majesty the Turkish emperor, and between their states.

Article 1:

The Cossack brigands should not put out from the Dnieper to the Black Sea, and should not commit any damage in the domains being under His Imperial Majesty; moreover, they should be wiped out by any means, so that no more damage may be done by ourselves or the Cossacks, and so that henceforth there may be no more need for the imperial navy to put out to the Black Sea, or [to send the imperial] troops by land.¹ And we promise and engage to suppress and punish the Cossacks.

Article 2:

As to the Tatars, according to the old customs and to the agreement and settlement concluded and confirmed at Tufora with His Excellency, the late Jan Żamoyski, the chancellor and the Crown hetman, in accordance with which written records [skrypty]

¹ "I że lub ziemią wojska;" the Polish text, here unclear, was prepared on the basis of a mutually negotiated Turkish draft, translated by Samuel Otwinowski; see the contemporary Polish relation in *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawney Polsce*, vol. 6, p. 29. For a correct interpretation of this fragment see article one of the Turkish text (Document 32).

were exchanged by both sides, and according to the settlement or agreement between the envoy of His Royal Majesty and the kaymakam Ahmed Pasha, customary gifts due for the following years will be collected when an envoy of the khan comes to His Royal Majesty along with a *çavuş* from the side of His Imperial Majesty; they [i.e., the Tatars], too, should not commit any more damage—even a smallest one—to any site in the domains of our Crown, so that we may live in mutual friendship and so that we may firmly hold the articles of the ancient treaties and pledges.

Article 3:

No damage should be done to Transylvania by ourselves or our people; we promise that we will neither grant passage through our lands, nor give assistance with treasury or men to the son of Homonnay² or to anybody else. According to the old customs, the merchants should enjoy a free passage and nothing new [i.e., no new fees or taxes] should be proclaimed.

Article 4:

Nobody of our men should go to Moldavia, either led by the greed of rule, or with the intention to bring harm. We promise that we will not assist those, who wish to go, either with troops or with money. According to the old customs, the Moldavian hospodar should maintain the friendship and should endeavor that the alliance existing between His Majesty, the Ottoman emperor, and His Majesty, the Polish king, be not disturbed; also he should not proclaim anything new [i.e., any new taxes] against the merchants, but he should act according to the old customs.

Article 5:

Nobody from our side should raid Wallachia, and we should neither grant passage nor assist with troops or money to Şerban,³ or to any other person led by the greed of rule.

Recorded in the camp on the river Dniester near the town of Jaruha, on 23 September 1617.

² George Homonnay, son of Valentin Homonnay, the Hungarian magnate and opponent of Bethlen.

³ Radu Şerban, the former hospodar of Wallachia.

DOCUMENT 32 (23 SEPTEMBER 1617)¹
The Ottoman document of the agreement of Busza

The original document is missing.

Turkish copies:

A. BA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye [Ecnebi Defterleri], 55/1, pp. 7–8.

B. An unidentified copy published in Feridun Bey, *Münşe'atü's-Selatin*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1274/1857–1858), pp. 522–23.

Polish translation from the original by Otwinowski: a) Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie. Oddział I (na Wawelu), Archiwum Sanguszków, ms. 72, pp. 119–21; b) L'vivs'ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 5 (Oss.), opys 1, no. II–475, pp. 48–49.

Published in *Żbiór pamiątek historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 6 (Lwów, 1833), pp. 37–41.

Czech translation (with numerous abridgements and omissions) made after the Feridun Bey copy was published in D. Dorošenko and J. Rypka, “Polsko, Ukrajina, Krym a Vysoká Porta v první pol. XVII. stol.,” *Časopis Národního Musea* 110 (1936): 19–49, esp. pp. 26–27.

Bin yigirmi altı senesinde vezir Iskender Paşa tarafından Leh kralına yazılan ‘ahdnamedir^a

Benki sa‘adetlü [ve]^b ‘azametlü Mekke-i mükerreme ve Medine-i münevvere ve Kuds-i şerif ve yedi iklim dört köşenin padişahı ve ulu şehinşahi hazretlerinin kulu Iskender Paşayım Leh vilayetinden çıkub memalik-i mahruse-i padişahının ba‘z yerlerine zarar u gezend irişdiren Kazak eşkıyasının def‘ü refi‘i hususuna Rum-ili ve Budun ve Kanije eyaletlerinden ta‘yin olunan ‘asakir-i nusret-karının üzerlerine berat-i padişahi ile^c nasb olunmuş serdar [ve]^d sipih-salarım.

Şevketlü^e padişahının emr-i şerifi^f üzere Bosnadan bu dinlü ‘asker ile kalkub ve yanımızdan Erdel hakimi olan Betlen Gabor^g ve Bogdan hakimi olan Radul^h ve Eflak hakimi olan Oleksandreⁱ voyvodalar^j ile haliya^k Bogdan

¹ On the dating see note 5 below.

^a B. *vezir Iskender Paşa tarafından Leh kralı tarafına yazılan ‘ahdnamenin suretidir.*

^b In B. only.

^c B. *padişahıyla.*

^d In B. only.

^e B. *sa‘adetlü.*

^f B. *şerifleri.*

^g *بتلن غابور.*

^h *اردل*; in B. written erroneously *اردل*.

ⁱ *اولکسندره.*

^j B. *ve Bogdan hakimi olan Radul voyvoda ve Eflak hakimi Oleksandre voyvoda.*

^k B. *hala.*

vilayetinde vakı‘ Turla¹ suyu kenarında [Podbile]^m nam palankasındaⁿ nüzul olundukda Leh vilayetinin hetmanı ve devletlü Leh kralı ‘askerinin serdari ve baş müdebbiri ve vekili olan Istanislav Jilkevski^o Beg dahi Leh kralının ‘askeriyle [Yaruha]^p nam mahalle dahil olub mabeynde ceng ü cidal ve harb u kıtal üzere iken birbirimize elçilerimiz^q varub gelüb Kazak ahvali mükaleme olundukda şevketlü^r ve ‘azametlü ve kuvvetlü ve kudretlü^s padişahımız hazretleriyle Leh kralı mabeyninde olan kadimi barışıklığın bozulmasına sebeb Kazak eşkıyasıyla Tatar ta‘ifesi olub canibeynden bunların def‘ ü refi‘i münasib görölüb ve mezbur hetman dahi kadimi olan sulh u salah ri‘ayet olunması için:

[1] bundan sonra Kazak eşkıyası Özi suyundan Kara Denize inüb şevketlü^t padişahımızın^u eli altında olan memleketlerine min ba‘d zarar u ziyan eylemeyüb her ne tarikle olursa def‘ idüb ki ne Kazakdan ve ne kendü taraflarından memalik-i mahruse-i padişahiye zarar olmayub artık Kara Denizde^v şevketlü padişahın donanması çıkmaga ve karadan dahi ‘asker[i]^w gelmege ihtiyac olmaya

[2] ve Erdel ve Bogdan ve Eflak vilayetlerine dahi kendülerinden dahl u ta‘arruz olunmaya Hamunayı oğlu^x ve Şirban^y ve sa‘irleri bu üç millet üzerlerine hükümet sevdasıyla gelmek isterlerse^z Leh vilayetinden yol virilmeyüb hazine ve ‘asker ile dahi mu‘avenet eylemeyeler

[3] ve [sa‘adettü Kırım hanı]^{aa} hazretlerine olan pişkeşlerin olı-geldüğü üzere işbu gelecek seneden sa‘ir senelerin pişkeşlerini eglemeyüb vireler

[4] be büyük elçisini^{ab} şevketlü padişahın^{ac} asitanesine göndüreler

¹ طورلی.

^m Corrupted in both copies: A. بوریله, B. بودیله. The scribes confused *ya* (with two dots) with *ba* (with one dot), and in A. *re* is written instead of *dal*. The correct form, which was apparently written in the lost original, should read بودیله.

ⁿ B. *palankaya*.

^o استانصلاو ژیلکوسکی.

^p Corrupted in both copies: A. یازرجه, B. یازوجه. The scribes changed *he* into *cim* and *re* into *ze* by adding superfluous dots, and in A. *re* is written instead of *vav*. The correct form, which was apparently written in the lost original, should read یاروجه.

^q B. *ilçilerimiz*.

^r B. *sa‘adettü*.

^s B. *ve kudretlü ve kuvvetlü*.

^t B. *sa‘adettü*.

^u B. *padişahımız hazretlerinin*.

^v B. *Kara Denize*.

^w B. *‘askeri*.

^x همونایی اوغلی.

^y شیربان.

^z B. *isterler ise*.

^{aa} Thusly in B.; A. *ve han hazretlerine*.

^{ab} B. *ilçisini*.

^{ac} B. *sa‘adettü padişahının*.

deyü mezbur hetman kendü mühriyle ve taburları içinde olan beglerinin mühriyle biri Türkçe ve biri dahi Leh dilince iki temessük virüb ke'l-evvel mabeynimizde^{ad} sulh olsun deyü kavlı şart itmekle^{ae} ma damki bunlar Leh vilayetinde Kazak eşkıyası Özi suyundan Kara Denize inüb şevketlü padişahın^{af} memleketlerine zarar u ziyan eylemeye ve ta'ahhüd itdikleri üzere def^c ü ref^fleri hususunda sabit-kadem olub ve [müšarün-ileyh]^{ag} han hazretlerine virgülerin olı-geldiği üzere gelecek senede[n]^{ah} virüb bize virdikleri temessüklerinde olan maddelere şart u kavlı eyledikleri üzere ri'ayet olunub hilafına zahib olmayub 'ahdlarında sabit-kadem olalar biz dahi öyle 'ahd ü şart ideriz ki min ba'd Tatar ta'ifesi Leh vilayetine ve^{ai} Leh kralının eli altında olan vilayetlerine zarar u ziyan eylemeye^{aj} ve Leh kralının^{ak} bazarganları şevketlü padişahın^{al} memleketlerine ve Erdel ve Bogdan ve Eflak vilayetlerine varub gelüb bir ferd ol-gelen 'adet-i kadimden^{am} tecavüz eylemeye^{an} ve ma damki bunlar minval-i meşruh üzere Kazagın zarar u ziyanı def^c ü ref^f üzere olalar Erdel ve Eflak ve Bogdan memleketleri hakimlerinden ve halkından dahi Leh vilayetine bir dürlü zarar olmayacağına müta'ahhid olunuz.

Bu minval üzere müta'akkid olan bu mübarek sulh u salah makbulumuz olmagla mucibiyle^{ao} 'amal olunmak için işbu huruf ber sebil-i temessük yedlerine vaz^c olundu ki vakt-i hacetde ihticac idine tahriren fi evahiri şehri Ramazani'l-mübarek seneti sitta ve 'işrin ve elf.^{ap}

Translation:

This is the 'ahdname written on behalf of the vizier Iskender Pasha to the Polish king in the year 1026:

I, who am the servant [kul] of His Excellency, the felicitous and great padishah and the great shahinshah of Mecca the venerated, Medina the enlightened, Jerusalem the noble, and of the seven climes and four angles [of the world], Ibrahim Pasha, nominated with the imperial diploma [berat] as a serdar and commander-in-chief over the victorious troops appointed from the provinces of Rumelia, Buda, and Kanizsa in order to repulse and remove the Cossack brigands, who used to set out from Poland and bring damage and harm to some places of the well-protected imperial dominions;

^{ad} B. *beynimizde*.

^{ae} B. *eylemekle*.

^{af} B. *sa'adettü padişahımın*.

^{ag} In B. only.

^{ah} B. *seneden*.

^{ai} Missing in B.

^{aj} B. *eylemeyeler*.

^{ak} B. *Leh memleketinin*.

^{al} B. *sa'adettü padişahımızın*.

^{am} B. *kadimeden*.

^{an} B. *eylemeyeler*.

^{ao} B. *mucibi ile*.

^{ap} B. *tahriren fi 26 Ramazani'l-mübarek seneti 1026*.

in accordance with the noble order of my majestic padishah, I set out from Bosna with this army and, along with the ruler of Transylvania, Gábor Bethlen, and with the hospodars [voyvodalar] Radu, the ruler of Moldavia, and Alexander, the ruler of Wallachia, we have now descended to the fort of Podbile situated in Moldavia on the river Dniester; meanwhile the hetman of Poland, the commander, head manager and deputy of the troops of the illustrious Polish king, Stanisław Żółkiewski Bey,² has arrived at the place called Jaruha along with the troops of the Polish king; and while the fight and combat, war and battle between [us] was about to begin, our envoys [sent] reciprocally were coming and going, and a conference was held in regard to the Cossack question; as the Cossack brigands and the Tatars had been the reason of spoiling the old peace existing between his excellency, our majestic, great, powerful, and mighty padishah, and the Polish king, their repulsion and removal has been considered proper by both sides; the said hetman has given two certificates [temessük]—one in Turkish and one in Polish—sealed with his own seal and with the seals of the nobles present in their [i.e., Polish] camp, providing that in order to protect the old peace and amity:

[1] *from now on the Cossack brigands should not put out from the Dnieper to the Black Sea, and henceforth they should not bring damage or harm to the dominions being under the hand of His Excellency, our majestic padishah; if it happens in whichever way, it should be forbidden, so that no damage may be done to the well-protected imperial dominions either from the side of the Cossacks, or from the side of themselves [i.e., the Poles]; so that there may be no more need that the navy of the majestic padishah put out to the Black Sea, or that his soldiers arrive by land.*

[2] *No meddling or interference should be done by themselves [i.e., by the Poles] to Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. If the son of Homonnay,³ Şerban,⁴ or others, led by the desire of rule over these three nations, want to arrive [to these countries], they should not be given passage through Poland, nor should they [i.e., the Poles] give them help with treasury or army.*

[3] *They will give their gifts [pişkeş] to his excellency, the felicitous Crimean Khan, as they used to, and starting with the next year they will not detain their gifts due for other [i.e., following] years.*

[4] *They will send their great ambassador to the threshold of the majestic padishah.*

And while saying: "May the peace between us be as previously" it has been mutually agreed that as these Cossack brigands [living] in Poland should not put out from the Dnieper to the Black Sea and commit damage and harm to the provinces of the majestic padishah, and as, according to their engagement, they [i.e., the Poles] should remain firm in the matter of their [i.e., the Cossacks'] repulsion and removal, and starting with the next year they give their payments [virgüler] to His Excellency, the aforementioned Khan, as they used to, and they respect the mutually agreed articles contained in the certificate, which they gave us, they do not follow lies and they remain firm in their oaths, also we swear and promise that henceforth the Tatars will not commit dam-

² This Turkish title was added to the name of the hetman.

³ George Homonnay, son of Valentin Homonnay, the Hungarian magnate and opponent of Bethlen.

⁴ Radu Şerban, the former hospodar of Wallachia.

age or harm to Poland and to the provinces being under the hand of the Polish king. The merchants of the Polish king may enter and come to the provinces of the majestic padishah, to Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and nobody should demand [that they pay] more than the old, customary taxes. And as they [i.e., the Poles] should redress and remove the damages and harms of the Cossacks in the manner described, we engage that also from the side of the rulers and peoples of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia no kind of damage will be brought to Poland.

As we have accepted this blessed peace and amity, tied in the manner described, in order to act in accordance with its requirements these letters in the form of temessük have been committed to their hands so that evidence may be given when required.

Written in the third decade of the blessed Ramadan of the year 1026.⁵

⁵ 22 September–1 October 1617. B. copy reads “written on the 26th of the blessed Ramadan of the year 1026.” This last date, corresponding to 27 September is evidently wrong, because the Ottoman army departed from the shores of the Dniester already on 26 September; see *Zbiór pamiątek historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 6, p. 41. A contemporary Polish translation of the Turkish document is dated 22 Ramadan; see *Zbiór pamiątek*, vol. 6, p. 33. This last date seems to be correct, because it corresponds to the date of the Polish document, 23 September.

DOCUMENT 33 (26 MAY–4 JUNE 1619)¹
The *'ahdname* sent by Osman II to King Sigismund III
(contemporary Polish translation)

The original document is missing.

Polish translation by Samuel Otwinowski:

A. AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, sign. 163, fol. 388a–395b.

B. Bibl. Racz., ms. 2, pp. 245–58.

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 1176, pp. 593–611.

D. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 206, pp. 41–56.

Pakta tureckie od Porty dane przez Piotra Oźgę posła Króla Jego Mości:

Za pomocą Boga najświętobliwszego, wszechmogącego i najwyższego, który jest możny bez początku i bez końca, ustawiczny, wszystkim władający, niebem, ziemią, i wszystkim stworzeniem rządzący, i za błogosławieństwem najświętszego, na niebiosa wyniesionego, między narodem ludzkim wybranego, światu wszystkiemu pożądanego, wszystkie proroctwa kończącego, wielkich proroków poprzedzającego, w mieszkaniu bożym mieszkającego Mechmeta posła bożego (nad którym i nad jego rodziną niech pokój boży przebywał!) z mnóstwem cudów wielkich, i w wierze wybranych pomocników i czterech towarzyszy jego (którym niechaj będzie Bóg miłościwy!), i za wspomoczeniem wszystkich czystych duchów wszystkich wybranych Boga się bojących świętych i wielkich proroków,

ja, który jestem ziemskiego mieszkania panem, i rozmaitych wymysłów, krzywd nieprzyjacielskich skarżą, ozdobnego państwa ottomańskiego dziedzicem, arabskich, adziamijskich, rumelskich królestw możnym panem niezwyciężonym, mocarz okręgu ziemskiego, wielkich cesarzy korony rozdawający i na ich państwach albo stolicach siedzący, teraźniejszego wieku niezwyciężony, państwa ottomańskiego im dalej, tym więcej przyczyniający, Białego i Czarnego Morza i błogosławionego miejsca, miasta Jeruzalem dzierżawca, Aegyptu obfitego, więc mieszkania zdrowia Damaszku, Jemenu, Adenu, Sesanu, i świętego królestwa Bazry, Tripolu, Siechrezalu, i im podobnych wszelkich i szerokich państw rozkaziciel, rumelskich państw dziedzic, więc cyldyrskiego państwa, Karsu, i wielkiego królestwa kiurdskiego i georgitańskiego, Halepu, Marasiu i wszytkiej Aziej, Sywazu i Turkistanu, więc wyspy Kibrysu i Tunusu północnego, i wszytkiej prawie Europy król, budziński, thomeswarski, egierski, kainski, segietwarski, i królestwa bozneńskiego i księstwa Horsek pan, aleksandryjski, siedmigrodzki, multański, wołoski, i tym podobnym [*sic*] wielu państw i królestw i wielu zamków mocno budo-

¹ The second decade of Djumada II 1028 A.H.; 27 May 1619 of the Christian era is given in the translation as well.

wanych i wysokich municyjej możny cesarz i dziedziczny pan, i wielkiego cesarstwa sułtan Osman Chan, syn Sułtan Achmeda, syn Sułtan Mechmeda, syn Sułtan Murada, syn Sułtan Selima, syn Sułtan Sulejmana, który z dziadów i pradziadów jestem chan syn chanów, pan własny miłosierdzia i kary, cesarz możny Osman Chan, za pomocą Boga wszystko dającego ludzi potrzebujących nasycający, ubogich, wiary, i państwa swego obrońca.

Na wszystkie strony świata pojrzawszy i sprawom wielmożnego państwa othomańskiego ucho cesarskie skłoniwszy, z dawności zwyczaju do Wysokiej Porty wielmożnego cesarstwa naszego [się]^a garnących, ze nierozzerwanego sznuru przymierza, z chęcią, miłością, starodawni przyjaciele wielmożności naszej, i tej wielmożnej Porcie ozywając się o odnowienie przymierza i potwierdzenie artykułów żądają i proszą. Między którymi królowie polscy starodawną wielmożnej Porty naszej progowi szczerość, miłość, i wszelaką życzliwość i zawsze doskonale przyjaćielstwo okazować zwykli. Także teraz z teje enologij i z tegoż rodu królów polskich idący inflanckie, żmudzkie, ruskie, mazowieckie, litewskie i inszych wiele [sic] państw wielkie książę, i szwedzkiego królestwa dziedzic i król terażniejszy, między wielkimi pany jezusowego zakonu najchwalebniejszy, między mesjaszowemi wysokiego stanu ludźmi albo pany wybrany, wszystkiego narodu nazarańskiego spraw [wszelkich]^b naprawujący, podołka wszelakiej czci wyniosłości i zastępów wielkich pan, świadek albo powodnik, i pan wszelakiej możności i chwalebności, król Zygmunt (którego sprawy bodaj koniec dobry miały!), do Porty wielmożności, która jest przyjaciółom przyjaźliwa a nieprzyjaciółom ogromna i straszna, z zacnych i roztropnych panów swoich między narodem mesjaszowym najwyborniejszego, i między ludźmi wiary jezusowej mężnego, bęga trembowelskiego Piotra Ożgę, posła wielkiego swojego za odmianą państwa wielmożności naszej przypadłego, dla powinszowania i dla odnowienia i potwierdzenia dawnych umów z obu stron będących posławszy, szczerą przyjaźń i miłość i powolność swoją oznajmił. Przez tegoż wyżej wspomnianego posła w przysłanym liście swym, aby z Wysoką Portą naszą dostateczna zgoda, pokój i przyjaźń być mogła żądał i prosił. Jako tedy za czasów szczęśliwego panowania świętej pamięci ojca naszego (którego duszy mieszkaniem jest raj i niechaj Bóg miłosierdzie swoje gniazdu jego ukaże!) dany im był list przymierny i artykuły pewne w nim inserowane, według tedy tamtego listu przymiernego, i teraz:

“królestwom, prowincjom, zamkom, miastom, i wszystkim pod mocą i ręką ich będącym miejscom żadnym obyczajem od niezwyciężonej możności naszej i od wielmożnych wejzerów naszych, i od sławnych baszów i od zacnych begów, więc i od wszelakich niezwyciężonych wojsk i ludzi naszych, żadnym sposobem szkody i przykrości przeciwko przymierz i pokojowi starodawnemu z obu stron będącemu nie ma być czyniono. Od wyżej wspomnianego też króla polskiego i od namiesników jego, i od łotrostwa kozackiego, i od jego posłusznych kogożkolwiek z ich strony, państwom naszym i

^a In B. only.

^b Thusly written in B.; A. *spraw wielkich*.

królestwom, prowincjom, zamkom, miastom, żadnym sposobem szkoda ani żadna przykrość dziać się nie ma. Przyjacielowi naszemu przyjacielem, a nieprzyjacielowi nieprzyjacielem być ma. Między nami zobostronni posłowie i ludzie aby przechodzili, a przechodzącym tak samym osobom jako i im towarom i skarbowi (to jest pieniądżom) szkoda żadna dziać się nie ma. A w przeszłym zamieszaniu i rozruchach, które były, wyżej wspomniony król polski z tej strony o pobranych więźniach pilno się wywiedziawszy i ich najlżejszy, skoro zdrowych wolno wypuści i tu odeśle, tedy w tymże zamieszaniu i rozruchach z polskiego królestwa pobranych więźniów, którzy by na wiarę musułmańską nie przystali, a w wierze swojej chrześcijańskiej zastani byli, dowiodłszy tego, że jest polski, mają być posłowi królewskiemu powracani. A teraz od daty terażniejszego przymierza, jakimkolwiek sposobem z obu stron jeśliby kto więźniem został, nie ma być płacony, a dowiodłszy tego, że jest Polakiem, ma być od tego czyj jest wolno puszczone; także też z tamtej strony zachowano być ma. A ci, którzy kupiami się bawią, gdziebykolwiek się najdowali według zwyczaju co powinien oddawszy, z nich żadnemu tak osobom jako i ich kupiom i skarbowi albo pieniądżom szkoda aby nie była. Z kupców z Polski przyjeżdżających, jeśliby który w państwach naszych umarł, tedy odumarłe rzeczy i cobykolwiek miał nie mają być od nas brane, ale karawan naszemu mają być oddane, aby do królestwa wzięwszy dziedzicom oddano było. A jeśliby też z naszych kupców który w królestwie polskim umarł, tymże obyczajem król polski zachować się ma. A po dacie tego listu i przymierza naszego, jeśliby szkoda jaka królewskim państwom od posłusznych nam się stała, tego taką złość uczynionego wynalazłszy i skarawszy, cobykolwiek szkody uczynili, nazad wrócono bez żadnych wymówek być ma. Toż i z strony królewskiej dziać się ma. A jeśliby z państwa naszego czyjkolwiek dłużnik w państwa królewskie wszedł, tedy gdziebykolwiek był, przed tam tego miejsca przełożonym stanąwszy, słuszną inkwizycją uczyniwszy, po przeświadczeniu ma być dług oddany. A przez winności czyjej dla długu i przewinienia czyjego inszego póki własnym rękojmią za pieniądze nie był, nikt nie ma być łapany ani turbowany. Także zobostronni poddani tych państw bez winności nikogo turbować nie mają.

Na ostatek jako od dziadów i pradziadów naszych (których duszom niech będzie odpocznienie!) aż dotąd między nami będący pokój, przymierze i przysięgę potwierdzając, a iż dla przeszłych szkód komisarze naznaczeni zjachać się nie mogli, tedy do daty tego przymiernego listu z obu stron któresiękolwiek stały szkody, odpuszczone ani wspomniane być mają.

Wielmożnemu też chanowi tatarskiemu póki podług przymiernych listów między nimi będących od króla polskiego zwykłe i postanowione upominki oddawane będą, żeby w niczym przymierze się nie naruszało, od chana i od wojsk tatarskich państwom i poddanym królewskim nie ma być żadna zaczepka, ani żadna szkoda czyniona. A jeśliby jaka szkoda się od nich stała, za rozkazaniem wielmożności naszej ma być szkoda nagrodzona. A jeśliby też na wojnę cesarską carowi tatarskiemu iścieśmy kazali, przerzeczony chan z wojskiem tatarskim się ruszywszy, na wojnę idąc ma państwa polskie mijać, a inędą słusznym miejscem sobie prześcia szukać aby królestwa polskiego nie zaczepiał. A jeśliby też na wyżej pomienionego króla polskiego

skąd inąd nieprzyjacieli powstał, a z strony przerzeczonego króla do chana list i posłaniec o tym był pomocy i ratunku potrzebując, za przystąpieniem rozkazanego naszego cesarskiego chan tatarski i z wojski tatarskimi—jakoby najlepiej rozumiał i rzecz potrzebowała—na zniesienie nieprzyjaciela, pomoc i ratunek dać ma, aby oświadczył przyjaźń swoją. Z strony też ziemie wołoskiej państwowym i ludziom króla polskiego szkoda się żadna dziać nie ma, a jeśliby się jaka stała, po przeświadczeniu pewnym i za rozkazaniem naszym cesarskim nagrodzona być ma. Z strony królewskiej także tak Tatarom jako i Wołochom, osobom i rzeczom ich, jeśliby się szkoda stała, nagrodzona być ma; i ten, co by to uczynił albo przyczyną był, ma być karany. Kupcom wołoskim po oddaniu zwyczajnego myta nie ma być nikt przeszkodą.

A iż też z Wołoch niektórzy uciekając w Polskę się przechowywują, a potym rozmaitym sposobem wołoską ziemię poduszczaniem swoim turbują, za upomnieniem się takich u króla polskiego mają być wydani i skarani.

Więźniów dotąd pobranych ludzie królewscy na którymbykolwiek miejscu w państwach naszych należeli, przysięgę dawszy temu [sic] co ich kupił, więcej jedno co sam zań dał upominać się nie mają. A jeśliby którzy z nich już poturczeni byli, nie mają się ich upominać; a tych, którzy [sic] w wierze chrześcijańskiej by zastali, kupno ich wróciwszy, hamowani od wyścia być nie mają. Posłowie, gdy na granice przyjdą, ludzie godni przydawani im być mają. Toż i stamtąd zachowano być ma.

Jeśliby który z poddanych naszych u kogo z poddanych królewskich dług jaki miał, za upomnieniem się ma być od przełożonych sprawiedliwość uczyniona. Od rozbójników i złodziejów gdyby się szkoda stała, przełożeni mają ich wynaleźć i in instanti karać, a to co pobranego za słusznym dowodem nic nie zostawując, komu należy wrócono być ma. Kupcy z kimkolwiek kupie swoje i commercia prowadząc pozywali by się, oprócz zapisu prawnego nie ma być słuchano. Lub o rękojemstwo lub też o dług pozywany gdzie by spór jaki był, aby na zapis prawny i na zeznanie patrzone. A jeśliby obojga tego nie było, za postawieniem przynajętych albo przymuszonych świadków fałszerstwa i potwarzy aby nie czynili. Z strony królewskiej także póki przełożonym o tym wiadomo nie będzie, nie ma być słuchano.

Silistryjscy, biłogrodzcy begowie i ci, którzy są na brzegach przełożeni i w mieściech rządu przestrzegający, oprócz sług a niewolników naszych, którzy by po posłudze naszej jachali, a oprócz zobozstronnych kupców nikogo do państwa polskiego puszcząć nie mają. A jeśliby lub z tej lub z tamtej strony u przechodzących więźniowie się najdowali, z obu stron mają też przestrzegać i nazad ich wracać.

Owczarze i tam i sam przechodzący, jeśliby do Polski przechodzili, mają się sami i owce swoje przełożonym miejsc tamtych opowiedzieć, a potajemnie przechodzić nie mają. Jeśliby owczarze opowiedziawszy się owce potracili, od przełożonych upominać się ich mają.

Od przechodzących, któżbykolwiek był, na ulak konie nie mają być łapane. Janczarowie podczas wojny koni nikomu brać nie mają.

Hospodarowie wołoscy według dawnego przymiernego listu wyżej wspom-

nionemu królowi polskiemu przyjacielstwu uczciwość aby czynili. Zobosronnych kupców myta aby podwyższane nie były, ale jako i wiele z dawna dawać zwykli, tak niechaj dają.

Kupcy lub do Wołoch lub do inszych państw naszych gwoli kupiectwu chodzący przez dzikie pola skrytymi albo niezwyčajnymi drogami chodzić nie mają, ale jako dawnych kupców chodzić zwyczaj jest, aby tamtędy chodzili. A gdzie by zwyczajną drogą idącemu lub samemu lub rzeczom jego szkoda się jaka stała, tedy złoczyńców imać i karać powinniśmy. Kupcom tym, którzy właśnie według słuszności idą, przykreść żadna dziać się nie ma. Myto ma być według zwyczaju brane.

Od przywożących i od wywożących towarów, według zwyczaju myto oddawszy w Stambolie i w Jendrnie, cła reft nazwanego i drugie cła kasabie nazwanego dawać nie mają. Od talerów także, które przywożą, myto nie ma być brano. Wszakże lewkowe talery, które w Polsce idą, iż są fałszywe i nie są z szczerzego srebra, i są na szkodę wszystkich ludzi kupujących, do tego minnicy cesarskiej wielką przeszkodą są, nigdy w państwach naszych lewkowe talery i te, które by nie były ważne, brane ani udawane być mają. Co warując własnym pismem ręki swojej, rozkazaliśmy aby nigdy z tamtej strony złe i nieważne talery przywożone nie były, oprócz tych, które by wagę wynosząc szczerze srebro miały.

Kupcy za czyj inszy dług, oprócz żeby za dług rękojmiał był, nie mają być pociągani. Czauszowie i spahiowie na drodze poddanym brać koni nie mają. Kupcy polscy w państwach naszych z ziemie swojej będących więźniów jeśliby chcieli okupować, wójtowie nasi nie mają im bronić, a wykupionych i wolnych aby z rąk im znowu nie brali. [Poturczonych też król upominać się nie ma].^c

W ręku wyżej wspomnianego króla polskiego będącym państwom, i tych, których by on potym od inszych krześcijan dostał, od nas żadna przykreść ani żadna zaczepka dziać się nie ma, wszystko pod jego ręką i w jego rządzeniu ma.

Kupcy polscy, którzy do państw naszych przyjeżdżają, kupie swoje w Bursie i w Jendrynopolu komubykolwiek chcieli przedać, nie mają mieć w tym przeszkody.

Między kupcy jeśliby się jaka prawna sprawa trafiła, karawan basza, który by był między nimi, ma w to wejrzawszy gdzie by było potrzeba respondować. Od Polaka, to jest kupca polskiego, gdyby się kto długu upominał, a nie miałby ręcznego cyrografu zapieczętowanego, nie ma być dług wyciągany.

Kupcy polscy z dawnych czasów w Konstantynopolu myto zwyczajnie płacić powinni będąc, teraz na niektórych miejscach znowu myta się u nich upominać zwykli. Starych zwyczajów się trzymając, raz w Konstantynopolu myto zapłaciwszy, znowu na inszym miejscu myto od nich nie ma być wyciągane, i nie mają być turbowani.

^c In B. only.

Kupców polskich, którzy do państw naszych z kupiami przyjeżdżają, Tatarowie gabać więc zwykli. Takich Tatarów, w którymkolwiek kraju państwa naszego by byli, tam tego kraju przełożeni i begowie o <nie>skaranie^d i wytracenie albo zniesienie ich, według listu naszego przymiernego dla kupiectw przyjeżdżającym aby przykrości żadnej Tatarowie nie czynili, starać się powinni. A jeśliby im co wzięto było, co do najmniejszej rzeczy ma być wrócono, aby nic opaczego przeciwko postanowionemu pokojowi nie czyniono było.

Cło reft nazwane i rzeźnicze pieniądze, to jest kassabic, i insze nad w liście przymiernym napisane rzeczy, aby więcej nie wyciągano i nie brano było”

—mówiąc na ten kształt za żywota i szczęśliwego panowania ojca naszego zmarłego (którego duszy niech da Pan Bóg odpocznienie!) dany był im w ręce list przymierny.

W tym tedy przymierzu wszystkie punkta i artykuły napisane i mianowane ja też słusznie bacząc, za prośbą ich przyjmując i potwierdzając, za nastąpieniem jeszcze o niektóre punkta żądania ich, a za oznajmieniem przyręczonego posła wyżej wspomnianego króla polskiego znowu w ten list przymierny wpisać i włożyć pozwoliłem. Między innymi punktami pierwszy ten jest:

“W państwa króla polskiego krymscy, tehińscy, biłogrodzcy, oczakowscy, na Tyburczyku^e mieszkający, silistryjscy Tatarowie i insi żadnym sposobem szkody i przykrości nie czyniąc, wrywać się nie mają. Najdują się też tacy niespokojni, którzy dla zamieszania i rozruchu uczynienia zobostronnego rzeczy nieprawdziwe do Porty piszą i oznajmują. Póki tedy sama rzecz prawdziwą wiadoma nie będzie, takowych słowom aby wiary nie dawano. A gdzie by się na takich kłamstwo i nieprawda pokazała, według zasługi swojej aby skarani byli.

Hospodarowie wołoscy Tatarów i inszego łotrostwa przez ziemię wołoską do państwa króla polskiego aby nie przepuszczali, i takim aby nie pomagali.

Między kupcy gdyby sprawa o dług była, nad pięć tysięcy aspr dług który by wynosił więcej, taka ma być u Porty naszej wysokiej sądzona; a co by mniej niż pięć tysięcy aspr wynosiło, wszędy sądzono być ma.

Z państw króla polskiego i dla kupiectw przychodzących od poddanych jego i z kupców pobór nie ma być brany; oddawszy od towarów według zwyczaju myto kupcy nikomu i aspry jednej aby nie dawali.

Jeśliby też przeciwko paktom i listowi temu przymiernemu jakimkolwiek sposobem kto jakie pismo sobie wyprawiwszy, wziął, nie ma być wierzone i owszem według essencyjy listu przymiernego czynić mają. Gdzie by się też kto od kogo dług upominał, oprócz zapisu i zeznania prawnego między kupcy, z pieczęcią ręczny cyrograf ma być ukazany. Gdzie by tego nie było, taka sprawa aby nie była słuchana.”

^d B. reads correctly *skaranie*.

^e B. na *Tyburzysku*.

A iż oprócz tych wspomnionych punktów pokojowi zobopólnemu przeszkodą i do zepsowania przyczyną są łotrostwo Kozacy, tedy jako dla zniesienia i uprzątnienia ich, przeszłego roku z wezyrem, z Skinder Baszą (którego zacność niech się mnoży!), wyżej wspomnionego króla polskiego hetman i wielki kanclerz umówił i postanowił punkta i artykuły. Które to punkta zobostronni panowie radni pochwaliwszy i przyjąwszy, z obóh stron rekognicyje sobie dawszy postanowienie uczynili. W których to piśmiech abo cyrografiech pierwszy punkt jest, że:

“Król polski łotrostwo kozackie mocno zatrzymawszy i zahamowawszy, z Dniepru na Czarne Morze aby nie wychodzieli, i od tych łotrów aby więcej szkody^f poddanym państwa naszego się nie działo, podjął się tak, żeby ani od Kozaków, ani od wojsk jego poddanym naszym szkoda się nie działa. Na lądzie też będących Kozaków karać wyżej wspomniony król polski powinien będzie.^g

Wtóra rzecz, z starodawna zwykle upominki chanowi tatarskiemu jako między sobą namówili i pozwolili, dla czego i skrypty jeśli dane są, według tego, od przyszełego terażniejszego roku te upominki począwszy i oddawszy od nich, od nich też—to jest od Tatarów—żadna się szkoda państwowi króla polskiego dziać nie ma. I owszem, jako przyjaciele z sobą żyć mają, a według starych się pakt sprawując, w tym co obiecali abo podjęli się, aby mocno stali.

Trzeci punkt, siedmigrodzkiej ziemi od ludzi króla polskiego nie ma się żadna przykreść dziać. Jeśliby Humanajego syn lub kto inszy dla posiedzenia ziemie tej iść by chciał, takim przez Polskę drogi nie dając, pomagać żadnym obyczajem nie mają. Kupcom też siedmigrodzkim według starych pakt i zwyczajów przechodów nie broniąc, na nich nowego nic wynajdować nie mają.

Na gospodarstwo też wołoskie chciwością panowania uwiedzionym abo jaką szkodę uczynić pragnącym—z swej strony żadnego zamieszania nie czyniąc tak od samego jako też od ludzi jego żaden zaczepkę dziać się nie ma—gdzie by też skądinąd na gospodarstwo wołoskie kto się kusić chciał, ani wojski ani pieniędzmi pomagać nie mają. Gospodarowie też wołoscy według trybu starego w przyjaźni z nimi aby mocno trwali. Kupcom polskim według starych zwyczajów Wołochowie drogi zwyczajnej, którą zwykli zawsze jeździć, bronić nie mają, i nic nowego nie wynajdować; starych zwyczajów trzymać się mają.

To też i o multańskiej ziemi rozumieć się ma, aby od nich samych i od Szerbana^h lub od kogo inszego, którzy chciwością panowania abo jakiej szkody uczynienia tam by iść chcieli, dróg przez Polskę nie dając, wojskiem i pieniędzmi pomagać nie mają. Kupcom zasię multańskim według starych

^f B. *więcej szkód*.

^g B. *karać będzie wyżej wspomniany król polski powinien*.

^h B. *Serbana*.

zwyczajów drogi nie broniąc, nic nowego nad zwyczaj wynajdować nie mają.”

—mówiąc szerokimi słowy według opisanego tego między wezyrem Skinder Baszą i między hetmanem króla polskiego umocnione te punkta postanowione są.

Te tedy rzeczy teraz przed majestat wielmożności namiestnictwa naszego suplikowane są. Przeto póki król polski, według tego w tych punktach i artykułach obiecanych mocno trwając, kozackiemu łotrostw[u],ⁱ które lecie i zimie w Królestwie Polskim się chowa i żywi, z Dniepru na Czarne Morze wychodzić nie da, i poddanym państwa mego szkody najmniejszej czynić nie dopuści, ja też przez państwa swoje i przez ziemię wołoską Tatarom krymskim przejścia nie dam. A jeśliby Tatarowie, z pokojem siedzieć nie chcąc, przez mnie poddane państwa i przez wołoską ziemię przejść chcąc do państwa króla polskiego by wpaść chcieli, zabezpieczyć temu powinienem. Nad to jeszcze, gdy król polski przyrzeczonemu chanowi tatarskiemu pozwolone upominki i namówione według postanowienia odda, a chan tatarski przeciwko pokojowi albo zgodzie z drugiej strony wojsko prowadzić by chciał na czynienie szkód Koronie Polski,^j za wzięciem o tym wiadomości, gwoli przyjaźni przyrzeczonemu, chanowi tatarskiemu listem naszym cesarskim surowo zakazemy; jakoż list nasz cesarski już oddany jest.^k

Takim sposobem tedy teraz w tym to liście przymiernym napisane i naznaczone wszystkie punkta i artykuły, tak te, które w liście od sławnej pamięci ojca naszego wspomniane są, jako też te, które za prośbą posła wielkiego wyżej wspomnianego króla polskiego znowu pozwolone i wpisane są, które to punkta wyżej wspomniane były. Tak też łotrostwa kozackiego i tatarskiego zobostronne uskromienie i pohamowanie, w tych to postanowionych punktach pozwolenie, wszystko to majestatu wielmożności naszej słowa są. Te wszystkie rzeczy według napisania za mocne i stałe wielmożność majestatu naszego wdzięcznie przyjmując, wielmożnie i świętobliwie związane, tak z starodawna uczynione artykuły, jako i terazniejsze, które na żądanie wyżej wspomnianego króla polskiego posła gwoli pokojowi wielmożność zacności naszej znowu w ten list przymierny włożywszy dałem, i rozkazałem, aby póki z strony wyżej wspomnianego króla polskiego, i z strony panów jego i innych, naruszenia nowo postanowionego pokoju i przymierza przyczyny i do zepsowania tych artykułów okazyj nie dadzą, i łotrostwa kozackiego—które rozerwania i rozróżnienia zobostronnego przyczyną jest—na Czarne Morze [nie]^l wypuszczają, przyjacielowi przyjacielem a nieprzyjacielem nieprzyjacielowi zaś będą, ja także z szczerością zbawienia mocno upewniam, obiecuję i przysięgam na Tego, który niebo i ziemię z niczego uczynił i wszelakie stworzenie mocą swoją stworzył, na jedność i bytność Obżywiela, i na słońce obóch wieków, na wielkiego świętego Proroka naszego wielkie

ⁱ Thusly written in B.; A. reads erroneously *kozackiego łotrostwa*.

^j B. *Koronie Polskiej*.

^k B. *już wydany jest*.

^l In B. only.

i dostateczne cuda (nad którego duszą pokój boży niech będzie!), iż cokolwiek w tym liście przymiernym napisano i włożono jest, nic nie naruszając, do skończenia wielmożności mojej i do długich dni zacności naszej, i do nigdy nie skończonych wieków państwa naszego ten pokój i przymierze mocne, trwałe, i to przyjacielstwo do wieku nieporuszenie trzymać będę.

Pisano jest we śródku miesiąca dziemazyl adnir [*sic*] nazwanego roku od przeprowadzenia się mechmetowego 1028, to jest—według liczby od narodzenia Boga Zbawiciela naszego—27 Maii anno MDCXIX, w konstantynopolskim okręgu.

Translation:

The Turkish treaty issued at the Porte [brought] by Piotr Ożga, the envoy of His Royal Majesty:

By the assistance of the most holy, omnipotent, and highest God, who is wealthy with no beginning and with no end, eternal, all-powerful, ruling over the heaven, the earth, and all the creatures, and by the blessing of the most saint, elevated to heaven, the chosen from among the human nation, desired by the whole universe, completing all the prophecies, preceding the great prophets, dwelling in the God's residence, Muhammad, the envoy of God (may the divine peace be upon him and upon his family!) along with numerous great miracles, and in the faith of his chosen assistants and of his four companions (may God be gracious to them!), and by the assistance of all the pure souls of the chosen, God-respecting saints and great prophets;

*I, who am the lord of the earthly dwelling, the avenger for various abuses and inimical damages, the heir of the ornate Ottoman state, the mighty invincible lord of the Arabic, Persian, and Rumelian [i.e., Greek] kingdoms, the athlete of the earthly globe, the distributor of the crowns of the great emperors, seating in their states and capitals, the invincible one of the present era, the one, who causes the further increase of the Ottoman state, the tenant of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] and of the Black Sea, and of the blessed place, the city of Jerusalem, the commander of the abundant Egypt, sound Damascus, Yemen, Aden and Sana, of the holy kingdom of Basra, of Tripoli, Shehrizul, and of various large countries themlike, the heir of the Rumelian lands, the king of Childir, Kars, the great kingdom of Kurdistan and Georgia, of Haleb [i.e., Aleppo], Maraş, and of the whole Asia, of Sivas and Turkestan, of the island of Cyprus, of the northern [*sic*] Tunis, and of almost the whole Europe, the lord of Buda, Temesvár, Eger, Kanizsa and Sigetvár, of the kingdom of Bosnia and of the duchy of Hercegovina, the mighty emperor and the hereditary lord of Alexandria, Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, and of many lands and kingdoms themlike, and of numerous strongly built castles and high towers, the sultan of the great empire, Osman Khan, son of Sultan Ahmed, son of Sultan Mehmed, son of Sultan Murad, son of Sultan Selim, son of Sultan Suleyman, who—by the [ancestral rights of the] granfathers and great grandfathers—am the khan, son of the khans, the lord of the pity and punishment, the mighty emperor Osman Khan, feeding the people in need through the assistance of the All-bountiful God, the defender of the poor, of the faith, and of my state.*

As we looked in all the directions of the world and we bent the imperial ear to the matters of the excellent Ottoman state, the old friends of our majesty from among those traditionally attracted by the Exalted Porte of our majestic empire, and from the indissoluble chain of the alliance, having expressed inclination and amity toward the majes-

tic Porte, requested and asked for the renewal of the treaty and for the confirmation of the articles. Among them, the Polish kings had always used to display the ancient sincerity, amity, friendliness, and the perfect friendship toward the threshold of our excellent Porte. Also now, the one from the house and from the line of the Polish kings, the grand duke of Livonia, Samogitia, Ruthenia, Mazovia, Lithuania, and of numerous other lands, the heir and the present king of the Swedish kingdom, the most praiseworthy from among the great lords of the Christian order, the chosen from among the highly ranked ones and from among the lords of the people of the Messiah, the restorer of all the matters of the whole Nazarene nation, the lord, the witness and the originator of the abode of glory and of the great troops, the lord of majesty and glory, King Sigismund (may his affairs conclude with good!), has sent to the excellent Porte—which is friendly to [its] friends and which is great and terrible to [its] enemies—his great envoy from among his esteemed and wise dignitaries, the best one from among the nation of the Messiah and the brave one from among the people of the Christian faith, the commander [beg] of Trembowla Piotr Ożga, in order to congratulate on the accession of our excellency and to renew and confirm the old mutual agreements; and he has declared his sincere friendship, amity, and loyalty. [And] in his letter sent with the aforementioned envoy he has requested and asked that harmony, peace, and friendship be established with our Exalted Porte. Therefore, as in the times of the felicitous rule of our late father (whose soul lives in paradise, may God show his pity toward his nest!) an 'ahdname had been given to them, containing certain articles, also now, according to that [previous] 'ahdname, an 'ahdname has been given to their hands, saying as during the life and the felicitous rule of our late father (may God give rest to his soul!) that:

"from the side of our invincible majesty, our excellent viziers, famous pashas, esteemed beys, invincible troops, and our men no damage should be done to the kingdoms, provinces, castles, towns, and all the places being under their power and their hand; and nothing should be done against the treaty and peace, mutually existing since olden times. Also from the side of the aforementioned Polish king, his governors, Cossack brigands, or anybody from among his dependents no damage or harm should be done to our lands, kingdoms, provinces, castles, and towns. He should be a friend of our friend, and an enemy of our enemy.

The envoys and agents of both sides should pass [without difficulties], and no damage should be done to the passing individuals, their goods and treasures (i.e., money). The aforementioned Polish king should diligently inquire after slaves from this side captured during the previous turmoil and disturbances; having found them, he should set them free and in good health, and he should send them here; then, the slaves from the Polish kingdom captured during the aforementioned turmoil and disturbances, who have not become Muslim and have persisted in their Christian faith, should be turned over to the royal envoy after proving that they are Polish. If anybody from either side is captured in whichever way after the date of the present treaty, he should not be redeemed but should be set free by his owner, after proving that he is a Pole; one should proceed likewise on the other side.

After merchants pay the required customary duties in the appropriate places, no damage should be done to their lives, goods, treasures or money. If anybody among the merchants coming from Poland dies in our dominions, the wares and goods of the deceased should not be taken by us, but they should be handed over to the head of the caravan, so that they may be taken to the [Polish] kingdom and handed over to [his] heirs. If anybody from among our merchants dies in the Polish kingdom, the Polish king should

proceed likewise. If after the date of this our letter and treaty damage is done to the royal lands from the side of our subjects, the evildoers should be found and punished, and the damage should be compensated for without any excuse. The same should be done on the royal side.

If the debtor of anybody from our state arrives at any place in the royal dominions, after an inquiry is done by the local authorities, the debt, after being proved, should be restored. Nobody should be detained or molested for the reason of guilt, debt, or crime of another person, unless he has stood as surety for money. And from both sides one should not molest innocent persons.

In conclusion, while confirming the peace, treaty, and oath existing between us from the times of our grandfathers and great grandfathers (may their souls rest in peace!), as the commissioners appointed for [discussing] the previous damages could not meet, the damage incurred by either side until the date of this 'ahdname should be forgiven and should not be mentioned.

As long as the customary gifts to be submitted by the Polish king, whose amount was determined in mutual agreements between themselves [i.e., the Poles and the Tatars] are delivered to His Excellency, the Tatar [i.e., Crimean] khan, so that the treaty may not be disturbed, no molestation or damage should be done to the royal dominions and subjects by the khan and the Tatar army. If any damage is done from their side, it should be compensated for according to the order of our excellency. If we order the Tatar khan to set out for an imperial campaign, while the aforementioned khan moves with the Tatar army and goes for a campaign, he should pass round the Polish domains and seek passage through another suitable territory, so that he does not molest the Polish kingdom. If an enemy rises against the aforementioned Polish king, and a letter and an envoy reaches the khan from the aforementioned king asking for help and rescue, upon receiving our imperial order the Tatar khan with the Tatar army should give help and rescue—as he deems suitable and necessary—to defeat the enemy, so that he may demonstrate his friendship. Also from the side of Moldavia no damage should be done to the dominions and subjects of the Polish king. And if it happens, after it is proved, it should be compensated for according to our imperial order. On the royal side, if a damage is done to the Tatars or the Moldavians, their lives or goods, it should be compensated for and its perpetrators or initiators should be punished. And nobody should hinder the Moldavian merchants after they pay the customary toll.

As some individuals flee Moldavia and find refuge in Poland, and then they molest the Moldavian lands with their intrigues, if it is requested from the Polish king, such individuals should be delivered and punished.

If the royal agents find in whichever place of our dominions prisoners captured prior to the present time, their owners should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath and should not demand more.² If some of them are already Muslims, one should not ask for them, but those who have persisted in the Christian faith, after redeemed, should not be hindered from leaving. Upon reaching the borders, the envoys should be given fit men as an escort. The other side should proceed likewise.

² The Polish translation reads erroneously that an oath should be taken by the royal agents. Instead of: *przysięgę dawszy temu co ich kupił* it should read: *przysięgę dawszy ten co ich kupił*.

If anybody among the royal subjects owes something to anybody among our subjects, justice should be executed by the [local] authorities after requested. If robbers and thieves commit any damage, they should be found and immediately punished by the authorities, and the stolen goods, after it is proved, should be restored to their owners without deficiency. If a claim arises concerning a transaction between the merchants, it should not be heard unless a legal record exists. If a claim arises concerning surety or a debt, one should look at the legal records and testimonies. If neither of these two exists, one should not commit forgery or slander by bringing corrupt or forced witnesses. Also on the royal side one should not hear [a claim] until the matter is known to the authorities.

The beys of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and local authorities, should not let anybody go to Poland except our servants and slaves, going in our service, and except the merchants of both sides. If captives are found with those passing from hither or from the other side, one should mutually comply [with the treaty] and turn them back.

If the shepherds wandering between hither and yonder arrive at Poland, they should notify local authorities of their presence and of their sheep, and they should not pass in secret. If they lose their sheep after notification, they can demand their return from the authorities.

The horses of the traveling individuals, whoever they are, should not be seized for the courier service [ulak]. Janissaries on campaign should not seize horses of anybody.

According to the previous 'ahdname, the Moldavian hospodars should display friendship and loyalty toward the aforementioned Polish king. The tolls of the merchants of both sides should not be raised; they should pay the same amount, as they used to pay.

Merchants arriving to Moldavia and to our other dominions for the purpose of trade should not pass through wild areas by hidden or unusual roads, but they should use the roads traditionally traveled by merchants. If a damage is done to the life or goods of anybody going by the usual road, we should capture and punish the evildoers. The merchants, who come in sincerity, should not be molested. Their duties should be collected according to the custom.

After those, who bring goods or take them away, pay the customary duties in Istanbul and in Edirne, they should not pay taxes called reft and kassabiye. Also one should not collect duties on the thalers, which they bring; however, as the lion thalers current in Poland are counterfeit and are not made of pure silver, and they cause a loss to all merchants, and moreover, they bring great damage to the imperial mint, [therefore] the lion thalers and those thalers, which are not of true value, should never be accepted or used in our domains. Having certified this with our handwriting, we have ordered that the unsound and counterfeit thalers never be brought from that direction, except those, which—judging by their weight—are made of pure silver.

Merchants should not be molested for the debt of another person, unless they stood surety for a debt. Çavuşes and sipahis should not seize horses of traveling [Polish] subjects. If Polish merchants want to redeem in our domains captives taken from their land, our bailiffs³ should not oppose them and should not take those [captives], who are released

³ Pol. *wójtowie*; apparently translated from the Tur. *kadılar*.

and free, back from their hands. [But] the king should not demand for those who have become Muslim.⁴

No damage or molestation should be done from our side to the dominions held [presently] in the hand of the aforementioned Polish king, and [to the provinces] that he seizes afterwards from other Christians; everything should remain under his hand and in his rule.

Polish merchants arriving to our domains may freely sell their goods in Bursa and Edirne to whomever they want.

If a dispute arises among the merchants, the head of the caravan, who is present among them, should investigate and resolve it, if necessary. If anybody demands a debt payment from a Pole, that is from a Polish merchant, the debt should not be executed unless he has a written and sealed certificate.

Since olden times the Polish merchants have been obliged to pay usual duties in Constantinople, [but] recently they were demanded to pay again in certain places. Following the old custom, after they pay once in Constantinople, no other toll should be collected from them in another place, and they should not be molested.

Polish merchants arriving with trade to our domains used to be robbed by the Tatars. In whichever province of our state are these Tatars, the governors and beys of that province should endeavor to punish, exterminate and destroy them, so that according to our 'ahdname the Tatars do not molest those coming with trade. If anything is taken from them [i.e., from the merchants], it should be restored to the least thing, so that nothing may be done contrary to the established peace.

The duty called *reft*, the butchers' toll called *kassabiye*, and other duties besides those mentioned in the 'ahdname, should not be demanded or collected."

As I have corroborated, accepted and confirmed on their demand all the clauses and articles written and detailed in this treaty, I have also agreed to register and insert into this 'ahdname certain other articles requested by themselves and announced by the said envoy of the aforementioned Polish king. The first of these articles states:

"The Tatars from Crimea, Bender, Akkerman, Oçakiv, those dwelling in Tyburczyk,⁵ those from Silistra, and others should not bring any damage or harm, and should not raid into the domains of the Polish king. Moreover, as certain rebellious individuals write and report untrue affairs to the Porte in order to cause mutual intrigue and disturbance, one should not trust to their words as long as the matter is not verified. If their lies and falsehood are disclosed, they should be punished according to their guilt.

The Moldavian hospodars should not let Tatars and other brigands go through Moldavia to the land of the Polish king, and should not assist themlike.

If a claim concerning a debt arises among the merchants, if the debt exceeds 5,000 akçe, it should be judged at our exalted Porte; and if it is worth less than 5,000 akçe, it can be judged at any locale.

⁴ Lit. "who have become Turks," Pol. *poturczonych*.

⁵ Tur. Çöprüce or Çöplüce (Rum. Ciubarciu or Cioburciu), a fort on the Dniester between Bender and Akkerman; see Berindei, "La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues, 1600–1637," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1 (1977): 273–307, esp. p. 301; Nicolae Popp, *Transnistria, incarcare de monografie regionala* (Bucharest, 1943), p. 131.

One should not collect [excessive] taxes from the subjects and merchants of the Polish king coming from his lands for the purpose of trade; after they pay customary tolls from their goods, they should not pay anybody a single akçe more.

If anybody procures a [false] letter and collects [excessive taxes] contrary to the treaty and to this 'ahdname, one should not trust him and one should act according to the content of the 'ahdname. If anybody demands a debt payment from anybody else, he should present a sealed certificate written by hand along with a legal record and testimony prepared between the merchants. If it does not exist, such a case should not be heard."

Moreover, as the Cossack brigands constitute an obstacle to our mutual peace and cause its deterioration, some clauses and articles providing for their removal and extinction were concluded and fixed in the previous year between the vizier Iskender Pasha (may his sincerity increase!) and the hetman and the great chancellor of the aforementioned Polish king. The councillors of both sides praised and accepted these articles, and mutually exchanged written confirmation. The first article of these records, or certificates, reads that:

"The Polish king should hold firmly the Cossack brigands and should stop them, so that they do not put out from the Dnieper to the Black Sea, and so that no more damage may be done to the subjects of our state from the side of these brigands; and he engaged that no damage be done to our subjects by the Cossacks and by his troops. The aforementioned king should also punish the Cossacks, while they are on land.

Secondly, as the mutually agreed and allowed customary gifts for the Tatar khan are delivered in accordance with the previously given receipts—if they exist—starting with the present year, also from their side—that is from the side of the Tatars—no damage should be done to the domains of the Polish king. They should live together as friends, and they should stand firmly in their promises and engagements, according to the old treaties.

Thirdly, no damage should be done to Transylvania from the side of the Polish king. If the son of Homonnay⁶ or anybody else wants to set out with the intention of seizing this land, they should not give themlike passage through Poland and they should not assist them. Transylvanian merchants should be given passage according to the old treaties and customs, and they [i.e., the Poles] should not invent anything new [i.e., any new taxes] against them.

They should not assist either with troops or with money those tempted by the greed of rule over the Moldavian principality [hospodarstwo], those wishing to bring any damage, or those attempting to seize the Moldavian hospodarship from whichever direction; and no intrigue or molestation should be done by [the Polish king] himself or by his men. The Moldavian hospodars should firmly keep friendship with them according to the old custom. The Moldavians should not hinder Polish merchants from traveling by their customary road, always used by them, and they should not invent anything new [i.e., any new taxes] and should respect the old customs.

As to Wallachia one should proceed likewise, so that if anyone of themselves [i.e., of the Poles], of the followers of Radu Șerban, or anybody else wants to go there tempted by the greed of rule or wishing to bring any damage, they should not give him passage through Poland nor should they assist him either with troops or money. According to the

⁶ George Homonnay, son of Valentin Homonnay, the Hungarian magnate and opponent of Bethlen.

old custom, Wallachian merchants should be given passage, and they [i.e., the Poles] should not invent anything new [i.e., any new taxes] above the [old] custom.”

According to this general narration, these strengthened articles were agreed between the vizier Iskender Pasha and the hetman of the Polish king.

Now, these matters have been submitted to the majesty of our governorship. Therefore, as long as the Polish king keeps firmly these promised clauses and articles, and as he does not allow the Cossack brigands, who find refuge and nourishment in the Polish kingdom in summer and in winter, to put out from the Dnieper to the Black Sea and to bring the least damage to the subjects of my state, also I will not give passage through my dominions and through Moldavia to the Crimean Tatars. And if the Tatars do not wish to seat in peace, and if they want to pass through my dominions and through Moldavia, and to raid the dominions of the Polish king, I should prevent it. Moreover, if the Polish king delivers the allowed and agreed gifts to the aforementioned Tatar khan according to the agreement, and the Tatar khan wants to lead his troops with the purpose of bringing damage to the Polish Crown contrary to the peace and agreement, after it is disclosed, for the sake of the aforementioned friendship we will severely forbid it with our imperial letter addressed to the Tatar khan; in fact, our imperial letter [concerning this matter] has been issued already.

In this manner, now all the clauses and articles written and fixed in this ‘ahdname—those mentioned in the letter of our father of glorious memory, and those accepted and registered anew on the request of the great envoy of the aforementioned Polish king—have been mentioned above. Also the provision for the mutual suppression and restraint of the Cossack and Tatars brigands, contained in these fixed articles, has been formulated by our majesty. All these registered matters—those composed in olden times and those present, inserted in this ‘ahdname by our excellency on the request of the aforementioned envoy of the Polish king and for the sake of the peace—have been accepted by our majesty as strong and stable, notably and saintly bound; and I have given [this ‘ahdname] and ordered that as long as from the side of the aforementioned Polish king, and from the side of his notables and others, no reason is given for the disruption of the newly established peace and alliance, and no occasion is brought for spoiling these articles, and as they do not let the Cossack brigands—who are the cause of the mutual break and dissonance—to put out to the Black Sea, and as they are friends of [my] friend, and enemies of [my] enemy, I, too, confirm, promise, and swear by the redemption and by the Creator of heaven and earth, who created all the creatures with his power, and by the oneness and the existence of the Nourisher, and by the great and sufficient miracles of our great and saint Prophet, the sun of the two ages (may the divine peace be upon his soul!), that I will inviolably keep this peace, this strong and firm alliance, and this friendship until the end of my excellency, for the long days of our sincerity, and for the infinite ages of our state, as is written and inserted in this ‘ahdname, and without any omission.

Written in the middle [i.e., in the second decade] of Djumada II of the year 1028 since the removal of Muhammad [i.e., from the Hegira], that is on 27 May 1619 since the nativity of our God and Savior,⁷ in the district of Constantinople.

⁷ Obviously, the note referring to Jesus as the Savior was added by the Polish translator.

DOCUMENT 34 (2 DECEMBER 1619)

The royal confirmation of the treaty

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

- A. AGAD, *Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum*, sign. 163, fol. 382b–388a.
- B. AGAD, *Libri Legationum*, sign. 30, fol. 1a–3b.
- C. AGAD, *Archiwum Zamoyskich [AZ]*, sign. 3037 (old sign. BOZ 1808), fol. 112a–115a.

Pacta Turcica

Sigismundus III etc. Significamus etc., quod cum divis praedecessoribus nostris regibus Poloniae vetusta ab antiquo tempore cum serenissimis ac potentissimis Turcarum imperatoribus pacta et foedera intercessissent eademque saepius renovata et confirmata continua deinde temporum serie perpetuoque cultu ab utrinque sancte observata fuissent. Nos vestigia maiorum nostrorum secuti eodemque fovendae cum iisdem serenissimis imperatoribus amicitiae ac foederum servandorum ducti desiderio. Misimus quoque ad Serenissimum et Potentissimum Dominum Sultan Osman Chan, Imperatorem Maximum Constantinopolitanum atque Asiae, Europae, Persarum, Arabum Cyprique ac Aegypti regem, dominum illustrem et magnificum Petrum Oźga de Ossa, capitaneum nostrum Trembovliensem, foederis eiusdem cum serenissimis ac potentissimis imperatoribus per serenissimos reges Poloniae multorum annorum decursu initi [*sic*] renovandi firmandique gratia. Quoniam vero idem Serenissimus Imperator studio quoque pacis pactorumque colendorum eadem foedera cum pristinis tum recentioribus conditionibus acceperit sanxeritque atque maioris fidei causa litteris certis conscripta ad nos transmiserit. Nos vicissim mutua nostra sponsione atque litteres hisce, haec foederis pacta pro nostra parte sancienda et firmanda arbitrati sumus.

Ac in primis mandamus in universum omnibus regni nostri ac omnibus illi adnexarum provinciarum palatinis, castellanis, capitaneis, exercituum, militum, praefectis, arcium et locorum capitaneis, ac in universum cuiuscunque status conditionis subditis nostris ne quisquam^a imperio Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Turcarum Imperatoris provinciis ac in finibus existentibus arcibus, civitatibus, ac aliis ad imperium Serenitatis eius pertinentibus oppidis, pagis, nocere et damnum terra marique inferre audeat, neve insolentia Cosacorum aliquo modo eadem infestare praesumat. Ex parte etiam Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris imperio nostro, provinciis, ditionibus, arcibus, civitatibus et universis locis imperio nostro subiacentibus vesiri, beglerbegi, sandzachbegi,¹ capitanei, exercitus et mancipia universa ac cuiusvis

^a B. *quispiam*.

¹ B. *sandziakbegi*; from Tur. *sancakbegi*.

status homines Serenitatis eius nullo pacto contra foedera pactaque ab antiquo utrinque sancita nocere, aut damnum aliquod terra marique inferre audeant, ita ut nostrorum amicorum amicum, inimicorum inimicum Serenissimus Imperator se esse profiteatur.

Utriusque partis legati ac homines euntes et redeuntes tuti sint, et tam personis quam rebus, bonis, mercibus, thesauris vere peccuniis ipsorum nulum damnum inferatur et impedimentum fiat.

Si quae tumultibus superiorum tempora mancipia aut subditi eius Serenitatis a nostris capti sint, accurate a nobis examinabuntur et inquirentur, inventique salvi et incolumes ad partes suas mittentur. Itidem vero e regno nostro capti et abducti musulmanismum nondum professi, sed in christiana religione existentes, homini nostro illuc venienti, postquam probatum fuerit, subditos nostros esse restituantur. Post diem autem huius foederis renovati, ex utraque parte qualibet ratione captos pretio non petito, postquam cuiusnam nostrum e ditionibus abducti fuerint probatum sit, domini eorum liberos facientes dimittant.

Utriusque partis mercatores ubicunque reperti et inventi fuerint, iuxta normam et consuetudinem datum quod tenentur solvant et nullus bonis aut personis mercibus thesauris aut peccuniis damnum inferatur aut impedimentum fiat. Quod si quis ex imperio Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris advenientium mercatorum in regno nostro mortuus fuerit, bona mortui non confiscentur, sed reponantur, et postea advenientibus ex illa parte cum literis Serenissimi Imperatoris haeredibus restituantur. Itidem ex mercatoribus nostris aut subditis in Imperio Turcico, si quis mortuus fuerit, bona eius a Serenissimo et Potentissimo imperatore non confiscentur, sed praefecto caravani tradantur [ut]^b in regnum delata haeredibus restitui possint.

Post tempus renovationis huius foederis imperio et regnis Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris si ab aliquo ad nostram partem pertinente damnum illatum fuerit, eiusmodi facinorosis inventis punitisque, damnum illatum absque omni excusatione resarciatur. Ex parte etiam Serenissimi Imperatoris idem fiat.

Si ex subditis Serenissimi Imperatoris debitorem aliquem suum aliquis in regno nostro habuerit, praefecto illius loci praesentetur examineturque, et postquam probatum fuerit, debitum recipiatur. Si vero apparuerit eum nihil debere, absolvatur; nec ullus propter debitum aut delictum alicuius, nisi fideiussor sit, ad solvendum compellatur aut puniatur; ita ut in regno utriusque nostrum subditi innoxii non turbentur.

Ad extremum ut pacta et foedera ab avis et avis serenissimis praedecessoribus utriusque nostrum sarta tectaque conserventur, quandoquidem ratione damnorum praeteritorum commissarii utriusque partis in unum locum convenire non potuerint, ad tempus huius noxi foederis damna illata utrinque condonari et remitti debent.

Tartarorum princeps foedera haec cum Serenissimo Imperatore inita [*sic*], nullis incursionibus aut damnis ditionibus et subditis nostris inferendis vio-

^b In B. only.

lare audeat; cui itidem, si officio suo functus fuerit pactisque veteribus satisfecerit donativum consuetum dari curabimus. Si vero aliquid damni intulerit, mandato Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Turcarum Imperatoris damnum illatum resarciatur. Et si pro bellica expeditione Serenissimi Imperatoris iussu profectus fuerit, nequaquam exercitu suo fines ditionum nostrarum attingat, aut illis iniuriam inferat aliis vero itineribus transitum paret, ne regnum nostrum ullo modo infestet. Contra hostes nostros dum a nobis sive per litteras, sive per nuncium nostrum accersitus fuerit, cum exercitu suo iuxta pacta cum iisdem Tartarorum chanis per divos decessores nostros inita [*sic*], suam nobis navare operam debet, ut hac ratione constanter sinceramque nobis testetur amicitiam.

A palatino Moldaviae eius ne incolis regno hominibusque nostris nullum damnum inferatur. Si damnum illatum fuerit, post comprobationem ultimam mandato Serenissimi Imperatoris resarciatur. Itidem ex parte nostram, si aut Tartarorum aut Moldavorum rebus et personis detrimentum factum fuerit, punito authore et illatore damni fiet; nec mercatoribus Moldavis accepta, solutione thelonei consueti ullum impedimentum exhibebitur.

E Moldavia quidam fugientes in regnum nostrum, si se receperint et aliquo praetextu Moldaviam turbare velint, tales a nobis cum eo nomine requisiti fuerimus, reddentur puniaturque.

Subditi e regno nostro huiusque abducti, ubicunque ab hominibus nostris in Imperio Turcico inventi fuerint, pretio non maiori nisi eo quo empti sunt (quod tamen iuramento liquidari debet) repetantur. Qui musulmani facti liberi sint. Religionem christianam profitentes pretio restituto nemo auferre petet.

Legati utriusque nostrum cum fines dominiorum ingressi fuerint, bono et fidei adiuncto viro ad locum propositum deduci curentur.

Si quis subditorum nostrorum causam aut litem ratione debiti cum subdito Serenissimi Imperatoris habuerit, citra dilationem iudices et praefecti civitatum cuiuscunque iustitiam administrare tenentur. Hoc modo etiam ex nostra parte agetur.

Similiter de furibus, latronibus et homicidis iusticia sine mora administrari, diligenterque ab iisdem praefectis conquisiti, puniri et quae per illos erepta fuerint, post comprobationem ultimam integre iis, quorum fuerint, aut ipsorum haeredibus reddi debent.

Si quispiam subditorum Serenissimi Imperatoris mercaturam cum quovis exercentium inscriptione iuridica aut chirographo non exhibito a subdito nostro quidpiam repetet, sine ratione debiti mutui sive fideiussionis non est audiendus, nec ulla alias probationes quam inscriptiones ultimas et chirographa intueri iudices Serenissimis eius debent,^c ne falsorum testimoniiis calumniae aut doli comittantur. Similiter etiam nostri iudices et praefecti civitatum aut locorum facere debent, et nisi re bene cognita ac intellecta, aliquid cuipiam adiudicare.

^c B. *debentur*.

Silistrienses, Bialogrodenses begi Portuum theloneatores civitatum praefecti Serenissimi Imperatoris praeter famulos et mancipia nostra in negotiis nostris ablegata, praeterquam mercatores utriusque partis, neminem in regnum nostrum intromittant. Si aut penes illos, qui ex Polonia veniunt, aut deinde in Polonia eunt mancipium aliquod repertum fuerit auferri et remitti debet.

Pastores ovium cum inditiones nostras transierint, capitaneis et praefectis nostris se ipsos et oves suas denunciare debent mercedemque pascuorum persolvere, si post denunciationem eiusmodi oves perierint a capitaneis requirant.

Nemini equi pro angariis vel ulak² subditorum nostrorum in Turcia existentium accipi debent, neque a janizeris³ ad bellum tendentibus.

Palatini Moldaviae iuxta antiqua pacta et foedera supranominatam nobis debitum amicitiae et honoris officium praestent, nec thelonea maiora quam ea quae antiquitus dari consueverunt mercatoribus utriusque partis imponant.

Mercatores autem ex Turcia in regnum ditionesque nostras venientes, mercaturamque exercere volentes, ac itidem nostri in Turcarum Imperium ditionesque proficere, viis publicis et prioribus mercatoribus usitatis venire debent, non per loca deserta, aut vias occultas et insuetas. Ita si tendentibus vis a latronibus illata vel bona ablata fuerint, malefici quaeri et puniri et mercatores innoxii liberum ubique transitum sine ulla molestia habere debent, nec theloneis maioribus praeter consuetudinem gravari, aut pro aliorum debitis, nisi sint fideiussores vexari, persolutoque ab inductis et eductis mercibus iuxta normam antiquam theloneo Constantinopoli et Adrianopoli a solutione thelonei ref⁴ dicti, et alterius kassabie⁵ appellati omnino liberi esse debent. Nec poterunt eorundem equi a czauziis,⁶ spagiis⁷ et janizeris ullo modo accipi, licebitque illis in Imperio Turcico captivos ex nostris ditionibus abductos redimere et liberare, qua in re illos iudices impedire non debent, nec contradicere aut redemptos captivos aut liberos expleto servitatis tempore eripere, ii tamen qui musulmanismum iam professi sunt peti non debent.

Similiter ratione talerorum in ditiones Serenissimi Imperatoris invehendorum nullum theloneum pendendum est. Illud tamen curabimus sedulo ne taleri lewkowe⁸ dicti, qui iuxta valorem suam iniusti ponderis reperti fuerint, caeterique taleri falsi in ditiones Serenissimi Imperatoris Turcarum a nostris hominibus et mercatoribus invehantur.

Si quid in posterum ab aliis christianis regno nostro aut provinciis illi adiunctis accesserit, ex parte Serenissimi Imperatoris Turcici non contradicatur, totumque illud tam praesentes provinciae iurisdictioni nostrae subiec-

² From Tur. *ulak*, "courier service."

³ I.e., janissaries.

⁴ From Tur. *ref*.

⁵ Tur. *kassabiye* or *kassab akçesi*.

⁶ From Pol. *czauusz* and Tur. *çavuş*.

⁷ From Tur. *sipahi*.

⁸ Pol. *talary lewkowe* (lit. "lion thalers"); from Tur. *esedi gurus*.

tae quam adiunctae sit in nostram potestatem, nec in ea in quae nobis ius competere Serenitas eius se intromittet.

Mercatores nostri ditiones Serenissimi Imperatoris cum mercibus advenientes, easdem merces in Bursa aut Adrianopoli cuicumque voluerint liberam vendendi habeant facultatem. Quod si lis aliqua inter eosdem mota fuerit, praefectus caravani rei veritate bene cognita ubi competierit, respondere teneatur. Ratione vero debiti aliquis conventus absque recognitione subscripta et sigillata absolvatur.

Cum vero iidem mercatores nostri persoluto Constantinopoli theloneo quod solum antiquitus praestare tenebantur, ultra antiquam consuetudinem ad praestanda in aliis locis thelonea adigantur, ab eo tempore Serenitas eius providebit, ut Constantinopoli dato theloneo in aliis quibusvis locis omnino sint eo nomine immunes et liberi, imo^d ne ulla molestia ipsis tam ratione vectigalis reft dicti quam aliarum pensionum ultra foederis praescriptum afficiantur.

Insuper si aliquod Tartari in itinere iisdem^e impedimentum aut molestiam facesserint, securi commodiorisque transitus causa, praefecti et capitanei ubicunque in dominiis Serenissimi Imperatoris reperti fuerint, tales supplicio afficere penitusque delere, et tutum ac securum transitum redere, damna vero illata integre resarcire curent, ne ullo pacto pax stabilita labefectetur.

Itaque cum perfectam, firmam et sinceram amicitiam habere mutuo inter nos utrique velimus, Serenissimus Imperator eiusque posterum omnem in regna et provincias nostras aditum Tartaris Krimensibus, Tehinensibus, Bilogroden-sibus, Oczakoviensibus, Tiburciensibus,⁹ Silistriensibus damnumque quodcunque prohibebit. Inquietis hominibus turbarum ac tumultum avidis falsa-que ad Serenissimum Imperatorem deferentibus, antequam rei ipsius veritas penitus sit cognita et perspecta, nulla fides adhibeatur. Quod si calumniae aut dolus deprehensa fuerint, calumniatores ac turbatores condignis poenis afficiantur.

Palatino Moldaviae ut^f Tartaris aut aliis latronibus per terram Moldaviae in regnum nostrum aditum praecludat, neve illis ullo modo favorem et auxilia praestet, serio Serenitas eius iniungere tenebitur.

Causam debiti quinque millium asprarum numerum excedentis inter mercatores motam, non nisi in iudicio suo Serenitas eius peragi patietur, quod si minus debitum sit, cuius iudicio competierit iudicandem, non nisi tamen vigore litteratum obligationis ultime sive chirographi authenticum, quorum si quid desit, tam maior quam minor causa inaudita maneat.

Ab hominibus sive mercatoribus nostris subditi suae ne minimum quid contributionis alicuius nomine excepto tantum antiquitus pendere solito thelo-

^d B. *immo*.

^e B. *ibidem*.

⁹ Ciubarciu, a fort on the Dniester between Bender and Akkerman; see Document 33, note 5.

^f In B. erroneously *aut*.

neo exigi Serenitas sua permittet. Quod si aliquis contra praescriptum litterarum et pactorum eorum quocunque praetextu litteras aliquas obtinuerit, ab utraque parte nullius fidei censi debet, sed totum uti nos ipsi ita Serenissimus Imperator ad normam pactorum exequetur.

Nos vero insuper et vicissim omnes occasiones et impedimenta, quae aliquo modo aut amicitiam labefactare aut fedus^g sancitum violare possint, tollamus studio pacis utrinque fovendae puncta et articulos certos in transactione inter illustres et magnificos Stanislaum Żółkiewski, cancellarium regni ac exercitus nostri generalem praefectum, Barensen, Camionacensem etc. capitaneum,¹⁰ et inter Skinder^h Bassam, Serenissimi Imperatoris exercitus praefectum, alios tam regni nostri, quam Imperii Turcici proceres anno proxime praeterito factam, rata ac firma haberi volumus, eademque observari curabimus.

In primis vero insolentiam latrociniaque Cosacorum diligenter coercebimus, neve ex Borysthene Pontum Euxinum ingrediantur, autⁱ aliquod amplius damnum et incommodum dominiis et ditionibus Serenissimi Imperatoris, aut exercitus nostri inferant, serio providebimus. Cosacos vero in continenti commorantes, si insolentes et immo[ri]geri^j [sic] fuerint, punire tenebimus.

Transylvaniam, Valachiam, Moldaviam ab omni iniuria et damnis per nos aut exercitus nostros inferendis indemnes et immunes praestare curabimus, neque aut Homanagii filio¹¹ aut Serbano,¹² aut cuipiam alteri libidine dominandi ducto, aut turbas et tumultus ciere volenti, aditum per regnum nostrum in memoratas terras patefieri patiemur, quin imo^k nullum auxilium, tam pecunia, quam subsidii aliis exhibebimus. Mercatoresque Transylvanos iuxta antiqua pacta et consuetudinem libere ditiones nostras adire, absque ulla novi theloniei impositione permittemus. Similiter palatini Valachiae et Moldaviae cum mercatoribus nostris vias consuetas non prohiberi sunt facturi, et in antiqua erga nos observantia amicitiaque iuxta veterem consuetudinem permansuri.

Tartarorum principibus dummodo nulla ratione ditionibus nostris noceant, et pactis antiquis promissisque et submissionibus suis constanter satisfaciant. Donativum consuetum iuxta illam eandem transactionem, ab anno praesenti dare non negligemus. Cosacorumque licentiam, ne quid damni ditionibus Serenitatis eius inferat, coercebimus. Ita tamen, ut exemplo nostro Serenissimus quoque Imperator omnem aditum per dominia sua et terras Valachiae ad regnum nostrum Tartaris prohibeat. Et si Tartari pace non contenti per ditiones Serenitatis eius subiectas aut terras Moldaviae ditiones

^g B. *foedus*.

¹⁰ I.e., the *starosta* of Bar and Kamieniec.

^h B. *Skender*.

ⁱ B. *alii*.

^j B. *imniorigeri*.

¹¹ George Homonnay, son of Valentin Homonnay, the Hungarian magnate and opponent of Bethlen.

¹² Radu Șerban, the former hospodar of Wallachia.

^k B. *quinimo*.

nostras invadere voluerint, omni ratione eos avertere studeat, demum ex aliis partibus si contra unitam pacem ac concordiam exercitu suo damna regno nostro inferre voluerint, prima notitia accepta, mandato suo serio inhibere sit adstrictus.

Hos itaque omnes foederis articulos et conditiones hisce litteris comprehensos, tam antiquitus sancitos quam recens adiunctos et concessos ex ea parte, quae ad nos pertinet, nos sancte¹ et inviolabiliter toto vitae nostrae tempore servaturos esse in Dei Optimi Maximi Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi nomen iuramus, spondemus, et pollicemur, atque dum a Serenissimo Imperatore nihil contra iuramentum et foedus tranquillitatemque commissum fuerit, ex parte etiam nostra nihil paci, foederi, iuramento et tranquillitati contrarium fiet. In cuius rei perpetuum testimonium etc.

Datum Varsaviae die secunda mensis Decembris anno a nativitate Jesu Christi Dei et Salvatoris nostri millesimo sexcentesimo decimo nono, regnorum nostrorum Poloniae trigesimo secundo, Sueciae vero anno vigesimo sexto.

¹ B. *sancite*.

DOCUMENT 35 (9 OCTOBER 1621)
The Polish document of the agreement of Chocim (Hotin)

The original document is missing.

Polish copies:

- A. AGAD, *Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum*, sign. 167, fol. 172a–173b.
- B. AGAD, *Archiwum Zamoyskich [AZ]*, sign. 3037 (old sign. BOZ 1808), fol. 129a–30a.
- C. AGAD, *Zbiory Branickich z Sucheja*, ms. 17/25, pp. 170–72.
- D. Bibl. Czart., ms. 345, pp. 309–312.
- E. Bibl. Czart., ms. 376, pp. 23–26.
- F. Bibl. Czart., ms. 1176, pp. 613–19.
- G. Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 110, fol. 30a–31b.¹
- H. Bibl. Kór., ms. 206, pp. 56–61.
- I. Bibl. Kór., ms. 326, pp. 664–68.
- J. Bibl. Kór., ms. 983, fol. 128a–129a.
- K. Bibl. Rac., ms. 2, pp. 1018–21.

Published along with the diary by Jakub Sobieski in a) A. Naruszewicz, *Historia J.K. Chodkiewicza wojewody wileńskiego hetmana wielkiego W.Ks. Litewskiego*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1837), pp. 286–88; b) Z. Pauli, ed., *Pamiętniki o wyprawie chocimskiej r. 1621 Jana hrabi z Ostroroga, Prokopa Zbigniewskiego, Stanisława Lubomirskiego i Jakóba Sobieskiego* (Cracow, 1853), pp. 33–36.

Latin translation of the articles: a) AGAD, *Dz. tur.*, k. 72, t. 301, no. 550;² b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 68b–69a; c) L'vivs'ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 5 (Oss.), opys 1, no. II–436, fol. 55b–56a.

French translation of the articles is published in a) Dumont, *Corps Universel diplomatique*, vol. 5, pt. 2, p. 371; b) *Treaties, etc. between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, pp. 381–82.

My, Stanisław Żórawiński z Chodorowa Stawu kasztelan bełski, starosta włodzimierski, Jakub Sobieski wojewodzie lubelski—kommissarze Rzeczypospolitej imieniem najjaśniejszego Zygmunta Trzeciego króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego, ruskiego, pruskiego, mazowieckiego, żmudzkiego, inflanckiego, i szwedzkiego, gockiego, wandalskiego dziedzicznego króla i wszytkiej Rzeczypospolitej—z wojska Jego Królewskiej Mości od jaśnie wielmożnego jego mości pana Stanisława Lubomirskiego hrabi na Wiśnicz, podczaszego i hetmana polnego koronnego, starosty sendomierskiego, spiskiego,

¹ This copy contains peace articles only.

² This translation, dated 10 October, is referred to by Dorošenko and Rypka under the wrong signature (folder 275 instead of 301) in “Polsko, Ukrajina, Krym a Vysoká Porta v první pol. XVII stol.,” *Časopis Národního Musea* 110 (1936): 19–49, esp. p. 30.

białocerkiewskiego i dobczyckiego, także i od ich mości panów Mikołaja Sieniawskiego krajczego koronnego, Macieja Leśniowskiego podkomorzego bełskiego, Pawła Działyńskiego starosty pokrzywnickiego, Jana Działyńskiego starosty bratjańskiego, Mikołaja Kossakowskiego starosty wiskiego—panów kommisarzów od Rzeczypospolitej na uczynienie pokoju naznaczonych, kolegów naszych—wysłani do najjaśniejszego i potężnego Sołtan Osmana Chana, cesarza wielkiego konstantynopolskiego, Asyjej, Europy, Persyjej, Arabów, Cypru i Egiptu, dla postanowienia świętobliwego pokoju i utwierdzenia starożytnej, przez tak wiele lat nierozzerwanej przyjaźni między najjaśniejszym domem ottomańskim a Królem Jego Mością panem naszym, teśmy z szczerego i stałego z obu stron przymierza kondycyje umówili i zastanowili przez jaśnie wielmożnego Dilawer paszę, nawyszego wezyra porty najjaśniejszego jego mości cesarza:

Dla większego umocnienia i upewnienia odnowionego przymierza pan Stanisław Suliszewski, sekretarz Króla Jego Mości, goniec posła wielkiego, według dawnych zwyczajów pojedzie zaraz z osobą samą Cesarza Jego Mości; a od porty Cesarza Jego Mości czausz z nami pospołu do obozu, a stamtąd do Króla Jego Mości pana naszego po posła wielkiego pojedzie, i dla bezpieczeństwa i wczasu jego, jako się z dawnych czasów zawsze zachowywało, poprowadzi posła do porty, jako będzie mogło być najprędzej i najwcześniej. Wyprawi Król Jego Mość dla utwierdzenia przymierza od nas postanowionego człowieka zacnego i roztropnego, z którym zaraz do porty przybędzie agent, i tam będzie zwyczajem innych panów chrześcijańskich agentów mieszkał i odmieniał się. A gdy się poseł wielki zwróci, Cesarz Jego Mość do Króla Jego Mości dla utwierdzenia pakt z strony swojej poszle też człowieka zacnego, jako to przy zawarciu pokoju z drugimi pany chrześcijańskimi zwykł czynić.

Od Kozaków Dniepr, aby stamtąd w morze wpadłszy więcej państwa Cesarza Jego Mości nie plundrowali, powinna Rzeczypospolita będzie uwolnić, i za namniejszym Cesarza Jego Mości oznajmieniem sprawiedliwość z nich uczynić.

Wołosa, ani Tatarowie dobrudzczy, bielгородzcy, tehińscy, kilijscy, oczakowscy i krymscy w państwach, zamkach, miastach, w włościach, dobytках, ludziach Króla Jego Mości i Rzeczypospolitej najazdów i szkód żadnych czynić nie mają; przewozu u Oczakowa bronić ma Tatarom Cesarz Jego Mość. A jeśliby, mimo przymierze postanowione, Tatarowie w państwach Króla Jego Mości i Rzeczypospolitej szkody czynili, a sprawiedliwość się nie stała, tedy i szkody mają być nagrodzone, i Tatar chan skarany.

W pustych jednak polach, nim się rozgraniczenie stanie, jeżeliby ryb i zwierząt łowcy, jako to więc często bywa, z sobą by się zeszli i zawadzili, to przymierze^a rwać między Królem Jego Mością a Cesarzem Jego Mością nie ma. Jeśliby gdzie na posługę Cesarza Jego Mości chan z wojski swymi szedł, albo sam z nimi jachał w przyległe państwa Króla Jego Mości i Rzeczypospolitej, aby włości Króla Jego Mości mijał, żadnych szkód, krzywd i zabiegów w nich nie czynił, pod takimże z obu stron o uszkodzeniu warunkiem.

^a In most other copies it reads correctly: *przymierza*.

Dla lepszego między państwa Króla Jego Mości i Rzeczypospolitej, i Cesarza Jego Mości granic uznania i postanowienia mają być z obu stron ludzie świadomi tamtych miejsc i roztropni naznaczeni, kiedy się o tym Cesarz Jego Mość z Królem Jego Mością zniesie.

Rzeczpospolita chanowi tatarskiemu zwykły żołd na przyszłe czasy co rok będzie dawała, który do Jas do hospodara wołoskiego na ten czas będącego odeszle. Za oznajmieniem hospodara wołoskiego chan dla odbierania do Jas posły swe posłać ma. A kiedy od Króla Jego Mości—zwyczajem przodków Jego Królewskiej Mości, panów naszych—wezwany będzie z wojski swemi przeciwko nieprzyjacielowi Króla Jego Mości i Rzeczypospolitej, stać się nie omieszcza, aby w tem powinna przyjaźń swoją oświadczeł.

A iż nie mniejsza rozerwanej tak starożytnej i świątobliwej między najjaśniejszym domem ottomańskim a Królem Jego Mością panem naszym przyjaźni przyczyna się znajduje—niektórych gospodarów wołoskich złość i łakomstwo—mają być na potym na tym państwie ludzie baczni i spokojni, którzy by jako najpilniej z obu stron tego przymierza postanowionego przestrzegali, i zwykłe z dawnych wieków Królowi Jego Mości i Rzeczypospolitej naszej powinny powolność oddawali.

Chocim, po zawarciu przymierza, tak jakośmy go za terazniejszym się wojska Króla Jego Mości ruszeniem zastali, oddać ze wszystkim gospodarowi wołoskiemu porządnie, który na ten czas będzie, powinni będziemy.

Na ostatek Król Jego Mość pan nasz miłościwy Cesarza Jego Mości przyjaciółom przyjacielem, nieprzyjaciółom nieprzyjacielem, Cesarz Jego Mość także Króla Jego Mości i Rzeczypospolitej przyjaciółom przyjacielem, a nieprzyjaciółom nieprzyjacielem być ma. I starodawne, od dziadów i pradziadów Króla Jego Mości i Cesarza Jego Mości zobopólnie przez tak wiele posłów wielkich potwierdzone i poprzysiężone pakta, i teraz przez nas postanowione, które także od posła wielkiego, który do porty pojedzie, ponowione będą, te wszystkie wobec i każde z osobna Król Jego Mość pan nasz trzymać będzie. Na co my, od Króla Jego Mości pana naszego, póki go Pan Bóg chować na tym świecie będzie, Pana Jezusa Chrystusa, Boga Zbawiciela naszego imię przysięgami naszymi wzywamy, obiecując i ślubując w każdej kondycji przymierze to zachować, jeśli się też Królowi Jego Mości i Rzeczypospolitej od Cesarza Jego Mości we wszystkim dosyć będzie działo. A na wieczną pamiątkę rękami się własnymi naszymi podpisujemy z przyciśnięciem pieczęci naszych. Dan w obozie nad Chocimiem dnia dziewiątego października roku tysięcznego sześćsetnego dwudziestego i pierwszego.

Stanisław Żórawiński kasztelan bełski, starosta włodzimierski,
Jakub Sobieski wojewodzie lubelski.

Translation:

We, Stanisław Żórawiński from Chodorostaw,³ the castellan of Belz and the starosta of Włodzimierz, and Jakub Sobieski, the son of the palatine of Lublin—the commis-

³ Chodorostaw, Chodorów, Chodorów Staw (Ukr. Xodorivstav, Xodoriv), a town

sioners of the Commonwealth in the name of His Majesty Sigismund the Third, the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, and the hereditary king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, and in the name of the whole Commonwealth—sent from the army of His Royal Majesty from the side of Stanisław Lubomirski, the count of Wiśnicz, the Crown cup-bearer [*podczaszy*] and field hetman,⁴ the starosta of Sandomierz, Spisz, Biata Cerkiew, and Dobczyce, and from the side of the commissioners of the Commonwealth appointed to the task of reconciliation, and our colleagues, their excellencies: Mikołaj Sieniawski, the Crown trencher-knight [*krajczy*], Maciej Leśniowski, the chamberlain [*podkomorzy*] of Belz, Paweł Działyński, the starosta of Pokrzywnica, Jan Działyński, the starosta of Bratjan,⁵ and Mikołaj Kossakowski, the starosta of Wizna, to the glorious and majestic Sultan Osman Khan, the great emperor of Constantinople, of Asia, Europe, Persia, Arabs, Cyprus, and Egypt, in order to establish the holy peace and to confirm the ancient friendship between the excellent Ottoman house and His Royal Majesty, our lord, [which has been] indissoluble for so many years; through the mediation of his excellency Dilaver Pasha, the highest vizier of the Porte of his excellent imperial majesty, we have agreed and set the following conditions of the sincere and stable mutual treaty:

In order to strengthen and confirm the renewed treaty Stanisław Suliszowski, the secretary of His Royal Majesty and the courier of the great envoy, should go right away with the person of His Imperial Majesty, according to the old custom; meanwhile a *çavuş* from the Porte of His Imperial Majesty should go with us to [our] camp, and from there to His Royal Majesty, in order to fetch the great [Polish] envoy and—for the sake of his security and comfort—to lead him toward the Porte as fast and as soon as possible, as it used to be in olden times. His Royal Majesty should send an esteemed and reasonable man in order to confirm the treaty agreed by us; along with whom an agent [*i.e.*, a permanent resident] should arrive at the Porte to live there and to be replaced [after a certain time], as it is customary among the agents of other Christian rulers. Upon the return of the great envoy, His Imperial Majesty should also send a man of respect to His Royal Majesty in order to confirm the treaty from his side, as he used to do while concluding peace with other Christian rulers.

The Commonwealth should clear the Dnieper from the Cossacks, so that they do not put out to sea and do not raid the dominions of His Imperial Majesty; and justice should be executed on the least request of His Imperial Majesty.

The Moldavians and the Tatars from Dobruđa, Akkerman, Bender [Tighina], Kilia, Očakiv, and Crimea should not raid and bring damage to the dominions, castles, towns, property, belongings, and people of His Royal Majesty and of the Commonwealth; His Imperial Majesty should not give passage [across the Dnieper] near Očakiv to the Tatars. And if, contrary to the treaty, the Tatars commit damage in the dominions of His Royal Majesty and of the Commonwealth, and no justice is done, the damage should be compensated for and the Tatar khan should be punished.

But, if before the demarcation takes place, the hunters for fish and game meet and

situated south of Lwów; see *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1880), p. 610.

⁴ In fact, Stanisław Lubomirski was never appointed field hetman; he was only acting deputy during the captivity of Stanisław Koniecpolski.

⁵ A town and seat of the old starosta (Pol., *starostwo*) on the Drwęca river.

quarrel in the waste [border]lands, as often happens, the treaty between His Royal Majesty and His Imperial Majesty will not be broken. If the khan sets out with his troops in the service of His Imperial Majesty, or if he departs with them [i.e., with his troops] on his own to the states bordering on the domains of His Royal Majesty and of the Commonwealth, he should pass round the domains of His Royal Majesty and he should commit no damage, harm, and raids to them, as it is stipulated above in the mutual clause concerning damages.

In order to confirm and establish the borders between the domains of His Royal Majesty and of the Commonwealth [on one side] and of His Imperial Majesty [on the other side] men of esteem, familiar with those places, should be appointed by both sides after a mutual arrangement between His Royal Majesty and His Imperial Majesty.

Henceforth, the Commonwealth will provide the usual yearly pay [zöld]⁶ for the Tatar khan, and send it to Jassy to the Moldavian hospodar of the time. After notification from the Moldavian hospodar, the khan should send his agents to Jassy, in order to collect [the pay]. And if—according to the custom established by our lords, the ancestors of His Royal Majesty—he is summoned by His Royal Majesty to set out with his troops against an enemy of His Royal Majesty and of the Commonwealth, he should not fail to appear in order to prove his due friendship.

As the malice and greed of some Moldavian hospodars is not the least reason for the disruption of the ancient and sacred friendship between the excellent Ottoman house and His Royal Majesty, our lord, henceforth this country should be ruled by reasonable and quiet men, who would duly respect this mutually agreed treaty and display the usual obedience, due since olden ages toward His Royal Majesty and our Commonwealth.

After the conclusion of the treaty we should orderly restore Hotin to the Moldavian hospodar of the time, in the same condition and with everything that existed prior to the recent movement [i.e., invasion] of the army of His Royal Majesty.

Finally, His Royal Majesty, our gracious lord, should be a friend of the friends and an enemy of the enemies of His Imperial Majesty, and His Imperial Majesty should be also a friend of the friends and an enemy of the enemies of His Royal Majesty and of the Commonwealth. The ancient treaties, mutually confirmed and sworn by numerous great envoys since [the times of] the grandfathers and great grandfathers of His Royal Majesty and of His Imperial Majesty, along with the one agreed by us at present, which will be renewed by the great envoy, who will go to the Porte, will be held all and sundry by His Royal Majesty, our lord. We, too, in the name of His Royal Majesty, our lord—as long as God keeps him in this world—by invoking the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Savior, in our oaths, promise and pledge to keep this treaty under any circumstances as long as everything is respected from the side of His Imperial Majesty in relation to His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth. And for the eternal memory we sign [this document] with our own hands, and we seal [it] with our seals. Issued in the camp near Hotin on 9 October 1621.

Stanisław Żórawiński, the castellan of Bełz, the starosta of Włodzimierz,
Jakub Sobieski, the son of the palatine of Lublin.

⁶ Lit. "a soldier's pay."

DOCUMENT 36 (9 OCTOBER 1621)

The Ottoman document of the agreement of Chocim

The original document is missing.

An unidentified Turkish copy is published in Feridun Bey, *Münşe'atü's-Selatin*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1274/1857–1858), pp. 523–25.

Polish translation: Bibl. Jagiell., ms. 110, fol. 31b–33b.

An abridged Polish translation of the articles is published along with the diary by Jakub Sobieski in a) A. Naruszewicz, *Historia J.K. Chodkiewicza wojewody wileńskiego hetmana wielkiego W. Ks. Litewskiego*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1837), p. 289; b) Ż. Pauli, ed., *Pamiętniki o wyprawie chocimskiej r. 1621 Jana hrabi z Ostroroga, Prokopa Żbigniewskiego, Stanisława Lubomirskiego i Jakóba Sobieskiego* (Cracow, 1853), pp. 174–75.

Leh kralı ile Hotin altında sulh olundukda vezir-i a'zam Dilaver Paşa hazretleri tarafından yazılan mektub-i saminin suretidir.

El-haletu hazihi bu canibde olan hetmanınız kdvetu'l-ümera'i'l-mesihie Istaslav Julkevşka^a erşedehü'llahu ila'l-hayr umur-i sulh u salah ve ahval-i emn ü felah için ilçilik tarikiyle bu canibe göndürdükleri 'umdetü'l-kübera'i'l-'iseviye Istaslav Icodur^b ve Yakub Soleslik^c nam mu'teber begleriniz gelüb muma-ileyh hetmanın ve sa'ir taburda olan vükela ve bellü başlularınızın ve sahib-i kal'e ve nam-darların mufassal ve meşruh mühürleriyle temessük getürüb divan-i 'ali-şanda vüzera-i 'izam ve vükela-i fiham huzurlarında kıra'at olundukda mazmununda münderic olan siz ki:

"İstanisolo Curevniki^d Hodorosur kal'esinin sahibi ve Yara^e nam kal'enin sahibi ve hakimi Dilamur^f nam kal'enin ustursa ve Yara Yasoko Lisin^g nam kal'enin begzadesi cümle kralının hükümeti vekilleriyle kralımızın *Diltivar u Sar u Badiyar ve Samarbad ve Umurya ve Kalenderya ve Istihyad ve Yazal*^h nam vilayetlerin hakimi ve cümle hakimlerimizin müşaveresi ve kralımızın 'askeri ma'rifeti ve 'izzetlü Istaniso Lokoskiⁱ Vişça^j nam kal'enin hakimi ve ova het-

^a استاسلاو ژلقوشک.

^b استاسلاو ایچودر.

^c یاقوب سولسلیک.

^d استانسولو جوروه نیکی.

^e یرہ, corruption for *Betż*; cf. the Polish text in Document 35.

^f دلامور, corruption for *Włodzimierz*; cf. Document 35.

^g یرہ یسوقولسک, corruption for *Jakub Sobieski, Lublin*; cf. Document 35.

^h دلتوار و سر و بادیار و ساماریاد و اموری و قلندریا و استیحاد و یزال, corruption for *Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, and Livonia*; cf. Document 35.

ⁱ استانسو لقوسک.

^j ویسچہ.

manı ve *Kıral Bahar Yeni ve Dost*^k kal'enin istarosası devletlü ve sa'adetlü ve yüce himmetlü ve 'azametlü padişah-i 'alem-penah hazretlerinin rikab-i hümayunlarına mezbur ilçi irsal olunmuşdur bu hayırlı sulhı tashih ve kadimi olan dostluk u muhabbeti kavi tasrih eyleyeler ta ki uslub-i sabık üzere dostluk ve barışıklık ve tarafeynden def'-i küduret olması derun-i dilden ve can [u] gönülden sa'adetlü padişahın vekil-i mutlakı ve vezir-i a'zamı olan Dilaver Paşa hazretleri ve sa'ir vüzera-i 'izam huzurlarında söyleşüb kavlı u karar oluna ve ziyade i'timad olunmagıçün ilçi varınca tarafımızdan İstanislavuş^l Beg ve kiralımızın sır katibi sa'adetlü padişahın 'asitane-i sa'adetlerinde kadimden ola-geldüğü üzere ilçilik hidmetinde ola ve şimdiki halde büyük ilçimizle asitaneye varmak için bir çavuş ta'yin buyurıla bizim ile tabura varub andan dahi müşarun-ileyh kiralımızın huzurına gidüb ba'dehu ilçimizle koşlub asitane-i sa'adete göndürile bu babda bir an ve bir sa'at 'avk u te'hır olunmaya ve bizim tarafımızdan dahi ol zaman bir müstakim adam ilçiden ma 'ada koşılır ki 'ala'd-devam asitane-i sa'adetde eda-i hidmet eyleye bunıdahi 'ahd ü şart ideriz ki:

Kırallığımız tarafından Özi suyundan ve ahar yerden 'azametlü padişah-i Cem-cah hazretlerinin hükümet eylediği memleketlerine min ba'd Kazak ve Kazak şaykası çıkmaya ve zarar iriştirmeye şöyle ki bir dahi Kazak zuhur iderse 'azametlü padişah hazretleri tarafından bize emr-i şerif varid oldukdansonra mezkur Kazakların muhkem hakklarından geelim.

Bundan akdem merhum ve magfürun-leh Sultan Süleyman Han Gazi hazretlerinin zaman-i şeriflerinde kat' olunan sınır ve sugur dahilinde sonradan ihdas olunmuş kıla' ve palanka var ise hedm ü ref' oluna.

Ve 'ahd u karar virildiği üzere sa'adetlü padişah 'alem-penah hazretlerinin memalik-i mahruselerinden ma'dud olan Bogdan ve Eflak ve Erdel ve Macar vilayetlerine ve anlar ile dostluk ve barışıklık üzere mütaba'at eyleyen tavayif-i muhtelifeye 'adavet yüzünden bir vechle müdahale olunmayub da'ima sulh u salahı ri'ayet ide.

Ve canibimizden sa'adetlü han hazretlerinin virgüsü ma takaddemden virile-geldüğü üzere bila-tereddüd sene be-sene eda olundukda anlar dahi kadimden mabeynde olan şurutı ri'ayet üzere olalar ve eger müşarun-ileyh han hazretleri bir maslahat için vilayetimiz içinden geçmek lazım gelürse kendüsi ve yanında olan Tatarı min ba'd zarar u ziyan itmeyeler şöyle bir zarar iderlerse ol makuleleri müşarun-ileyh han hazretleri her kim ise buldırub giriye redd itdire.

Ve sınır kat' olunacak zamanda sa'adetlü padişahın kullarından bir kaç ehl-i vukuf ve mu'temed-'aleyh kimesneler ile yakın konşılardan dahi bir yere gelüb ve bizim kiral hazretleri dahi kendü tarafından ehl-i vukuf lar ta'yin eyleyüb sınır ahvalini ber-taraf eyleyeler.

Ve Bogdana nesb olunan voyvodalar şerayıt-i sulh u salahı ri'ayet üzere olub 'ahda mugayir vaz'-i irtikab itmeyeler.

^k قرال بهار یکی و دوست, corruption for *Sandomierz, Spisz, Biata Cerkiew, and Dobczyce*; cf. Document 35.

^l استانسلاووش.

Tafsil-i mezbur üzere kiral hazretleri ve ‘umumen vükelası ve bellü başlısı tarafından bu vechle ‘ahd olunduksansonra sa‘adettü padişah-i islam-penah hazretleri tarafından dahi rica olunur ki:

Bizim kıralların memleketine ve kıla‘ ve bazarlarına ve kariyelerine Bogdanlu ve Dobricelü ve Akkerman ve Kili ve Bender ve Isma‘il geçidi ve vilayet-i Kırım Tatarı min ba‘d zarar u ziyan irşidirmeyeler ve Özi suyundan dahi Tatara yol virilmeyüb min ba‘d berü yakaya geçürmeyeler ve eger müşarun-ileyh han hazretleri tarafından bir mirza sulha mugayir ve sa‘adettü padişahın emrine muhalif müşarun-ileyh Leh kralı memleketine bir zarar iderse devletlü padişah hazretine ‘arz olundukda mezkur mirzanın hakkından gele ve müşarun-ileyh kralımız tarafından bu sulh u salah içinde min ba‘d berr ü bahrda memalik-i mahruse-i padişahiden bir mahalle Kazak ta‘ifesi dahl u tecavüz itdirilmeye sa‘adettü padişah hazretlerinin dostuna dost ve düşmanına düşman ola.

Ke-zalîk ‘azametlü padişah hazretlerinden rica olunur ki müşarun-ileyh kralımızın dostuna dost ve düşmanına düşman ola ve bundan evvel cennet-mekan Sultan Süleyman Han Gazi hazretleri zaman-i şerifinde ne minval üzere ‘ahdname virilmiş ise inşa‘a’llahu’r-Rahman ilçimiz asitane-i sa‘adete vardıkda girü ol ‘ahdname üzere müceddeden ‘ahdname-i hümayun ihsan oluna ve biz dahi ‘ahdnamede yazılan vech üzere ‘ahd ü yemin idüb kendü yedimiz ile isimlerimizi yazub ve mührlerimizi örmüşüzdür”

—deyü tahrir ve tastir ve zikr olunan ilçerinizin divan-i ‘ali-şanda bi’l-müvacehe ta‘bir ve takrirleri dahi bu minval üzere olmagın bi-‘inayeti’llahi ta‘ala vech-i meşruh üzere tarafeynden kavl u karar olunan mevadd-i sulh u salah makbul ve rica ve me’mulları ‘izz-i huzur-i fa’izü’n-nur-i hazret-i hüsrevanide husula mevsul olmagla ‘adavet ü şikak muhabbete ve nifak meveddete mübeddel olmuştur.

Bina’en ‘ala haza bu canibden dahi göndürdüğünüz suret ü temessük mucibince temessük yazılıb mezbur ilçiler ile müşarun-ileyh hetmanınız tarafına ısdar kılınmıştır bu sulh-i hayr-encam bi-‘avni’l-Meliki’l-allam tamam ve ihtitam bulub gubar-i fitne ve niza‘-teskin ve muhabbet ü müvalat mühimmatı istikrar u temkin bulunca ne mertebe sa‘i ve dikkat ve huzur-i müstevcibü’l-hubur-i şehriyaride rica ve ma’mulunuz makbul olması babında ne vechle bezl-i himmet eyledüğimizi muma-ileyhim ilçeriniz müşahade eylemişlerdir inşa‘a’llahu ta‘ala fi-ma ba‘d dahi salah-i hall-i fukara u zu‘afa ve sebeb-i ferag ve itminan-i kulub-i re‘aya ve beraya olan sevablu ve hayırlı maslahata çalışmakda taksir olunmamak mukarrerdir ve hala ilçerinizin iltiması üzere dergah-i sa‘adet-destgah çavuşlarından ve emek-dar ve ihtiyarlarından kıdvetü’l-emacid ü’l-a‘yan filan çavuş zide kadruhu dahi ma‘a koşulub ol canibe irsal olunmuştur inşa‘a’llahu ta‘ala huzurunuz vasil ve mazmun-i murada ittıla‘ hasıl oldukda cenab-i vala-nisabınıza layık ve lazım olan olur ki ‘atebe-i ‘aliye-i padişahiye irsalı lazım gelen ilçelerinizi huzur-i hümayuna layık pişkeş ve hidaya ile muhabbetnameleriniz mu‘accelen irsal ve asitane-i sa‘adete isal idüb fi ma ba‘d dahi sa‘adettü padişah-i islam dame muzafferin ila yevme’l-kıyam hazretlerinin taraf-i hümayunlarına ‘arz-i hulul u muvalat u kadimi muhabbet te’kid ve ziyade olacak halat ne ise anı

tahsile sa'î eyleyesiz ki ilçiniz geldikde ana göre südde-i sa'adetden 'ahd-name-i hümayun yazılıb ve ehl-i vukuf ve mu'temed-ileyh kimesneler göndürilüb sınır ahvali dahi ber-taraf ola.

Ve bu sulh u salah da'ima mer'î tutulub iki canibin re'aya ve berayası asude-hal ve müreffehü'l-bal olmagla 'azametlü padişah-i islam-penah hazretlerinin ila yevme'l-kiyam devam-i ömr ü devletlerine iştigal[-i du'a]^m göstereler muma-ileyhim ilçileriniz yüzleri ak olsun tamam-i meritebe kar-dan ve sahib-i 'akl ü iz'an olmalarıyla şerayit risaleti ke-ma yenbagi eda itdikdensonra sulh u salah eserinin husuluna külli ihtimam itmişlerdir hadd-i zatlarında iş erleri ve işe yararlar olub umur-i mu'azzamede 'ala'd-devam istihdam olunmaga kabil oldukları ma la-kelamdır.

Translation:

This is a copy of the illustrious letter written on behalf of his excellency, the grand vizier Dilaver Pasha, during the pacification executed with the Polish king at Hotin.

Now, for the sake of the matters of peace and amity and of the conditions of security and prosperity, your esteemed notables and great Christian personages named Stanisław Żóławieński¹ and Jakub Sobieski arrived [at our camp], sent to this side as envoys of your hetman appointed to this direction, the model of the Christian commanders, Stanisław Żółkiewski² (may God guide him to prosperity!); and they brought a detailed and explained document [temessük] provided with seals of the aforementioned hetman and of your other deputies, notables, fortress commanders, and prominent officials present in [your] camp; while [this document] was read in the illustrious divan in the presence of the glorious viziers and illustrious ministers, its contents were written and registered, saying that you, who [are]:

"Stanisław Żóławieński, the owner of Chodorostaw, the owner and castellan of the fortress of [Bełz], the starosta of the fortress of Włodzimierz, and [Jakub Sobieski], the son of the governor of [Lublin], sent as envoys to the imperial stirrup of his excellency, the refuge of the universe, the illustrious, felicitous, highly auspicious and great padishah, after the consultation with the deputies of the royal authority of our king, the ruler of the provinces of [Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, and Livonia], and with all our commanders, and with the knowledge of the troops of our king and of myself, who am Stanisław Lubomirski, the commander of Wiśnicz, the field hetman³ and the starosta of the fortresses of [Sandomierz, Spisz, Biała Cerkiew, and Dobczyce],

^m Apparently omitted.

¹ The surname in the Turkish copy is corrupted.

² The copyist's error. Stanisław Żółkiewski died one year earlier during the campaign of Cecora. Since the Polish head commander at Hotin, Karol Chodkiewicz, died on 24 September 1621, the negotiations were conducted in the name of his acting deputy, Stanisław Lubomirski.

³ In fact, Stanisław Lubomirski was never appointed field hetman; cf. Document 35, note 4.

in order to express [the wish] to restore the prosperous peace and to strengthen the olden friendship and amity, so that friendship and peace may be [restored] according to the previous terms, and so that grief may be removed from both sides.

As [this wish] has been most sincerely communicated from within [our] hearts in the presence of his excellency Dilaver Pasha, being the absolute deputy and the grand vizier of the felicitous padishah, and [in the presence] of other illustrious viziers, a mutual agreement should be reached. In order to gain more confidence, until the [great] ambassador comes, the private secretary of our king, Stanisław Bey,⁴ should perform envoy's duties at the felicitous threshold of the felicitous padishah, according to the olden habit. And now a çavuş should be appointed in order to accompany our great ambassador to the Porte; he should come with us to [our] camp, and then he will go to the presence of our aforementioned king; thereafter he will be attached to our ambassador and sent [back] to the felicitous threshold. Not a single moment or hour of delay and postponement should occur in this matter. Then, from our side also an honest man will be appointed along with the ambassador, so that he may continuously perform services at the felicitous threshold. Then we swear and promise that:

Henceforth, on the part of our kingdom Cossacks and Cossack boats will not put out from the Dnieper and other places, and will not bring harm to the provinces ruled by his excellency, the great, august⁵ padishah, so that if one more Cossack appears, after a noble order reaches us from his excellency, the great padishah, the said Cossacks will be severely punished.

If any [Polish or Cossack] fortress or fort has been built within the [Ottoman] borders and frontiers since the demarcation⁶ executed previously in the noble times of his excellency, the late Sultan Suleyman Khan Ghazi, whose sins are forgiven, they should be destroyed and removed.

As was promised and agreed, no kind of hostile interference should be brought to Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and Hungary, regarded as belonging to the well-protected dominions of his excellency, the refuge of the universe, the felicitous padishah, and to various tribes submitted to them according to friendship and amity; and one should continually respect the peace and amity.

The payments [virgü] to his excellency, the felicitous khan, should be paid as previously year by year, without hesitation; also they [i.e., the Tatars] should respect the old conditions [of peace]. Henceforth, if his excellency, the aforementioned khan, has to pass through our country for a proper reason, no damage or harm should be brought by himself or by the Tatars being at his side. If they commit such a damage, whoever they are, his excellency the aforementioned khan should cause themlike to be found and [the damage] to be restored.

When the time of demarcation comes, competent and respected men from among the servitors of the felicitous padishah and from among the close neighbors [i.e., living near the border] should arrive at one place; also from the side of his excellency, our king,

⁴ Stanisław Suliszowski.

⁵ Lit. "exalted as king Jem." Jem is the name of a legendary Persian king, Jemshid, but also of Solomon, Alexander the Great or any great monarch.

⁶ Actually the demarcation of 1542 was never concluded; see Part I (chapter 5).

competent men should be appointed, so that they may [together] eliminate the border problems.

The hospodars appointed to [the throne of] Moldavia should respect the conditions of peace and amity, and should not commit any wrongful act contrary to the treaty.

After the above described [conditions] are sworn in this manner from the side of his excellency, the king, all his deputies and notables, it is also requested from his excellency, the felicitous padishah, the refuge of the Islam, that:

Henceforth the Moldavians, Dobrudjans, the Tatars of Akkerman, Kilia, Bender, of the passage of Ismail, and of the Crimea, should not bring damage or harm to the country, fortresses, market places, and villages of our king. Also the Tatars should not be given passage across the Dnieper, and henceforth they should not cross to this side [of the river]. If a mirza of his excellency, the aforementioned khan, brings damage to the country of the aforementioned Polish king in contrary to the peace and in opposition to the order of the felicitous padishah, after it is reported to his excellency, the illustrious padishah, the said mirza should be punished. Then, during this peace and amity, the Cossacks from the side of our aforementioned king should not molest and raid by land or sea any place from among the well-protected imperial dominions. [We] should be friends of the friends of his excellency, the felicitous padishah, and enemies of his enemies.

Likewise it is requested from his excellency, the great padishah, that he be a friend of the friends of our aforementioned king, and an enemy of his enemies. In whichever way the 'ahdname was given previously in the noble times of his excellency, Sultan Süleyman Khan Ghazi, dwelling in paradise, again—if God, the All-Compassionate, wills—when our envoy arrives at the felicitous threshold, an imperial 'ahdname should be granted anew according to that [former] 'ahdname. Also, according to [the contents] written in the [old] 'ahdname, we have promised and sworn [the treaty], we have written our names with our own hands, and we have added our seals [to this document]."

And as it was also thusly expressed and confirmed by your aforementioned envoys at the illustrious divan, with the favor of God (may He be exalted!) the mutually agreed articles of peace and amity have been accepted; and their request and desires have been accomplished at the brilliant glorious presence of the imperial excellence; enmity and strife have been altered into friendship, and discord has been changed into affection.

Therefore, also from this side a temessük has been written, based on the copy and document [temessük] sent by yourselves; it has been sent [back] to your aforementioned hetman along with the said envoys. With the assistance of the Omniscient King this peace of auspicious outcome has been reached and completed; your aforementioned envoys witnessed how much endeavor and attention we spent until the anxiety of disorder, the calming of dispute, and the requisites of friendship and confidence were settled and fixed, and to what extent we exerted ourselves so that your request and desire might be accepted at the imperial presence, impelling happiness.

Therefore—God (may He be exalted!) willing—it was decided to improve the conditions of the poor and weak and not to disturb in the pious and good deeds causing ease and tranquillity in the hearts of the subjects. Now, according to the request of your envoys, such and such çavuş (may his value increase!), the model of the most illustrious ones and of the notables, from among the çavuşes, servants, and elders of the felicitous court, has been given them as an escort and sent in that direction. God (may He be exalted!) willing, after [he] arrives at your presence and [you] get informed about the

contents of [our] wishes, it is suitable and necessary for your high majesty that along with your envoy, who should be sent to the high imperial threshold, a tribute [pişkeş] and gifts fitting the imperial presence and a letter of friendship [muhabbetname] be sent and dispatched as soon as possible to the felicitous threshold; henceforth, whatever are the conditions for confirming and strengthening of devotion, confidence and old friendship in the imperial direction of his excellency, the felicitous padishah of Islam (may he remain victorious until the Day of Judgement!), you should diligently endeavor that when your envoy comes, an imperial 'ahdname be written from the side of the felicitous threshold according to these [conditions]; also competent and esteemed men should be sent so that the border problems may be removed.

This peace and amity should be always respected and the subjects of the two sides should live in tranquillity and prosperous conditions, constantly [praying] that the life and rule of his excellency, the refuge of Islam, the great padishah, last till the Day of Judgment. Your aforementioned envoys (may they be blessed!),⁷ being fully experienced, clever and bright, after properly articulating the list of conditions took great care so that the work of reconciliation might succeed. It is indisputable that they were really skilled and fit deputies, continually ready for service in the important affairs.

⁷ Lit. "may their faces become white."

DOCUMENT 37 (12–21 FEBRUARY 1623)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Mustafa I to King Sigismund III
[Facs. XI]

Original documents in Turkish (both provided with *tugras*, the A. copy being more solemn):

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 72, t. 304, no. 557 (*KDT*, pp. 246–49).
371 × 59.5 cm.

the upper part of the document with the invocation is missing [cut off]

formula devotionis (gold): *sülüs* script

tugra (gold)

text (black with gold insertions and *zerefşan*, sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

a sign of correction is placed on the reverse side

B. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 72, t. 302, no. 551 (*KDT*, pp. 249–50).
221 × 42 cm.

invocatio: *divani* script¹

formula devotionis (black): *sülüs* script

tugra (gold)

text (black sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

a sign of correction is placed on the reverse side

Polish translation by Otwinowski: a) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 217a–223a; b) AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 30, fol. 3b–6b; c) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 72, t. 304, no. 558; d) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 315–27 [331–43]; e) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 333–40 [349–56]; f) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 333, fol. 195a–200a; g) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 206, pp. 61–70.

Another copy of the Polish translation from the Słuck collection is published in “Poselstwo Krzysztofa Xięcia Zbaraskiego do Turcyi w roku 1622,” *Dziennik Wileński/Historia i literatura*, vol. 3 (1827): 3–27, 101–25, 237–73, 339–71, esp. pp. 357–67.

Italian translation: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr., no. 19488, fol. 115a–120b; another Italian translation, preserved in the Venetian Archives, is mentioned by Noradounghian in *Recueil*, vol. 1, p. 44.

¹ The upper strip of paper with the invocation has been cut off and pasted face down on the linen so that the notes on the reverse side would be visible. The invocation can be seen against the light.

[Hüve]^a

- [I] Hazret-i Huda-yi müta'al ve Cenab-i Vahhab Zu'l-celal u'l-efzal celle celalehü ve 'amme nevalehünün meymamin-i te'yi-dat-i ezeliye
- [II] ve teyamün-i tevfiakat-i lem-yezeliyesiyle ve hazret-i sultan-i taht-gah-i eflak mesned-nişin-i bar-gah lev la ke müfahhar-i evlad-i Adem maksud-i
- [III] aferiniş-i 'alem hatem-i cümle-i rüsül ü enbiya pişva-yi zümre-i asfiya mahremün harimün li ma'a'llah Muhammed resulü'llah salla'llahu 'aleyhi ve sellem
- [IV] mu'cizat-i kesiretü'l-berekatı muvafakatı ile ve sahabe-i kiram ve hulefa-i zeviyü'l-ihiramı hazret-i Ebu Bekr ve 'Ömer ve 'Osman ve 'Ali
- [V] ridvanu'llah ta'ala 'aleyhim ecma'in ve sa'ir evliya-i kiram ve etkiya-i fihamın ervah-i mukaddeseleri mürafakatı ile

Mustafa-şah bin Mehmed han muzaffer da'ima

- [1] Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i zaman a'zam-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i cihan zillu'llahi'l-Meliki'l-Mennan hadimü'l-haremeyni's-şerifeyn sani Iskender Du'l-karneyn eşrefü'l-meda'in ü'l-emsar Ka'be-i mükerrime ve Medine-i münevvere
- [2] şerreffe hüma Allahu ta'ala ve akdesü'l-memalik ü'l-aktar Kuds-i şerif ve Haleb ve^b Şam cennet-meşamm ve taht-i Masr nadiret-i 'asr ve vilayet-i Yemen ve 'Aden ve San'a ve Seba ve Habeşin ve darü's-salam Bagdad ve Basra ve Lahsanın ve meda'in-i Anuşirvanın
- [3] ve cezire-i Rodos ve vilayet-i Rum ve Trablus ve Şehrizul ve hasretü'l-müluk mahmiye-i İstanbul ve cezire-i Kıbrıs ve darü'l-cihad ve'l-harb Ceza'ir ve Tunus ve sa'ir garb memleketlerinin ve Deşt-i Kıpçak ve memleket-i Tatar ve Diyarbekir
- [4] ve Kürdistan ve Luristan ve Erzurum ve Çıldır ve Van ve Azerbaycanın ve Dagestan ve Gürcistan ve Ak Deniz ve Kara Denizin ve 'umumen Rum-ili ve Anadolu ve Karaman ve Eflak ve Bogdan ve Erdel ve Ungurus²
- [5] ve Bosna ve Macar memleketlerinin ve bunlardan gayri aba-i kiram ve ecdad-i 'izamım nevvere'llahu merakidehüm kuvvet-i kahire ve satvet-i bahireleriyle^c feth ü teshir eyledükleri^d niçe memalik-i ma'mure ve mesalik-i [gayr-i]^e mahsure ve kıla'-i felek-

^a In B. only. No doubt, the missing invocation of A. copy was more elaborate.

^b Missing in B.

² On the reading of this name, see Tibor Halasi-Kun, "Avrupa'daki Osmanlı yer adları üzerinde araştırmalar, Peşte, انكروس," *Türk Dili ve Tarihi Hakkında Araştırmalar* 1 (1951): 63–104, esp. p. 97.

^c B. *bahireleri ile*.

^d B. *eyledikleri*.

^e Cf. Document 30.

- [6] irtifa' ve bika'-i kesiretü'l-intifa'ın padişahı ve şehriyarı ve niçe havakin-i sahib-i temkin ve selatin-i evreng-nişinin ferman-ferma-yi şehir ü diyarı³
hazret-i sultan ibn sultan
- [7] **Sultan Mustafa Han ibn Sultan Mehmed Han ibn Sultan Murad Han ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Süleyman Hanım** bu 'ahdname-i hümayunumı görüb okuyanlara şöyle ma'lum ola ki
- [8] bi-'inayeti'llahi'l-Meliki'l-Ekber 'inan-i cihan-dari kabza-i kudretime mukarrer ve zimam-i kişver-giri keff-i kifayetime müfevvaz ve müsahhar ve serir-i sa'adet-masir-i 'Osmani ve taht-i 'ali-baht-i sahib-kıranı zat-i 'izzet-simatıma müyesser ve mukarrer olub debdebe-i kös-i
- [9] saltanat u iclalim velvele-endaz-i 'arsa-i kevn ü mekan ve sıt u sedayi celalet ü ikbalim sami'a-perdaz-i sükkân-i zemin ü zaman oldukça bi'l-fi'l Lih kralı ve Li[t]vanya^f ve Rusya^g ve Prusya^h ve Mazovyaⁱ
- [10] ve Livanya^j ve sa'ir memleketlerin dukası ve Şvicişna^k vilayetinin varisi ve kralı olacak iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fihâm fi'l-milleti'l-mesihîye muslihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar
- [11] sahibü delayılı'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Jidmund^l hatema'llahu 'avakibahu bi'l-hayr dergah-i selatin-penah ve bargah-i sa'adet-destgahımız[a] ki mukt-i şifah-i kayasire-i zaman ve müzdaham-i hayat-i ekasire-i devrandır tecdid-i muhabbet-i kadime ve te'kid-i esas-i su'alat-i
- [12] müstelime için ilçilik tarikiyle irsal eyledüğü kdvetu ümera'i'l-mesihîye yarar ve mu'teber beglerinden Duka [Iz]baraski^m hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr ile göndürdüğü mektub-i muhabbet-mashubunda izhar-i meveddet ü ihlas ve iş'ar-i sadakat u ihtisas idüb
- [13] sene-i sabıkada merhum ve magfurun-leh karındaşım Sultan Ahmed Han ta'be serahünün oğlu cennet-mekan firdavs-aşıyan merhum ve magfurun-leh Sultan 'Osman [Han]ⁿ 'aleyhi'l-magfîret ü'r-rıdvan Hotin^o seferine vardukda müşarun-ileyh kralının
- [14] vekili ve 'askerinin serdarı ve sa'ir ümera' ve kapudanları cümle Lih 'asakirinin ittifakıyla mahzar yazub merhum müşarun-ileyh ta'be serahünün rikab-i hümayunlarına 'arz idüb ke-ma kan sulh u salah olmasını^p rica eylediklerinde kendü hatları ve mühürleriyle^q virdükleri

³ A superfluous *ı* was added to the word *diyar* in order to create a rhym (*şehri-yarı* ... *şehir ü diyarı*).

^f لوانیه.

^g روسیه.

^h پروسیه.

ⁱ مازوویه.

^j لوانیا; B. *Livonya* (لیونیا).

^k شوچیسنه; B. *Şvencsna* (شونچسنه).

^l زیدموند.

^m The first three Arabic letters are omitted in A. (دوقه براسقی); correctly spelled in B. (دوقه ایزبراسقی).

ⁿ In B. only.

^o حوتین.

^p B. *olunmasını*.

^q B. *mühürleri ile*.

- [15] mahzarda ta'yin ve tahrir olunan mevadd ve kazaya tarafeynden ri'ayet olunmak üzere müceddeden canib-i hümayunumuzdan dahi 'ahdname ihsan olunması babında istid'a-yi 'inayet itmegin mezid-i 'inayet-i 'aliye-i şahane ve meziyet-i re'fet-i padişahanem vücuda gelüb
- [16] müşarun-ileyh kralın iltimasına müsa'de-i 'aliye-i husrevanem olub re'aya fukarasının rahatı ve huzur ve refahiyeti için ulu peygamberimiz iki cihan fahri **hazret-i Muhammed el-Mustafa salla'llahu 'aleyhi** ve sellemin hicreti tarihinin
- [17] bin otuz iki senesinde vakı' mah-i Rebi'ü'l-ahir ki **hazret-i 'İsa 'aleyhi's-selamın** bin altıyüz yigirmi üç tarihi dir zikr olunacak 'uhud u şurut tarafeynden ri'ayet olunmak üzere işbu 'ahdname-i hümayun mevhibet-makrunumı
- [18] virdüm ve buyurdum ki ma damki Lih kralı tarafından ve beglerinden ve kapudanlarından ve Kazak eşkıyasından ve tevabi'inden ve sa'ir ehl-i fesaddan memalik-i mahruseme ve serhaddlarımda olan kal'elerime ve varoşlarıma ve sa'ir memalik-i mahmiyeme tabi' olan
- [19] kasabat ve kuraya ve araziye be-vech mine'l-vücuha dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub Kara Denizde Kazak namı olmayub Kazak eşkıyasından bir zarar olur ise Moskov' Kazagı eylemişdir deyü bahane olunmayub ve Moskov Kazagı ile Lih kazagı birbirlerine yoldaş ve mu'in
- [20] olmaga icazet virilmeyüb muhkem zabt olunub mamnu' olmayanların hakklarından geline Lih kralının dahi memleketine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına ve sa'ir kasabat ve kuralarına taraf-i hümayunumdan ve vüzera-i 'izam ve mirmiran-i fiham ve ümera'-i kiram ve 'asakir-i
- [21] zafer-şi'arımdan ve Bogdanlu ve Dobruca ve Akkerman ve Bender ve Özide olan Tatardan ve gayriden Lih memleketine zarar olmayub ve Nister^s ve Turla' ve sa'ir Tatar geçidleri ol tarafların hakimleri tarafından muhafaza itdirile eger muhafaza eylemekde ihmal
- [22] ve müsahele iderler ise 'azl olunub cezaları virile ve cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Kırım hanı Canibek Giray Han damet sa'adetühüye Lih kralı tarafından irsalı mu'tad olan virgülerin sal be-sal vaktıyla irsal idüb Yaş^u nam mahalde müşarun-ileyhin
- [23] adamlarına teslim ve isal eyledikdensonra han müşarun-ileyh dahi kanun-i kadim üzere zimmetine lazım gelen dostluk^r ve muhabbet şartların ri'ayet idüb min ba'd kendüsi ve kagılğay sultan ve gayri mirzalar ve sa'ir Tatarlarından Lih memleketine bir vechle zarar u ziyan
- [24] irişmeye ve lazım gelüb Lih tarafından da'vet olundukda müşarun-ileyh 'askeri ile imdad ve i'anet idüb ve canib-i hümayunumdan bir tarafa sefer vakı' olub han müşarun-ileyh ve kagılğay sultan veya mirzalarıyla^w Tatar 'askeri varmak lazım geldikde Lih memleketinin

^r مسکو.

^s نستور.

^t طورلی.

^u یاش.

^v Missing in B.

^w B. *mirzaları ile*.

- [25] içine ugramayub kadimden ne mahalden geçe-gelmiş ise girü ol yerden geçüb ve dahi Tatar tayifesi Bogdan memleketinde sakin olmaya ve bu 'ahdname-i hümayunumdansonra Lih kralı memleketine Tatardan veya Bogdanlu ve gayriden kimesne varub garet veya esir ihrac ider ise
- [26] kral tarafından i'lam olundukda o makuleler bulunub hakklarından gelenüb esirler ve esbabları giriye redd itdirile ve Lih esirleri ki bu 'ahdname tarihindensonra ihrac olunmuş ola memalik-i mahrusemde furuht olunmaya Kazak eşkıyasından dahi
- [27] vech-i meşruh üzere memalik-i mahruseme gelüb garet idenleri Lih kralı buldurub hakklarından gelüb esirler ve esbablarını* giriye redd itdirüb bu tarafa müta'allık olanlardan min ba'd Lih memleketinde esir satılmaya ve dahi keferi kırallarından ve gayriden birinin üzerine sefer-i hümayunum
- [28] vakı olub bi'z-zat cenab-i celalet-ma'abım veya serdarım ile 'asakir-i nusret-şi'arım ve Erdel hakimi ve Bogdan ve Eflak voyvodaları düşmanım üzerine irsal olunmak lazım geldikde name-i hümayunumuz ile müşarun-ileyhe i'lam olundukda
- [29] isbat-i sadakat ve istikamet için Lih kralı 'askeri ve hazinesiyle düşmanıma imdad itmeyüb ve düşmanım tarafından bir kimesne varub Lih memleketinde 'ulufe ile 'asker cem' itmek ister ise men' idüb ve hersek ve kapudanlarından ve gayriden ihtiyarlarıyla' düşmanıma yardıma
- [30] gitmek isteyenleri salı-virmeyüb mahfi ve aşikare icazet virmeye hususa bi'l-fi'l Erdel hakimi olan iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye Betlen Gabor^z hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr asitane-i sa'adetimin doğru kuli ve emekdarı ve Erdel memleketi ecdad-i 'izamımdan
- [31] irsla intikal itmiş memleketim olmagla muma-ileyh ile dahi kemal-i musafat üzere olub anın dahi düşmanı zuhur ider ise gizlü ve aşikare düşmanı tarafına Lih canibinden imdad olunmaya ve dahi Erdel ve Bogdan ve Eflak [voyvodaları]^{aa} taraflarından ve beglerinden
- [32] ve gayrilerinden ba'zları kabahat idüb Lih memleketine firar iderler ise o makuleler kabul olunmayub mabeynde olan dostlığı ri'ayeten tutub kayd [ü] bend ile asitane-i sa'adetime göndüre bu vechle dostuma dost düşmanıma düşman ola ve haliya mabeynde dostluk
- [33] ziyade olmagıyçün Lih tevabi'i ve re'ayası Turla^{ab} suyundan Akkerman iskelesine mata' götürüb bey' ü şıra eylemeleri iltimas olunmuş kendü halinde ticaretle gelenlere kimesne mani' olmaya ve Bogdan voyvodaları kadimden Lih kralıyla^{ac} ne vechle musafat

* B. *esbabların*.

^y B. *ihtiyarıyla*.

^z بتلان غابور.

^{aa} Cf. the 'ahdname of 1640, Document 46.

^{ab} طورلی.

^{ac} B. *kralı ile*.

- [34] üzere olı-gelmişler ise girü olvechle musafat üzere ola ve şurut [u]^{ad} kuyud-i mezkure ri‘ayet olundukdansonra aba-i kiram ve ecdad-i ‘izamım taraflarından virilen ‘ahdnamelerde tahrir olunduğı üzere şimdiye degin esir olanlar ki küfri üzerine
- [35] durub islama gelmemiş olalar Lih tarafından adamları gelüb memalik-i mahrusemde buldukları yerde sahibleri niçeye aldıklarına yemin virüb satun alub ziyade baha taleb etmeyeler ve ol esirlerden islama gelmiş olanlar azad olalar
- [36] ve küfr üzere olanları alub gitmege mani‘ olmayalar ve Lih kiralı vilayetinde olanları [esir olan müslümanlar]^{ae} dahi anlar salı-virüb yerlerine gelmege mani‘ olmayalar [ve dahi ‘ahdname tahririnden sonra iki taraftan her kim tutulmuş ise bahasız salı-virile]^{af} ve iki canibin ilçileri ve adamları vere-kagıdına^{ag} muhtac olmayub varub gelüb kendülerine ve mallerine zarar
- [37] u ziyan irişmeye ve tarafeynin bazarganları denizden ve karadan gelüb gidüb bey‘ ü şıra eyleyüb bulundukları yerlerde ‘adet ü kanun üzere rüsumları ne ise virüb kimesne mallerine ve nefslere zarar eylemeye ve eger muma-ileyh kiralın memleketinden
- [38] gelen bazarganlarından memalik-i mahrusemde mürd olurlar ise rızkları taraf-i hümayunumdan alınmayub karban başlarına teslim oluna ki vilayetlerine götürüb varislerine teslim eyleyeler ve bu tarafın bazarganlarından dahi
- [39] Lih memleketinde vefat idenlerin^{ah} rızkları vech-i meşruh üzere bu canibe varislerine göndürile ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesnenin medyuni kiral vilayetine varır ise ol yerin hakimine müräf‘a olub teftiş olundukda
- [40] sabit olur ise sahibine hakkı alı-virile ve bir kimesnenin borcu ve günahı olmadın aharın borcu ve günahı için zarar-i mala kefil olmadın kimesne^{ai} tutub rencide etmeyeler ve bu dostluk içinde gelen ilçileri ve haber getüren
- [41] adamları men‘ olunmayub emin ü salim varub gelüb serhaddlara geldiklerinde yanlarına adamlar koşulub öte canibinden dahi bu vechle ola ve bu taraftan dahi bir kimesnenin Lih kiralına müta‘allık kimesnede hakkı olur ise
- [42] memleket hakimleri alı-vireler ve ol taraftan dahi bu canibe müta‘allık kimesnede hakkı olanların hakkların^{aj} bu tarafın^{ak} hakimleri alı-vireler

^{ad} In B. only.

^{ae} Cf. Document 46 and the earlier ‘ahdnames.

^{af} In B. only.

^{ag} B. *vire-kagıdına*.

^{ah} B. *eyleyenlerin*.

^{ai} B. *kimesne-yi*, written with a “false” *izafet*; it should read *kimesneyi*.

^{aj} B. *hakkan*.

^{ak} B. *taraf*.

- ve hırsuz ve haramiler zarar u ziyan itdüklerinde^{al} hakim olanlar buldurub mu‘accelen hakklarından gelüb hırsuzlukda
- [43] aldıkları esbab ba‘de’s-sübut eshabine^{am} alı-virile ve tüccar tayifesi bir kimesne ile bey‘ ü şıra^{an} veya kefalet ve karz hususunda da‘va ve taleb eyledüklerinde sicillat veya hüccete nazar olmayınca şahid-i zur ikamet olunmagla tezvır ü telbis itmeyeler
- [44] kral canibinden dahi vilayet hakimlerinin ma‘lumi olmayınca istima‘ olunmaya ve Silistre ve Akkerman serhaddlarının hakimleri ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları südde-i sa‘adetim kullarından ve iki canibin tacirlerinden gayrı Turla suyundan Lih vilayetine kimesne-i^{ao}
- [45] salı-virmeyeler ve eger ol taraftan ve berü canibinden gelüb giden kimesnelerin yanlarında esir bulunur ise ellerinden alınub^{ap} girü göndürile^{aq} ve çoban tayifesi Lih vilayetine geçdüklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin ve koyunların bildirüb mahfı varmayalar
- [46] ve otlak hakkı^{ar} vireler ve ta‘ife-i mezbure kendülerin bildirdikdensonra koyunları zayı‘ olur ise memleket hakimleri bulub vireler ve gelüb giden kimesnelerin bargirlerin ulak tutmaya ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeri ve gayrileri atların almayalar
- [47] ve iki canibin tacirleri vire-geldikleri virgü ve gümrüklerin virdükde marda olmayub ne vechle ve ne mikdar vire-gelmişler ise girü ol mikdar virüb ziyade virmeyeler ve kıralın eli altında Ermeni ve sa‘ir kefere bazarganları Bogdan vilayetine ve sa‘ir memalik-i mahruseme gelüb
- [48] ticaret itmek istediklerinde biyaban ve mahfı yerlerden gelmeyüb kadimden bazargan mürur eylediği^{as} tarik-i ‘ammdan geleler anın gibilerin maline ve canine zarar gelür ise ehl-i fesad ele getirilüb hakklarından geline ve istikamet üzere gelüb giden bazarganları rencide olunmayub
- [49] gümrükleri kanun-i kadim üzere alındıkdansonra İstanbulda ve Brusa ve Edirne de reft akçesi ve kassabiye deyü akçe taleb olunmaya ve getürdükleri guruslarından dahi gümrük taleb olunmaya deyü merhum ve magfurun-leh babam sultan Mehmed Han Gazi ta‘be serahü hazretleri
- [50] hatt-i hümayunları ile ferman etmegin mucebiyle ‘amal olunub alınmaya bu ‘ahdname-i hümayunumda mestur olan ‘uhud-i mü‘ekke ve şurut-i müseyyedenin ri‘ayeti babında hazret-i Hakk celle ve ‘alanın ‘azametini ve hazret-i risalet-penah ve cemi‘-i peygamberlerin

^{al} B. *itdiklerinde*.

^{am} B. *sahiblerine*.

^{an} Corrupt in B. The whole paragraph of the previous *‘ahdnames* is abridged in both copies and replaced by one word *veya*. In the *‘ahdname* of 1598 it reads: *bey ü şıra eyleyeler sicillat veya hüccet olmayınca istima‘ olunmaya ve eger . . .*; see Document 28, line [39].

^{ao} Written with a “false” *izafet*. It should read *kimesneyi*.

^{ap} B. *alub*.

^{aq} B. *göndüreler*.

^{ar} B. *hakkım*.

^{as} B. *eylediği*.

- [51] ervah-i mukaddeselerine yemin iderim ki eyyam-i baka ü sebat ve hengam-i hayat-i sa'adet-simatımda ma damki muma-ileyh kiral tarafından bu 'ahdname-i hümayunuma mugayir vaz' ü halet sudur etmeye cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından dahi ^{at}levazım-i dosti ve muhabbet ve şerayit-i sulh
- [52] u meveddet ri'ayet olunub-^{au} eyyam-i sa'adetimde Lih memleketinin re'aya^{av} ve berayası ve fukara ve za'ifesi emn ü rahat üzere olalar ^{aw}şöyle bileler bu 'ahdname-i hümayunumu tugra-yi garra-yi 'alem-ara ile müzeyyen ve mahalli görenler mazmun-i münifin muhakkak ve fehva-yi
- [53] şerifin musaddak bilüb 'alamet-i şerife i'timad kılalar^{ax} cera zukkira ve huraira fi evasiti şehri Rebi'i'l-ahir ^{ay}min şuhuri^{az} seneti isneyni ve selasin ve elf mine'l-hicreti'n-nebeviye 'aleyh efzalü's-salat ve ekmelü't-tahiye

bi-makami
dari's-saltanati'l-'aliye
Kostantiniye hamiyet
'ani'l-afat u'l-beliye

Translation:

[He]

[tugra] *Mustafa-shah, son of Mehmed, the ever victorious khan*

I who,
by the auspicious everlasting support and the upright eternal assistance of His Majesty,
the most Supreme God, the All-Bountiful, the Lord of glory and great qualities (exalted
is His majesty and universal is His gift!), and by the consent of the miracles, full of
divine blessings, of His Excellency Muhammad, the Prophet of God (may God com-
mand and salute him!), the sultan of the throne of the spheres seated in the [divine]
court, Hadst thou not been,⁴ the exalted from among the sons of Adam, the purpose of
the creation of the world, the seal of all the apostles and prophets, the leader of the
class of saints, my intimate confidant with God, and by the assistance of the sanctified
souls of his noble companions and venerated caliphs, Their Excellencies Abu Bakr, Omar,
Osman, and Ali (may the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—be upon them
all!), and of other noble saints and illustrious pious ones,

am the sultan of the sultans of the age, the greatest of the emperors of the epoch, the
distributor of the crowns of the Khusraws of the world, the shadow of God, the Munificent

^{at-au} B. levazım-i dosti ve muhabbet ri'ayet ve şerayit-i sulh u salah hıfz u syanet olunub.

^{av} B. re'ayası.

^{aw-ax} B. şöyle bileler 'alamet-i şerife i'timad kılalar.

^{ay-az} Missing in B.

⁴ *Lev la ke*, a symbolic name of Prophet Muhammad, see Document 30, note 3.

King, the servant of the two holy sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina], the second Alexander the Great, the padishah and the sovereign of the noblest of the towns and cities, Kaaba⁵ the venerated and Medina the enlightened (may God—may He be exalted!—ennoble them both!), and of the most holy among the dominions and districts, Jerusalem the noble, and of Haleb [i.e., Aleppo] and Damascus, fragrant as paradise, of the throne of Egypt, being the prodigy of the epoch, of the provinces of Yemen, Aden, Sana, Saba,⁶ and Ethiopia, of Baghdad, the abode of peace, of Basra and Lahsa, of the cities of Anushirvan [i.e., Ktesiphon], of the island of Rhodes, of the provinces of Rum, Tripoli,⁷ and Shehrizul, of the well-protected Istanbul, which afflicts the kings with nostalgia, of the island of Cyprus and of Algiers, Tunis, and other countries of the West [i.e., Maghreb], [being] the area of the holy war and combat, of the Kipchak steppe and of the Tatar country, of Diyarbakır, Kurdistan, Luristan, Erzurum, Childir, Van, Azerbaijan, Dagestan, and Georgia, of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea, and the whole of Rumelia, Anatolia, Karaman, Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Hungary,⁸ Bosnia and Hungarian countries,⁹ and, in addition, many other prosperous provinces and unlimited byways, fortresses reaching the heavens and buildings of multiple benefits, conquered and subjugated with the overwhelming power and superior force of my noble fathers and magnificent grandfathers (may God illuminate their graves!), and the one, who commands over the cities and countries of numerous emperors of dignity and enthroned sultans, his excellency, the sultan, son of the sultan, Sultan Mustafa Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Süleyman Khan.

To those, who see and read this my imperial 'ahdname, it should be known that as by the grace of God, the Greatest King, the imperial rein was fixed to the grasp of my power, the conquering leading rein was entrusted and taken by my able hand, and the felicitous Ottoman throne, the imperial throne of exalted fortune, was divinely granted and fixed to my glorious person, the noise of the kettle-drum of my sultanate and magnificence, that rises an outcry toward the courtyard of the universe, and the fame and echo of my majesty and fortune affected the ears of the dwellers of earth and time; now the Polish king, the [grand] duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Livonia, and other countries, the heir and the future king of Sweden, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Sigismund (may God seal his days with good!), has sent in [his] embassy to our court, the refuge of sultans and the seat of felicity which feeds the lips of the Caesars of the epoch and is thronged by the mouths of the Khusraws of the age, Prince Zbaraski (may his lat-

⁵ Here, a synonym for Mecca.

⁶ The ancient town and kingdom in southern Arabia.

⁷ It is impossible to determine which one of the two cities of Tripoli is mentioned here. Perhaps the Syrian one, since the Libyan Tripoli is already contained in the expression *garb memleketter*, "the countries of the West."

⁸ *Ungurus* here probably refers to the most important Hungarian province of Buda.

⁹ *Macar memleketterinin* perhaps refers to the minor Hungarian provinces of Temesvár, Kanizsa, and Eger, not mentioned here separately as in Document 30.

ter moments end with good!), the model of the Christian commanders from among his fit and esteemed governors, in order to renew the old affection and to strengthen the base of reconciled problems; and in the friendly letter sent along [with the aforementioned envoy] he has demonstrated affection and sincerity, and communicated [his] amity and exclusive devotion;

[also] in the previous years, when the son of my late brother Sultan Ahmed Khan, whose sins are forgiven (may he rest in peace!), the late and pardoned Sultan Osman Khan (grace and approbation be upon him!), residing in paradise and seating in heaven, set out for the Hotin Campaign, the deputy of the aforementioned king and the commander of the army along with other chiefs and commanders wrote a protocol with the approbation of the whole Polish army and submitted petition to the imperial stirrup of the aforementioned [sultan] (may he rest in peace!), asking that the peace and amity be established, as it used to be, on the condition that both sides would respect the articles and clauses settled and written in the protocol given by them with their own signatures and seals;

and as they petitioned anew that the favor of an 'ahdname be granted by our imperial majesty, my abundant high royal grace and the excellence of my imperial benignity arose and my high imperial favor was granted to the request of the aforementioned king;

and in order to provide rest, freedom from suffering, and ease to the poor subjects; and on the condition of a mutual respecting of the clauses and conditions stated below, I have given this my generous imperial 'ahdname in the month Rebi II in the year 1032 since the emigration [Hegira] of the pride of the two worlds, our great prophet, His Excellency Muhammad Mustafa (may God command and salute him!), that is [in the year] 1623 of the era of His Excellency Jesus (peace be upon him!); and I have ordered that:

As from the side of the Polish king, his governors, commanders, Cossack brigands, dependents, and other mischief-makers no meddling or interference should touch my well-protected dominions, my border fortresses, my towns and other boroughs, villages, and lands belonging to my well-guarded dominions, the name of the Cossacks should disappear from the Black Sea, and if any damage is done by the Cossack brigands, one should not find a [false] excuse saying "the Cossacks of Muscovy have done it"; and as one should not permit the Polish Cossacks to form companionship and bring mutual aid to the Cossacks of Muscovy, [but] they should be firmly restrained and those who trespass the prohibition should be punished, also from the side of my imperial majesty and from the side of my great viziers, illustrious mirmirans, noble emirs, and victorious soldiers, the Moldavians and the Tatars dwelling in Dobrudja, Akkerman, Bender, and Očakiv, and others, no damage should touch the country, fortresses, towns, and other boroughs and villages of the Polish king, or the Polish country; the Tatar crossings on the Dniester, Turla,¹⁰ and others should be guarded by the governors of both sides; and if they, while guarding, show negligence and carelessness, they should be dismissed and punished.

After the customary payments¹¹ [virgüler] by the Polish king are sent every year on time to His Majesty, the abode of leadership, the Crimean khan Djanibek Giray Khan

¹⁰ Turla is the Turkish name of the Dniester.

¹¹ Virgü means also "tribute."

(may his happiness be lasting!), and are delivered and brought to the agents of the aforementioned [khan] in the place called Jassy [Iasi], the aforementioned khan should also respect the conditions of friendship and affection, as required by his duty, according to the old law; henceforth [the khan] himself, his kalga, other mirzas and [ordinary] Tatars should not bring any damage or harm to Poland. If it is necessary, when a call comes from Poland, the aforementioned [khan] with his army should bring rescue and help; and if from the side of my imperial majesty a campaign is ordered in any direction and it is necessary that the aforementioned khan, his kalga sultan or his mirzas set out with the Tatar army, they should not enter Poland but they should pass through the same places through which they have been accustomed to pass since olden times; and the Tatars should not dwell in Moldavia.

If after [the date of] this imperial 'ahdname the Tatars, Moldavians, or others raid the countries of the Polish king or take captives, on receipt of a notification from the king, this sort [of mischief-maker] will be found and punished, and the captives and the [stolen] goods will be sent back. Polish slaves captured after the date of this 'ahdname are not to be sold in my well-protected dominions. Likewise, if anybody from among the Cossack brigands comes and raids my well-protected dominions, the Polish king should find and punish him, and send back the captives and the [stolen] goods; henceforth the subjects of this side should not be sold as slaves in Poland.

If my imperial campaign is declared against any from among the infidel kings or others, and it is necessary to send against my enemy my victorious army—either in the presence of my glorious majesty or under my serdar—along with the ruler [hakim] of Transylvania, and the hospodars [voyvodalar] of Moldavia and Wallachia, after it is notified with our imperial letter to the aforementioned [Polish king], in order to prove [his] loyalty and honesty the Polish king should not help my enemy with his army or treasury; and if anybody from the side of my enemy comes and wants to recruit soldiers in Poland, it should be forbidden; and one should not permit anyone from among the magnates [hersek],¹² commanders, and others who voluntarily want to bring help to my enemy; and one should not give [them] permission, either secretly or openly. As particularly the present ruler of Transylvania, the pride of the great Christian princes Gábor Bethlen (may his latter moments end with good!), is a loyal and faithful servant of my felicitous threshold, and Transylvania belongs to my domain through the inheritance and transfer from my magnificent grandfathers, [royal relations] with the aforementioned should also be based on sincere amity; and if his [i.e., Bethlen's] enemy appears, no help should be given to his enemy from the Polish side, either secretly or openly. And if anybody from among the Transylvanian, Moldavian, and Wallachian [rulers,] governors, or others commits an offence and escapes to Poland, this sort [of mischief-maker] should not be accepted but, in respect of the mutual friendship, should be captured and sent to my felicitous threshold in bonds and chains. In this manner [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy.

And now, in order to strengthen the friendship between [us], as it was requested that the Polish dependents and subjects may bring merchandise to the seaport town of Akkerman

¹² Lit. "princes;" originally the Ottoman term *hersek* referred to the princes of Hercegovina.

by the river Dniester, and buy and sell, nobody will hinder those who come harmless for the purpose of trade.

[The relationships] between the Moldavian hospodars and the Polish kings should be kept in the same friendly way as they have been since olden times.

Once the aforementioned clauses and restrictions are respected, [also] according to [the clauses] written in the 'ahdnames given from the side of my noble fathers and magnificent grandfathers:

When [royal] agents come from Poland and find in [various] sites of my well-protected dominions prisoners captured prior to the present time, who have persisted in infidelity and not become Muslim, they may ransom them, while their owners should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath and should not demand excessive prices. Those from among these prisoners who have become Muslim should be manumitted. And those who have persisted in infidelity may be taken and nobody should hinder them from leaving. Also in the country of the Polish king one should set free Muslim prisoners and one should not hinder them from going home. And if anybody from either side is captured after [the date of] the writing of the 'ahdname, one should let him go without ransom.

When the envoys and agents of both parties enter and come, they do not need a safe-conduct [vere-kagıdı] and no harm or damage should be done to them and to their belongings.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land, and sell and buy; according to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places; [but] nobody should inflict damage on their property or lives.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from the country of the aforementioned king dies in my well-protected dominions, his effects will not be seized by my imperial majesty but handed over to the heads of the caravan, so that they may take them to their country and hand them over to his heirs. Likewise, the effects of the merchants of this side, who die in Poland, should be sent to their heirs in this direction.

If the debtor of anybody from my well-protected dominions arrives at the country of the king, the petition should be heard and investigated by a local judge, if it is proved, the debt should be handed over to its owner.

One should not arrest and injure a person, who has neither debt nor guilt, for the debt or guilt of another person, unless this person has stood as surety for a loss of goods.

Within the time period of friendship, the envoys and agents who come bringing messages should not be hindered and should enter and come secure and safe; upon reaching the borders an escort should be given to their side; one should proceed likewise on the other side.

If a dependent of the Polish king owes something to anybody from this side, the land judicial authorities should execute [the debt]. Also if a dependent of this side owes a due to somebody from the other side, the judicial authorities of this side should execute [the debt].

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm or damage, the judicial authorities should find them and immediately punish them; after it is proved, the stolen goods should be handed over to their owners.

When a claim and demand arises among the merchants and others, concerning transactions, surety [kefalet], or loans, no false witness should be brought until one looks

at the kadi records [sicillat] or certificate [hüccet], and one should not falsify and cheat. Also on the royal side, the land judicial authorities should not hear [a grievance], if [the matter] is not known to them.

The border commanders of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland across the river Dniester except the servants [kullar] of my felicitous threshold and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they [i.e., the captives] should be taken from their hands and sent back.

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret; after they have made their presence known, if their sheep are lost, the land authorities should find them and give [back to them].

The baggage horses of the individuals [i.e., the Polish merchants] who come and depart should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janisaries on campaign.

The taxes and customs duties paid by the merchants of both sides should not exceed the amount, which used to be given; they should pay in the same manner and amount as they used to pay, and they should not pay more. When Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand [i.e., the royal subjects] want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted areas or hidden places, but they should come by the public road, which has been customarily traveled by merchants. If an injury is done to the property or soul [i.e., life] of any of such [merchants], the evildoers should be captured and punished. Merchants, who come and go in sincerity, should not be molested; after their customs duties are collected according to the old law, one should not demand that they pay taxes called departure money [reft akçesi] or the tax on animals [kassabiye] in Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne.

And as my late father, whose sins are forgiven, His Excellency Sultan Mehmed Khan Ghazi (may he rest in peace!), issued a firman¹³ provided with his imperial writing [i.e., tugra], saying that one should not impose customs duties on the cash [guruşlar] which they [i.e., the Polish merchants] bring, one should proceed accordingly and one should not collect [such duties].

In order to protect the firm agreements and sound conditions registered in this imperial 'ahdname, I swear by the greatness of the True God (may He be exalted!), and to the sanctified souls of the Refuge of Prophecy [i.e., Muhammad] and all the [other] prophets that for the remaining and fixed days [of my rule], and for the time of my life, marked with felicity, as from the side of the aforementioned king no gesture or act should occur contrary to this my imperial 'ahdname, also from the side of my glorious majesty the provisions of friendship and affection, and the conditions of peace and love will be respected; and may the poor and weak Polish subjects live in safety and tranquillity during my felicitous days. Thus they must know. Those, who see this my imperial 'ahdname decorated with the illustrious world-adorning tugra in its [correct] place,

¹³ This firman was mentioned for the first time in the 'ahdname of 1598; see Document 28.

ought to recognize its exalted contents as authentic and its noble tenor as true, and should trust to the noble sign [i.e., tугра].

Executed, noted and written in the second decade of the month of Rebi II from among the months of the year 1032 since the emigration [Hegira] of the Prophet (may the most superior prayer and the most perfect salutation be upon him!) in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, Constantinople, protected from misfortune and evil.

DOCUMENT 38 (10 OCTOBER 1623)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Murad IV to King Sigismund III
[Facs. XII]

Original documents in Turkish (both provided with *tugras*, the A. copy being more solemn):

A. AGAD, AKW, Dokumenty pergaminowe [Parchment documents], no. 5628 (*KDT*, pp. 251–52).

491.5 × 65 cm.

invocatio: *divani* script¹

formula devotionis (gold): *sülüs* script

tugra (gold)

text (black with gold insertions and *zerefşan*, sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

a sign of correction, resembling the word *buyurulmuşdur*, is placed on the reverse side

B. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 72, t. 307, no. 564 (*KDT*, pp. 252–53).

208 × 41.5 cm.

invocatio: *divani* script²

formula devotionis (black): *sülüs* script

tugra (gold)

text (black sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

a sign of correction, resembling the word *buyurulmuşdur*, is placed on the reverse side

Another Turkish copy, preserved in the Venetian Archives, is mentioned by Noradounghian in *Recueil*, vol. 1, p. 45.³

Polish translations: a) AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 30, fol. 25b–30a; b) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 333, fol. 202a–209b; c) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 72, t. 307, no. 565 (by Zajerski, copied by Crutta); d) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612,

¹ The upper section of the document, which must have contained an invocation, is missing. A small piece of paper with an invocation is pasted on the upper edge of the remaining shortened document. Yet, it is striking that this by far the longest Polish *‘ahdname* is provided with such a simple invocation, even shorter than the invocation of the less solemn B. copy. Perhaps this invocation originates from another document; for a similar opinion by Abrahamowicz, see *KDT*, p. 251.

² The upper strip of paper with the invocation has been cut off and pasted face down on the linen so that the notes on the reverse side would be visible. The invocation, which can be seen against the light, was copied on the front side by Crutta.

³ Unfortunately this copy has not been found. I would like to express here my gratitude to Hans Theunissen for his help in searching for this document.

pp. 341–50 [357–66]; e) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 373–83 [389–99]; f) L'vivs'ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 5 (Oss.), opys 1, no. II-436, fol. 57a–60a; g) L'vivs'ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 4 (Baw.), opys 1, no. 280/II, fol. 8a–9b.

Fragments are published in I. Corfus, ed., *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVII-lea* (Bucharest, 1983), no. 53, pp. 112–13.

French translation by Crutta: Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 385–86 [401–402].

Hüve^a

- [I] **Hazret-i Huda-yi müta'al celle 'ani's-şebihi ve'l-misalün^b meyamin-i te'yidat-i ebediye ve mahasin-i tevfiakat-i**
 [II] **'aliyesiyle^c ve sultan-i taht-gah-i eflak mesned-nişin-i bar-gah lev la ke müfahhar-i evlad-i Adem maksud-i**
 [III] **aferiniş-i 'alem mahremün harimün li ma'a'llah hazret-i^d Muhammed resulü'llah 'aleyhi's-salat u's-selamın**
 [IV] **'mu'cizat-i kesiretü'l-berekatıyla ve çahar yar-i kiram ve sa'ir eshab-i fiham ridvanu'llah ta'ala 'aleyhim ecma'inin ruhaniyeti ile^f**

Murad-şah bin Ahmed han muzaffer da'ima

- [1] Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i zaman a'zam-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i cihan zillu'llahi'l-Meliki'l-Mennan hadimü'l-haremeyni's-şerifeyn sani Iskender Du'l-karneyn eşrefü'l-meda'in ü'l-emsar Ka'be-i mükerreme ve Medine-i münevvere şerrefe hüma Allahu ta'ala
 [2] ve akdesü'l-memalik ü'l-aktar Kuds-i şerif ve Haleb ve Şam cennet-meşamm ve taht-i Masr nadire-i 'asr ve vilayet-i Yemen ve 'Aden ve^g San'an ve Seba ve Habeşin ve daru's-salam Bagdad ve Basra ve Lahsanın ve meda'in-i Anuşirvanın ve cezire-i Rodos ve vilayet-i Rum^h ve Trablus
 [3] ve Şehrizul ve hasretü'l-müluk mahmiye-i Istanbul ve cezire-i Kıbrıs ve darü'l-cihad ve'l-harb Ceza'ir ve Tunus ve sayir garb memleketlerinin ve Deşt-i Kıpçak ve memleket-i Tatar ve Diyarbekir ve Kürdistan ve Erzurum ve Çıldır ve Vanın ve Azerbaycan ve Gürcistanın ve Ak Deniz ve Kara Denizin

^a B. *Hüve'l-'azizu'l-mu'in*.

^b B. *Hazret-i Huda-yi müta'al ve Cenab-i Vahhab Zu'l-celal u'l-efzal celle celalehtü ve 'amme nevalehünün*.

^c B. *sermediyesiyle*.

^d Missing in B.

^{e-f} B. *mu'cizat-i kesiretü'l-berekatı ve sayir eshab-i kiram ridvanu'llah ta'ala 'aleyhim ecma'in ruhaniyetiyle*.

^g In B. erroneously repeated.

^h In B. erroneously *Rum-ili*.

- [4] ve 'umumen Rum-ili ve Anadolu ve Karaman ve Eflak ve Bogdan ve Erdel ve Ungurus ve Bosna ve Macar memleketlerinin ve bunlardan gayri aba-i kiram ve ecdad-i 'izamım nevvere'llahu merakidehümⁱ kuvvet-i kahire ve satvet-i bahireleri ile feth ü teshir eyledükleri^j
- [5] niçe memalik-i ma'mure ve mesalik-i gayr-i mahsure ve kıla'-i felek-irtifa' ve bika'-i kesiretü'l-intifa'ın padişahı ve şehriyari ve niçe havakin-i sahib-i temkin ve selatin-i evreng-nişinin ferman-ferma-yi şehir ü diyari hazret-i sultan ibn sultan
- [6] ibn sultan **Sultan Murad Han** ibn Sultan Ahmed Han ibn Sultan Mehmed^k Han ibn Sultan Murad Han ibn Sultan Selim Han ibn Sultan Süleyman Hanım işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunum mazmunıyla 'amil ve da'ire-i sulh u imanına dahil olan 'umumen Lih kırallı
- [7] memleketin a'la ve ednasına ve sagır ve kebirine kelim-i sa'adet-encamım bu dur ki kadimü'l-eyyamdan Lih kıralları merci'-i kayasire-i zaman ve melaz-i ekasire-i devran olan südde-i seniye-i 'adalet-'unvan ve 'atebe-i 'aliye-i muhalled-yararganeme 'arz[i sadakat]^l u ihlas ve izhar-i istikamet
- [8] ü ihtisas ide-gelüb aba ve ecdad-i 'izam ve eslaf-i emcad-i kiramım zaman ba emanlarında dostluk tarikinden mikdar-i zerre huruc ve 'udula irtikab ve hiç bir vechle^m terk-i rah-i savab etmeyüb mabeynde karar virilen sulh u salah şerayitini
- [9] ke-ma hüve hakka ri'ayet ve Kazak eşkıyası ve sa'ir şur u şereh mübaşeret iden erbab-i fesadı def' ü ref'eⁿ sa'i ve dikkat etmeleriyle berü taraftan dahi il ve memleketlerine kusur u noksan ve zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeyüb cümle-i re'aya ve berayası saye-i sa'adetimde
- [10] asude-hal ve ta'arruz-i erbab-i harb u kıtaldan müreffehü'l-bal iken mukaddema ba'z Kazak eşkıyasının tecavüzleri sebebi ile cennet-mekan firdevs-aşıyan el-mürtahil ila civara rahmeti'llahi'l-Meliki'l-Mennan birader-i büzürgvarım Sultan 'Osman Han
- [11] 'aleyhi'r-rahmet ü r-ridvan hazretleri üzerlerine sefer etmek iktiza idüb 'asakir-i Müslimin ve cünud-i muvahhidin ile Hotin^o altına varub niçe ceng ü cidal ve harb u kıtaldan sonra müşarun-ileyh Lih kralının vekili ve 'askerinin serdari ve sa'ir ümera' ve kapudanları
- [12] cümle Lih 'askerinin ittifakı ile 'arz ü mahzar yazub merhum müşarun-ileyh ta'be serahünün rikab-i hümayunlarına göndürüb ke-ma kan sulh u salah olunmak babında istid'a-yi 'inayet etdiklerinde istirahat-i fukara ve huzur u refahiyet-i re'aya hatırıyçün makbul-i hümayunları
- [13] oldukdan sonra iradet ü meşiyet-i Fa'al le-ma yuridu ve sevk ü takdir-i

ⁱ B. *enara'llahu berahinehüm.*

^j B. *eyledikleri.*

^k B. *Mehemmed.*

^l In B. only.

^m B. *vechiyle.*

ⁿ B. *ref'.*

^o حوتين; B. حتين.

- Rabb-i Mecid ile zimam-i saltanat-i 'Osmani 'amm-i a'azz-i ekremim olan Sultan Mustafa Han keramet-neşan hazretlerinin yed-i mü'eyyedlerine tefviz ve taklid olundukda muma-ileyh Lih kralı yarar ve mu'teber beglerinden [olan]^p
- [14] iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-milleti'l-mesihîye^q Duka Izbaraskı^r hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr nam [mu'teber]^s ilçisin südde-i sa'adet-medarıma göndürüb müşarun-ileyh magfîret-destgah Sultan 'Osman [Han]^t 'aleyhi'r-rahmet ü'r-ridvan^u hazretlerinin mukarrer ve mu'teber tutduğı^v minval üzere 'ahdname-i hümayun ihsan olunmasın
- [15] murad ve iltimas etdikde hayr fetvada vakı^w olub tugalı 'ahdname-i hümayun virilüb ol tarihinden îla haza'l-an mabeynde sulh u salah ke-ma kan mukarrer ve mu'teber tutulmagla bi-'inayeti'llahi'l-Meliki'l-Ekber hala 'inan-i saltanat u^w cihan-dari kabza-i kudretime mukarrer
- [16] ve zimam-i hilafet ü^x kişver-giri keff-i kifayetime müfevvaz ve müsahhar ve serir-i sa'adet-masir-i 'Osmani ve taht-i 'ali-baht-i sahib-kırani zat-i sa'adet-ayatıma müyesser ve mukarrer ve^y debdebe-i kös-i saltanat u iclalim velvele-endaz-i 'arsa-i kevn ü mekan ve sıt u seda-yi celalet
- [17] ü ikbalim sami'a-perdaz-i sükkân-i zemin ü zaman olub müsa'ade-i baht-i meymun ve mu'avenet-i tali'-i sa'adet-makrun ile işbu sene-i isna ve selasin ve elf Zi'l-ka'de'l-haramin on dördüncü günü ber vakt-i sa'idde cülus-i hümayunum vakı^w olub
- [18] 'amme-i 'alemiyana ifaza-i birr ü ihsanım mebzul ve masruf ve kaffe-i ahibba ve dostana eltaf u a'taf-i feravanım mukarrer ve ma'tuf tutuldukda müşarun-ileyh Lih memleketinin bi'l-fi'l kralı ve Li[t]vanya^z ve Rusya^{aa} ve Prusya^{ab} ve Mazovya^{ac} ve Livonya^{ad}
- [19] ve sa'ir memleketlerin dukası ve Şvençna^{ae} vilayetinin varisi ve kralı olacak iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fiham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihîye muslihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar
- [20] sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Jidmund^{af} hatema'llahu 'avakibahu

^p In B. only.

^q B. *iftihari ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye*.

^r دوقه ایزراسقی; B. دوقه ایزراسقی.

^s In B. only.

^t In B. only.

^u B. *rahmet ü'l-gufran*.

^v B. *tutduğı*.

^w Missing in B.

^x Missing in B.

^y Missing in B.

^z لوانیه.

^{aa} روسیه.

^{ab} پروسیه.

^{ac} مازوویه.

^{ad} لیونیا.

^{ae} شوینچنه.

^{af} ژیدموند.

- bi'l-hayr tarafından asitane-i sa'adet-aşıyan ve südde-i seniye-i 'adalet-unvanıma ilçilik ile göndürilen^{ag} muma-ileyh büyük ilçinin tercümanı olan kıdvetü a'yani'l-milleti'l-mesihîye
- [21] Kriştov^{ah} nam tercüman cülus-i hümayunum esnasında dergah-i sa'adet-destgahımda bulunub mukaddema kendülere virilen ve ila el-an mukarrer ve mu'teber tutulan 'ahdnameleri götürüb taraf-i bahirü'ş-şeref-i husrevanımdan dahi ol minval üzere
- [22] müceddeden 'ahdname-i hümayun 'inayet olunmasın rica ve iltimas itdüğü vüzera-i 'izam ve vükela-i fihamım tarafından paye-i serir-i a'lama 'arz ü i'lam olunub ve ol ma'mulün-bih ve mu'teber olan 'ahdnamede tefasil-i ahval bu minval üzere
- [23] tahrir ve tastır olunmuş ki ma damki Lih kralı tarafından ve beglerinden ve kapudanlarından ve Kazak eşkıyasından ve tevabi'inden ve sa'ir ehl-i fesaddan serhadd-i memalik-i mahrusemde olan kal'elerime ve varoşlarıma ve sa'ir
- [24] memalik-i mahmiyeme tabi' olan kasabat ve kuraya ve araziye be vech mine'l-vücuah dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub Kara Denizde Kazak namı olmayub Kazak eşkıyasından bir zarar olur ise Moskov^{ai} Kazagı eylemişdir deyü bahane olunmaya^{aj}
- [25] ve Moskov Kazagı ile Lih Kazagı birbirlerine yoldaş ve mu'in olmaga icazet virilmeyüb muhkem zabt olunub mamnu' olmayanların haklarından geline Lih kralının dahi memleketine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına ve sa'ir kasabat ve kuralarına taraf-i hümayunumdan
- [26] ve vüzera-i 'izam ve mirmiran-i fiham ve ümera'-i kiram ve 'asakir-i zafer-şi'arımdan ve Bogdanlu ve Dobruca ve Akkerman ve Bender ve Özide olan Tatardan ve gayriden Lih memleketine zarar olmayub Nister^{ak} ve Turla^{al} ve sa'ir Tatar geçidleri
- [27] ol tarafların hakimleri canibinden muhafaza etdürile eger muhafaza eylemekde ihmal ve müsahele iderler ise 'azl olunub cezaları virile ve cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Kırım hanları tarafına Lih kralından irsalı mu'tad olan virgülerin
- [28] sal be-sal vaktıyla irsal olunub Yaş^{am} nam mahalde han adamlarına teslim ve isal^{an} olundukdan sonra Kırım hanı dahi kanun-i kadim üzere 'uhdesine lazım gelen dostluk ve muhabbet şartlarını^{ao} ri'ayet idüb
- [29] minba'd han tarafından ve kagılgay sultandan ve gayri mirzalardan Lih memleketlerine bir vechle zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye ve kiral müşarun-ileyhin üzerine düşman-i müstevli olub muma-ileyh tarafından adam varub mu'avenet ve imdad

^{ag} B. ilçilik tarihiyle.

^{ah} قرشتو.

^{ai} مسقو.

^{aj} B. olunmayub.

^{ak} نستیر.

^{al} طورلی.

^{am} باش.

^{an} B. irsal.

^{ao} B. şartlarını yerine getirüb.

- [30] taleb eyledikde canib-i hümayunumdan ferman-i şerifim oldukda han dahi Tatar 'askeri ile imdad ve i'anet eyleye ve canib-i hümayunumdan bir tarafa sefer vakı' olub han müşarun-ileyh veyahud kaglgay sultan ve mirzaları ile Tatar 'askeri
- [31] varmak lazım geldikde Lih memleketinin içine ugramayub kadimden ne mahalden geçe-gelmişler ise girü ol yerden geçe ve dahi Tatar ta'ifesi Bogdan memleketinde sakin olmayalar ve bu 'ahdname-i hümayunumdan sonra Lih kralı memleketine Tatardan
- [32] veya Bogdanlu^{ap} ve gayriden kimesne varub garet veya esir ihrac iderse^{aq} kral tarafından i'lam olundukda ol makuleler [bulunub hakklarından gelenüb esirler ve esbabları girüye redd etdirile ve Lih esirleri ki]^{ar} bu 'ahdname tarihinden sonra ihrac olunmuş ola memalik-i mahrusemde furuht olunmaya ke-zalik Kazak
- [33] eşkıyasından dahi vech-i meşruh üzere memalik-i mahruseme gelüb garet idenleri Lih kralı buldurub hakklarından gelüb esirler ve esbabların girüye redd etdirüb bu tarafa müta'allık olanlardan minba'd Lih memleketinde esir satılmaya
- [34] ve dahi kefare kırallarından ve gayriden birinin üzerine sefer-i zafer-şiarım vakı' olub bi'z-zat cenab-i celalet-ma'abım varmak iktiza itdikde veyahud bir serdar ta'yin olunub 'asakir-i nusret-ma'asirim^{as} ile ve Erdel ve Bogdan ve Eflak
- [35] voyvodalarıyla ol düşmanın üzerine teveccüh olunmagla düşmanım tarafından kendüye adam varub mu'avenet ve müzaheret taleb itdüklerinde^{at} asitane-i sa'adetime sadakat ve istikamet ve icra-i levazım-i musafat ve muvafakat için
- [36] Lih kralı 'askeri ve hazinesi ile düşmanıma^{au} yardım itmeye^{av} ve düşmanım tarafından bir kimesne varub Lih memleketinde 'ulufeleriyle 'asker cem' etmek^{aw} isterse^{ax} men' idüb ruhsat virmeye ve kendünün hersek ve kapudanlarından ve gayriden ba'zileri
- [37] ihtiyarıyla^{ay} düşmanıma yardım için gitmek murad itdüklerinde^{az} salıvirmeyüb gizlü ve aşikare icazet virilmeye ve Erdel memleketi eccad-i 'izamımdan ırsla intikal itmiş^{ba} memleketim mesabesinde olmagla Erdel hakimleriyle^{bb} ve bu canibe

^{ap} B. *Bogdanludan*.

^{aq} B. *ider ise*.

^{ar} In B. only; evidently omitted by the copyist.

^{as} B. *nusret-şiarım*.

^{at} B. *etdiklerinde*.

^{au} B. *düşmanımıza*.

^{av} B. *etmeye*.

^{aw} B. *etmek*.

^{ax} B. *ister ise*.

^{ay} B. *ihtiyarlarıyla*.

^{az} B. *etdiklerinde*.

^{ba} B. *etmiş*.

^{bb} B. *hakimleri ile*.

- [38] izhar-i sadakat iden^{bc} Macar kralı olanlar ile dahi kemal-i musafat üzere olup Erdel canibinde dahi düşman zuhur iderse^{bd} gizlü ve aşikare düşman tarafına Lih canibinden imdad olunmaya ve dahi Erdel ve Bogdan ve Eflak
- [39] voyvodaları taraflarından ve beglerinden ve gayrilerinden ba'zları kaba-hat idüb Lih memleketine firar iderler ise o^{be} makuleler kabul olunmayub mabeynde olan dostluk ve aşnalığı^{bf} ri'ayeten tutub kayd ü bend ile asitane-i sa'adetime göndüre
- [40] bu vechle dostuma dost ve düşmanıma düşman ola ve haliya mabeynde dostluk ziyade olmak için^{bg} Lih tevabı'ı ve re'ayası Turla^{bh} suyundan Akkerman iskelesine mata' getirüb bey' ü şıra eylemeleri iltimas olunmuş o makule
- [41] memalik-i mahruseme zarar u ziyan kasdında olmayub kendü halinde ticaret ile gelenlere kimesne mani' olmaya ve Lih kralı südde-i sa'ade-timele olan dostlugunda sabit-kadem oldukça Bogdan voyvodaları dahi kadimden Lih kralı ile
- [42] ne vechle musafat üzere olı-gelmişler ise girü ol vechle musafat üzere ola ve mukaddema karışıklık eyyamında Lihlüden esir olanlar ki küfri üzerine durub islama gelmemiş olalar Lih tarafından
- [43] adamları gelüb o^{bi} makuleleri memalik-i mahrusemde buldukları yerde sahiblerine niçeye aldıklarına yemin virüb ma'lum olduktan sonra satun aldıklarından ziyade baha talep etmeyeler^{bj} ve bahaların virdikden^{bk} sonra kendü vilayetlerine
- [44] alub gitmege kimesne mani' olmaya ve ol esirlerden küfri üzerine durmayub islama gelmiş bulunanlara^{bl} ta'arruz olunmayub kendü hali üzere ibka oluna ve dahi 'ahdname tahririnden sonra iki taraftan
- [45] her kim tutulmuş ise bahasız salı-virile^{bm} ve iki canibin ilçileri ve adamları vire-kagıdına muhtac olmayub varub gelüb kendülerine ve mallerine zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve tarafeynin bazarganları denizden ve karadan ve mu'tad olan
- [46] istedikleri iskelelerden gelüb gidüb bey' ü şıra eyleyüb bulundukları yerlerde 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsumları ne ise virüb kimesne mallerine ve nefslerine zarar eylemeye ve eger muma-ileyh Lih kralı memleketinden gelen bazarganlardan

^{bc} B. *sadakat izhar iden.*

^{bd} B. *ider ise.*

^{be} B. *ol.*

^{bf} B. *mabeynde olan dostluğu.*

^{bg} B. *olmagyçün.*

^{bh} *طورلی.*

^{bi} B. *ol.*

^{bj} B. *taleb olunmaya ve talep etmeyeler.*

^{bk} B. *virdükden.*

^{bl} B. *bulunanlardan bir ferde.*

^{bm} B. *salı-vi[r]ile.*

- [47] memalik-i mahrusemde mürd olurlar ise^{bn} rızkları taraf-i miriden alınmayub karban başlarına^{bo} teslim oluna ki vilayetlerine götürüb varislerine teslim eyleyeler ve bu tarafın bazarganlarından dahi Lih memleketinde vefat eyleyenlerin mallerine ve rızklarına vech-i meşruh üzere
- [48] öte canibden müdahale olunmayub bu canibde varislerine göndürile ve iki tarafa müta'alılık bazarganlardan ve gayriden bir kimesne bir kimesneden deyn ü karz hususunda veyahud bey' ü şıra babında ve sa'ir da'vada hakk taleb eyleyse her kankı^{bp} mahalde bulunurlar ise
- [49] eger bu tarafın ve eger ol canibin vilayet hakimleri^{bq} babında müraf'a olunub hakk üzere teftiş ü tafahhus olunduktan sonra sabit olan hukuk u deyinleri her ne ise alı-virilüb 'inad u muhalefet itdirilmeye^{br} amma borcu ve günahı olmadan
- [50] aharın borcu ve hakkı için da'va ve taleb idüb bi-gayri hakkın rencide ve remide etmek isteyenler iki taraftan dahi men' olunub zarar-i mala kefaleti sabit olmadan bi-vech ve bela-sebeeb rencide ve remide itdirilmeyeler^{bs} ve o^{bt} makulelerin ellerinde olan
- [51] sicil ve hüccetlerine ve ma'mulün-bih temessüklerine nazar olmayınca mücerred şahid-i zur ikamet olunmagla tezvır ü telbislerine 'amal olunmaya ve bi'l-cümle iki canibin hakimleri dahi tamam-i takayyüd gösterüb ma damki vaki' olan maddenin ve da'valarının aslı ve hakikatı olduğunu
- [52] hakimü'l-vakt ma'lum u tahkik idenmeye bi-vech olan da'vaların istima' etmeyeler ve anın gibi hırsız ve haramiler bir kimesnenin maline ve canine zarar u ziyan irişdükdü^{bu} hakim olanlar o^{bv} makuleleri buldurdub muhkem vechle hakklarından
- [53] gelüb hırsızlıkda aldıkları esbabları ba'de's-sübut sahiblerine teslim oluna ve bu dostluk içinde gelen ilçileri ve sa'ir adamları men' olunmayub emin ü salım varub gelüb serhaddlara geldikde yanlarına adamlar koşulub öte canibden
- [54] dahi bu minval üzere 'amal oluna ve Silistre ve Akkerman serhaddlarının hakimleri ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları südde-i sa'adetim kullarından ve iki canibin tacirlerinden gayrisini Turla^{bw} suyundan
- [55] Lih vilayetine [kimesneyi]^{bx} salı-virmeyeler ve eger ol taraftan ve berü canibden gelüb giden kimesnelerin yanlarında esir bulunur ise ellerinden

^{bn} B. *mürd oldukda.*

^{bo} B. *başlarına.*

^{bp} B. *her kankı.*

^{bq} B. *hakimi.*

^{br} B. *etdirilmeye.*

^{bs} B. *etdirilmeye ve etdirmeyeler.*

^{bt} B. *ol.*

^{bu} B. *irışdirdikde.*

^{bv} B. *ol.*

^{bw} *طوري.*

^{bx} Evidently omitted, cf. Document 37, note ao, and the earlier documents.

- alub girü göndüreler ve çoban ta'ifesi Lih vilayetine geçdüklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin
- [56] ve koyunların bildirüb mahfı varmayalar ve otlak hakkını vireler ta'ife-i mezbure kendülerin bildirdükden sonra koyunları zayı' olur ise memleket hakimleri bulub vireler ve gelüb giden kimesnelerin bargirlerin ulak tutmaya ve sefer üzerinde
- [57] yeniçeri ve gayrileri atların almayalar ve iki canibin tacirleri vire-geldükleri virgülerin^{by} ve gümrüklerin eda itdikden sonra^{bz} virilü-gelenden ziyade nesne taleb olunmayub ve marda yükletmeyüb bu ana degin ne vechle ve ne mikdar vire-gelmişler ise
- [58] girü ol mikdar virüb ol-gelmişe muhalif iş olmaya ve kıralın eli altında olan Ermeni ve sa'ir kefere bazarganları Bogdan vilayetine ve andan ma 'ada^{ca} memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret etmek istediklerinde bi-yaban
- [59] ve mahfı yerlerden gelmeyüb kadimden bazarganlar^{cb} mürur eylediği tarik-i 'ammdan geleler^{cc} anın gibilerin maline ve canine zarar gelürse^{cd} ehl-i fesad ele getirilüb hakklarından geline ve istikamet üzere gelüb giden bazarganları rencide^{ce} olunmayub
- [60] gümrükleri kanun-i kadim üzere alındıktan sonra Istanbulda ve Brusa ve Edirne'de reft akçesi ve kassabiye deyü akçe taleb olunmaya ve getürdükleri guruslarından eger riyal ve eger kara gurusu ve eger arslani ve eger Lih gurusıdır
- [61] gümrük taleb olunmaya [deyü]^{cf} ilç-i merkurumun irad itdüğü^{cg} 'ahd-name-i hümayunda^{ch} cümleten mestur u mukayyed ve eyman-i gulaz u şıdad ile mü'ekked ve müşeyyed bulunmagın bendahi 'ibadu'llahın emn ü istirahatı ve re'aya fukarasının feragat
- [62] u refahiyeti için bu minval üzere müşarun-ileyh Lih kıralının südde-i seniye-i sa'adet-medarım ile olan barışıklığını ve dostluk ve aşnahgını makbul u mu'teber ve muhakkak u mukarrer tutub müceddeden
- [63] işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunı virdüm ve buyurdum ki fi-ma ba'd eyyam-i devlet-i hümayun ve hengam-i saltanat-i ebed-makrunumda dahi yukaruda tafsıl olunan şurut u kuyud ve mevadd u 'uhud muktazasınca 'amal ve sulh u salah levazımı
- [64] gereği gibi müretteb ü mükemmel kılına ma damki kıral tarafından ve kapudanlarından ve beglerinden ve gayriden muceb-i ihtilal-i 'ahd ü

^{by} B. *virgü.*

^{bz} B. *eda itdıkde.*

^{ca} B. *ve sa'ir*, erroneously repeated.

^{cb} B. *bazargan.*

^{cc} B. *gelüb gideler.*

^{cd} B. *gelür ise.*

^{ce} B. *rencide ve remide.*

^{cf} In B. only.

^{cg} B. *eylediği.*

^{ch} B. *'ahdname.*

peyman be ba'is-i inhilal-i şart u iman sulh u salaha mugayir ve muhalif
bir vaz' sadır olmayub dostluk

[65] ve barışıklık^{ci} hukukını geregi gibi ri'ayet ve madde-i fitne ü fesad olan
Kazak eşkıyasının def'inde ke-ma hüve hakka sa'i ve dikkat ideler
cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından dahi eyman-i gulaz ile yemin iderim
ki

[66] yeri ve göği yokdan var iden **Perverdegar** celle celalehü hakkı için
ve ulu ve 'aziz peygamberimiz iki cihan güneşi **Muhammed Mustafa**
salla'llahu ta'ala [^{ci}**'aleyhi**] **ve sellemin** mu'cizatu hakkıyçün min-
val-i meşruh üzere mu'ahede olunan maddelerden cüzvi ve külli

[67] ber hususda tahallüf ü tecavüz olunmayub müddet-i baka-yi devlet-i
ruz-efzun ve zaman-i sebat-i saltanat-i ebed-makrunumda bu sulh u
salah mukarrer ü pay-dar ve bu 'ahd ü eman sabit ü ber-karar olub
'umumen ol vilayetlerin re'aya ve berayası

[68] saye-i sa'adet ve zill-i himayetimde asude-hal ve müreffehü'l-bal olalar
şöyle bileler 'alamet-i şerife i'timad kılalar ve^{ck} bu 'ahdname-i şerifim
hazret-i risalet-penah salla'llahu ta'ala [^{ci}**'aleyhi**] ve sellemin^{cl} hicreti ta-
rihinde^{cm} bin otuz iki senesinde vakı' mübarek-i Zi'l-hicce ayının

[69] on beşinci gününde daru's-saltanati'l-'aliye Kostantiniyetü'l-mahmiyede
yazıldı

bi-makami
Kostantiniyeti'l-mahmiye
dari's-sultaniyeti
'l-mahruse^{cn}

Translation:

He

[tugra] *Murad-shah, son of Ahmed, the ever victorious khan*

I who,

*by the auspicious eternal support and the good exalted assistance of His Majesty, the
most Supreme God (may He be exalted above any comparison and similarity!), and by
the miracles, full of divine blessings, of His Excellency Muhammad, the Prophet of God
(prayer and peace be upon him!), the sultan of the throne of the spheres seated in the
[divine] court, Hadst thou not been,⁴ the exalted from among the sons of Adam, the*

^{ci} B. *barışıklık*.

^{cj} In B. only.

^{ck} Missing in B.

^{cl} B. *salla'llahu 'aleyhi ve sellemin*.

^{cm} B. *tarihinden*.

^{cn} B. *bi-makami dari's-saltanati'l-'aliye Kostantiniye hamiyet 'ani'l-afat u'l-beliye*.

⁴ *Lev la ke*, a symbolic name of Prophet Muhammad, see Document 30, note 3.

purpose of the creation of the world, my intimate confident with God, and by the spiritual influence of the four noble companions and other illustrious disciples [of the Prophet] (may the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—be upon them all!),

am the sultan of the sultans of the age, the greatest of the emperors of the epoch, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusravs of the world, the shadow of God, the Munificent King, the servant of the two holy sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina], the second Alexander the Great, the padishah and the sovereign of the noblest of the towns and cities, Kaaba⁵ the venerated and Medina the enlightened (may God—may He be exalted!—ennoble them both!), and of the most holy among the dominions and districts, Jerusalem the noble, and of Haleb [i.e., Aleppo] and Damascus, fragrant as paradise, of the throne of Egypt, being the prodigy of the epoch, and of the provinces of Yemen, Aden, Sana, Saba, and Ethiopia, of Baghdad, the abode of peace, of Basra and Lahsa, of the cities of Anushirvan [i.e., Ktesiphon], of the island of Rhodes, of the provinces of Rum, Tripoli, and Shehrizul, of the well-protected Istanbul, which afflicts the kings with nostalgia, of the island of Cyprus and of Algiers, Tunis, and other countries of the West [i.e., Maghreb], [being] the area of the holy war and combat, of the Kipchak steppe and of the Tatar country, of Diyarbakir, Kurdistan, Erzurum, Childir, Van, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea, and the whole of Rumelia, Anatolia, Karaman, Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Hungary, Bosnia and Hungarian countries, and, in addition, many other prosperous provinces and unlimited byways, fortresses reaching the heavens and buildings of multiple benefits, conquered and subjugated with the overwhelming power and superior force of my noble fathers and magnificent grandfathers (may God illuminate their graves!), and the one, who commands over the cities and countries of numerous emperors of dignity and enthroned sultans, his excellency, the sultan, son of the sultan, son of the sultan,⁶ Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Ahmed Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Suleyman Khan.

This is my propitious word to all—the highest and the lowest, the small and the great [inhabitants] of the country of the Polish king, who acts in accordance with the contents of this my imperial 'ahdname and is included within the range of my peace and protection:

As since olden days the Polish kings used to display amity and sincerity, and to demonstrate honesty and exclusive devotion toward the sublime threshold, marked with justice, and [toward] my exalted court, fit for eternity, which is the goal of the Caesars of the epoch and the shelter of the Khusravs of the age; and as during the peaceful time of my magnificent fathers and grandfathers and of my noble illustrious predecessors they [i.e., the kings] did not leave the path of friendship by a mote nor commit any deviation, and did not abandon the proper road; and as they properly respected the articles of the established peace and amity between [us] and they endeavored and were assidu-

⁵ Here a synonym for Mecca. For an explanation of some other terms and place-names contained in this intitulation, see also Document 37, notes 6–9.

⁶ The pompous Ottoman phrase *sultan ibn sultan ibn sultan* refers to the noble ancestry of Murad.

ous in repulsing and removing the Cossack brigands and other evildoers initiating riot and greed; also from this side no defect or deficiency occurred and no damage or harm was done to their country and land; and all their subjects lived in my felicitous shadow in a state of tranquillity and in a prosperous condition, [free] from assaults of the men of war and battle;

[however,] because of the assaults of some Cossack brigands it became necessary for my illustrious brother residing in paradise and seating in heaven, His Excellency Sultan Osman Khan (mercy and approbation be upon him!), who has passed away to the neighborhood of the divine mercy of the Munificent King, to go on a campaign against them; and he arrived with the Muslim army and monotheistic troops at the neighborhood of Hotin; after the great fight and combat, and war and battle, the deputy of the aforementioned Polish king and the commander of his army, along with other chiefs and commanders, wrote a petition and protocol with the approbation of the whole Polish army and sent it to the imperial stirrup of the late aforementioned [sultan] (may he rest in peace!); and they requested for the grace of establishing a peace and amity, as it used to be; and for the sake of the rest of the poor and the repose and ease of the subjects, the imperial consent was given; then by the wish and will of God, who acts as He wishes, and by the order and destiny of the Glorious Lord, the leading rein of the Ottoman sultanate was committed and conferred to the divinely supported hands of my most generous and glorious uncle, marked with nobility, His Excellency Sultan Mustafa Khan; [at that time] the aforementioned Polish king sent to my felicitous threshold his [esteemed] ambassador named Prince Żbaraski (may his latter moments end with good!), the pride of the commanders of the nation of the Messiah from among his fit and esteemed governors; and he desired and requested that an imperial 'ahdname be granted on the conditions established and respected by the aforementioned and pardoned His Excellency Sultan Osman [Khan] (mercy and approbation be upon him!); after a positive legal opinion [ketva] was issued, the imperial 'ahdname, provided with a tugra, was given; since that date until the present moment peace and amity between [the two sides] have been fixed and respected, as it used to be [before];

now, by the grace of God, the Greatest King, the imperial rein of the sultanate was fixed to the grasp of my power, the conquering leading rein of the caliphate was entrusted and taken by my able hand, and the felicitous Ottoman throne, the imperial throne of exalted fortune, was divinely granted and fixed to my felicitous person; the noise of the kettle-drum of my sultanate and magnificence, that rises an outcry toward the courtyard of the universe, and the fame and echo of my majesty and fortune affected the ears of the dwellers of earth and time; [and] by the favor of the auspicious fortune and assistance of the lucky star my imperial accession [to the throne] occurred in the prosperous time, on the fourteenth day of the sacred [month of] Zilkade in the present year 1032;⁷

and as I lavished and showered my grace and favor on the whole of mankind and I fixed and directed my kindnesses and abundant favors to all those beloved and friends, a dragoman of the aforementioned great ambassador [Żbaraski] sent [previously] with the embassy to my felicitous threshold and sublime court, marked with justice, by the aforementioned present king of Poland, the [grand] duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia,

⁷ I.e., 9 September 1623.

Mazovia, Livonia, and other countries, the heir and the future king of Sweden, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Sigismund (may God seal his days with good!), the dragoman named Krzysztof,⁸ the model of the notables of the nation of the Messiah, was present at my felicitous court during my imperial accession; and he brought the 'ahdnames, given previously to them and fixed and respected until the present time; and when he asked and requested from my royal side, which shines with glory, that an imperial 'ahdname be granted them anew in the same manner, petitions and reports [concerning this matter] were submitted to the foot of my high throne by my magnificent viziers and illustrious ministers; and the detailed conditions have been recorded and registered in this respected 'ahdname, which ought to be observed, in the following manner:

As from the side of the Polish king, his governors, commanders, Cossack brigands, dependents, and other mischief-makers no meddling or interference should touch my fortresses and my towns situated within the borders of my well-protected dominions, and other boroughs, villages, and lands belonging to my well-guarded dominions, the name of the Cossacks should disappear from the Black Sea, and if any damage is done by the Cossack brigands, one should not find a [false] excuse saying "the Cossacks of Muscovy have done it"; and as one should not permit the Polish Cossacks to form companionship and bring mutual aid to the Cossacks of Muscovy, [but] they should be firmly restrained and those who trespass the prohibition should be punished, also from the side of my imperial majesty and from the side of my great viziers, illustrious mirmirans, noble emirs, and victorious soldiers, the Moldavians and the Tatars dwelling in Dobruđja, Akkerman, Bender, and Očakiv, and others, no damage should touch the country, fortresses, towns, and other boroughs and villages of the Polish king, or the Polish country; the Tatar crossings on the Dniester, Turla,⁹ and others should be guarded by the governors of both sides, and if they, while guarding, show negligence and carelessness, they should be dismissed and punished.

After the customary payments [virgüler] by the Polish king are sent every year on time to His Majesty, the abode of leadership, the Crimean khan and are delivered and brought to the agents of the khan in the place called Jassy [Iași], the Crimean khan should also respect the conditions of friendship and affection, as required by his duty, according to the old law; henceforth the khan, his kalga, and other mirzas should not bring any damage or harm to the Polish country. If an enemy invades [the lands of] the aforementioned king, and an envoy from the aforementioned [king] arrives asking for help and rescue, upon my noble order being given from my imperial side, the khan with the Tatar army should bring rescue and help; and if from the side of my imperial majesty a campaign is ordered in any direction and it is necessary that the aforementioned khan, his kalga sultan or his mirzas set out with the Tatar army, they should not enter Poland but they should pass through the same places through which they have been accustomed to pass since olden times; and the Tatars should not dwell in Moldavia.

⁸ Krzysztof (i.e., Christopher) Serebkowicz.

⁹ Turla is the Turkish name of the Dniester.

If after [the date of] this my imperial 'ahdname the Tatars, Moldavians, or others raid the countries of the Polish king or take captives, on receipt of a notification from the king, this sort [of mischief-maker] will be found and punished, and the captives and the [stolen] goods will be sent back. Polish slaves captured after the date of this 'ahdname are not to be sold in my well-protected dominions. Likewise, if anybody from among the Cossack brigands comes and raids my well-protected dominions, the Polish king should find and punish him, and send back the captives and the [stolen] goods; henceforth the subjects of this side should not be sold as slaves in Poland.

If my victorious campaign is declared against any from among the infidel kings or others, whether the presence of my glorious majesty is necessary, or a serdar is appointed to attack this enemy with my victorious army along with the rulers [voyvodalar] of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, if an envoy from the side of my enemy reaches him [i.e., the Polish king] asking for help and aid, the Polish king should not help my enemy with his army or treasury so as to prove the loyalty and honesty toward my felicitous threshold and to carry out the provisions of amity and agreement. If anybody from the side of my enemy comes and wants to recruit soldiers in Poland, it should be forbidden and permission should not be granted. And one should not permit anybody from among his [i.e., the king's] magnates [hersek], commanders, and others who voluntarily want to bring help to my enemy, and permission should not be given [to them], either secretly or openly. As Transylvania belongs to my natural domain by the inheritance and transfer from my magnificent grandfathers, [royal relations] with the rulers of Transylvania and with the Hungarian kings, who display loyalty toward this side, should also be based on sincere amity; and if an enemy appears in Transylvania, no help should be given to this enemy from the Polish side, either secretly or openly. And if anybody from among the Transylvanian, Moldavian, and Wallachian rulers, governors, or others commits an offence and escapes to Poland, this sort [of mischief-maker] should not be accepted but, in respect of the mutual friendship and intimacy, should be captured and sent to my felicitous threshold in bonds and chains. In this manner [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy.

And now, in order to strengthen the friendship between [us], as it was requested that the Polish dependents and subjects may bring merchandise to the seaport town of Akkerman by the river Dniester, and buy and sell, nobody will hinder those who come harmless for the purpose of trade and who have no intention of bringing damage or harm to my well-protected dominions.

And as long as the friendship between the Polish king and my felicitous threshold is firm, [the relationships] between the Moldavian hospodars and the Polish kings should also be kept in the same friendly way as they have been since olden times.

When [royal] agents come from Poland and find in [various] sites of my well-protected dominions prisoners from among the Poles captured previously in the days of enmity, who have persisted in infidelity and not become Muslim, their owners should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath and, after it is known, they should not demand more than they had paid. After they pay their price [the agents] may take [these prisoners] to their country and nobody should hinder them from leaving. [But,] they should not interfere in [the matters of] those among the prisoners who have not persisted in infidelity and have become Muslim; they should preserve their status. And if anybody from either side is captured after [the date of] the writing of the 'ahdname, one should let him go without ransom.

When the envoys and agents of both sides enter and come, they do not need a safe-conduct [vire-kagıdı] and no harm or damage should be done to them and to their belongings.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land through the seaports of their customary preference, and sell and buy; according to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places; [but] nobody should inflict damage on their property or lives.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from the country of the aforementioned Polish king dies in my well-protected dominions, his effects will not be seized by the state treasury [miri] but handed over to the heads of the caravan, so that they may take them to their country and hand them over to his heirs. Likewise, from the other side no interference should be done to the goods and effects of the merchants of this side, who die in Poland, but [their goods] should be sent to their heirs [living] on this side.

If a demand for [the repayment of] a debt arises from a conflict between the merchants and other dependents of the two sides concerning debt and loan, trade, or other matters, in whichever place it happens, the petition should be heard by a local judge, either on this side or the other; after it is justly investigated and examined, whichever debt is proved, it should be handed over [to the claimant]; and nobody should oppose or act in a contrary manner.

But, both sides should hinder those who want to injure and disturb unjustly a person having neither debt nor guilt for the reason of a suit and claim concerning the debt or guilt of somebody else; unless it is registered that [this person] has stood as surety for a loss of goods, nobody should be injured and disturbed without a reason and cause. Until one looks at the kadi record [sicil], kadi's certificates [hüccetler], or bills, which ought to be observed, being in the hands of such [claimant] individuals, no single false witness should be brought and one should not proceed according to his impostures and lies. In sum, the judges of both sides should display an utmost care, and if the origin and authenticity of a case and suit is not known and verified by the judge of the time, one should not hear [such] a groundless claim.

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm or damage to the goods or life of anybody from among such [merchants], the judicial authorities should find this sort [of evil-doer] and severely punish them; after it is proved, the stolen goods should be handed over to their owners.

Within the time period of friendship, the envoys and other agents who come should not be hindered and should enter and come secure and safe; upon reaching the borders an escort should be given to their side; one should proceed likewise on the other side.

The border commanders of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland across the river Dniester except the servants [kullar] of my felicitous threshold and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they [i.e., the commanders]¹⁰ should take [them] from their hands and send [them] back.

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret; after they have

¹⁰ In Document 37 this sentence is written in the passive voice.

made their presence known, if their sheep are lost, the land authorities should find them and give them [back to them].

The baggage horses of the individuals [i.e., the Polish merchants] who come and depart should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janissaries on campaign.

When the merchants of both sides pay their taxes and customs duties, as they used to pay, one should not demand that they pay more than they used to pay and one should not impose excessive duties; they should pay in the same manner and amount as they used to pay; one should not do anything contrary to established custom. When Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand [i.e., the royal subjects] want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted areas or hidden places, but they should come by the public road, which has been customarily traveled by merchants. If an injury is done to the property or soul [i.e., life] of any of such [merchants], the evildoers should be captured and punished. Merchants, who come and go in sincerity, should not be molested; after their customs duties are collected according to the old law, one should not demand that they pay taxes called departure money [reft akçesi] or the tax on animals [kasabiye] in Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne.

And one should not impose customs duties on the cash [guruşlar] which they bring, whether it is [Spanish] reals [riyal], black thalers [kara gurus],¹¹ lion [thalers] [arslani], or Polish thalers [Lih gurusı].

As it was altogether written and registered in the imperial 'ahdname brought by the said ambassador, and corroborated and reinforced by hard and strong oaths, for the sake of the safety and rest of the servants of God¹² and of the tranquillity and ease of the poor subjects, I have also accepted, respected, recognized, and fixed the peace, friendship, and intimacy between the aforementioned Polish king and my felicitous sublime threshold in the same manner, and I have given anew this imperial 'ahdname, and I have ordered that:

Henceforth, for the [remaining] days of my imperial rule and for the time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, one will proceed according to the conditions, clauses, articles, and agreements detailed above, and one will arrange and complete the requirements of peace and amity, as necessary. As on the part of the king, his commanders, governors, and others nothing should occur contrary and adverse to the peace and amity that may cause a disturbance of the agreement and treaty or may provoke the breaking of the clauses and faith, and as they should respect the rules of amity and peace, as necessary, and they should properly endeavor and be assiduous in repulsing the Cossack brigands who are the cause of intrigue and mischief, also by my glorious majesty I swear with a strong oath by the sake of God, the Creator of earth and heaven (may His glory

¹¹ I.e., the imperial thalers (*Reichsthalers*) containing less pure silver than the Spanish reals; they should not be confused with the Dutch lion thalers (*Leeuwendaalders*), which were lighter and smaller; see János Buza, "Der Kurs der Löwentaler in Ost-Mitteuropa (mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Siebenbürgen und Ungarn)," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1981): 335–58, esp. p. 340.

¹² I.e., men, mankind.

be exalted!), and by the sake of the miracles of our great and dear prophet, the sun of the two worlds, Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), that no minor or major variation or violation will occur in the clauses concluded in the above described manner, and for the remaining period of my long-lived rule and for the fixed time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, this peace and amity will be fixed and firm, and this treaty and peace will be permanent and stable, so that all the subjects of these countries may live under the felicitous shadow and shade of my protection in a state of tranquillity and in a prosperous condition. Thus they must know. They should trust to the noble sign [i.e., tugra].

This my noble 'ahdname was written on the fifteenth day of the blessed month of Zilhijje in the year 1032 since the emigration [Hegira] of His Excellency, the Refuge of Apostleship (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute [him]!) in the abode of the high sultanate, Constantinople the well-protected, in the place of the well-guarded Constantinople, the abode of the well-protected sultanate.¹³

¹³ *Locatio* is unnecessarily written twice, once in the last line of the text and once in the usual place beneath the text.

DOCUMENT 39 (1 APRIL 1624)
The royal confirmation of the treaty

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 30, fol. 30a–35b.

Fragments are published in I. Corfus, ed., *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVII-lea* (Bucharest, 1983), no. 57, pp. 115–17.

B. Bibl. Kórn., ms. 333, fol. 209b–215a.

[Pacta serenissimi Sigismundi III Poloniae et Sveziae regis cum sultam Amurate imperatore Turcarum anno 1624]^a

Significamus praesentibus literis nostris, quorum interest, universis et singulis, quod cum exoptatae untrunque pacis foedera sub arce Chocinensis^b in Valachia ante biennium per duces et commissarios nostros cum serenissimo olim imperatore Sultan Osman Chan icta, ex praescripto eorundem foederum ad serenissimum dominum Sultan Mustapha Chan, imperatorem maximum Constantinopolitanum atque Asiae, Europae, Arabum, Persarum, Cyprique ac Aegypti dominum, illustrem Christophorum ducem de Zbarasz, suppreum stabuli nostri praefectum ac Solecensem, Vislicensem, Krzemencensem capitaneum,¹ magnum legatum et oratorem nostrum eius pacis, amicitiae atque foederis, quod divis maioribus nostris serenissimis regibus inclitoto Regno Poloniae cum serenissimis ac potentissimis Turcarum imperatoribus continua multorum annorum serie longoque retroactae aetatis decursu intercessisset, renovans, stabiliens, confirmansque causa misissemus; licet idem serenissimus imperator dominus Sultan Mustaffa Chan foedus nobiscum sanxisset, ac eius tabulas rite solenniter et religiose confectas, una cum literis amice et benevole scriptis nobis per eundem legatum et oratorem nostrum, illustrem ducem de Zbarasz transmisisset, tamen quia in easdem foederis tabulas non nulla vitio vel errore irrepserant, quae in antiquis pactis et foederibus minime continebantur, eam ob causam expedimeramus statim egregium Christopherum Szerebkowic^c subditum nostrum, cum literis ad serenissimum imperatorem Mustaffa,^d ut pacta quae magnus orator noster attulerat corrigi et ad vetustissima foedera accommodare mandaret. Cum vero interim praememoratus serenissimus imperator dominus

^a Thusly in B. The heading in A. is in Polish and reads: *Rewersał pakt tureckich przez Serebkowica przymiesionych a przez pana Christopha Chelczewskiego sekretarza do Porty postanych.*

^b B. Chocimen[sis].

¹ Starosta of Solec, Wiślica and Krzemieniec (Ukr. Kremenec').

^c B. Christophorum Serebkowic.

^d B. Mustapham.

Sultan Mustaffa imperio cessisset, et Serenissimus ac Potentissimus Imperator Dominus Sultan Amurad^e Chan illi in imperio feliciter successisset, vectigiisque serenissimorum maiorum suorum insistens, pacis atque amicitiae foedera nobiscum pepigisset, ac eorum authenticum diploma, rite solenniter atque religiose ex formula antiquorum foederum confectum, nobis per praedictum Christophorum Szerebkowicz subditum nostrum per suumque czausium generosum Abdy^f transmisisset. Nos mutua vicissim sponsione perpetuisque regiarum literarum nostrarum monumentis, haec eadem foederis pacta pro nostra regniue nostri parte sancientes atque ratificantes, mandamus in universum omnibus regni nostri illique adnexarum provinciarum, palatinis, castellanis, officialibus, exercituum ducibus, militum praefectis, urbium arciumque capitaneis, finium custodibus ac in universum cuiuscunque status et conditionis hominibus subditis nostris, ne quisquam in imperio Serenissimi et Potentissimi Turcarum Imperatoris regnisque ditionibus et provinciis illi subiectis et annexas, ac in confinio existentibus arcibus, civitatibus, oppidis, villis, pagis, ac aliis quibuscunque ad imperium Serenitatis Suae pertinentibus locis, eorumque incolis, quovis modo aut praetextu nocere, damnum inferre, terra marique infestare audeat, neve insolentia Kosacorum^g in mare excurre^hre ditiones Suae Serenitatis quavis ratione infestare, Kosachis Moscoviticis se adiungere,ⁱ societatem cum illis inire, auxilia illis suppeditare, sub gravissimis et severissimis poenis praesumat. Ex parte etiam Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris imperio nostro, regnisque ditionibus ac provinciis illis subiectis et annexis, arcibus, civitatibus, pagis, villis, omnibusque in universum locis imperio nostro longe late diffuso subiacentibus eorumque incolis veziri,^j begle[r]beigi,^k begii, sendzachi, capitanei, exercituum praefecti, et mancipia universa, Valachi item, Moldavi, Ungari, Bolgradienses, Tehinuenses et Tartari ibidem degentes, et alii omnes in universum cuiuscunque status conditionis et gentis homines, Suae Serenitatis subditi, nullo pacto et praetextu nocere, terra marique damnum aut iniuriam inferre audeant; aliis itidem Tartaris passum et transitum in ditiones regni nostri, regii et capitanei eorum locorum vetare et inhibere diligentemque eius rei custodiam et excubias agere debent. Qua in re si negligentes et pigri fuerint, deprehensi et convicti, debent severe puniri. Tartarorum paci ratione princeps et chan modernus et pro tempore existens nullis incursionibus dominia nostra eorumque confinia infestare nec civitatibus, oppidis, villis, pagis, eorumque incolis, armentis pecoribus, tectis, agris, ulla damna iniuriamque quovis colore aut praetextu aut excusatione inferre praesumat, idque nec

^e B. *Amurat*.

^f Missing in B.; Abdi is a short form for Abdullah or any other name beginning with Abd-.

^g B. *Cosacorum*.

^h B. *excurrere*.

ⁱ B. *Cosacorum Moschovitionum sese adiungere*.

^j Erroneously spelled *veriri*; B. *verere*.

^k B. *beglerbei*.

ipse chan, nec galga sultan,² nec Cantimir murza,¹ nec alii murzi et Tartarii ulla ratione attentant, quin potius haec sacrosanta pacis foedera inviolabiliter manu teneant, nec ullam occasionem aut ansam eorum violandorum, nec per se, nec per alium, nec clam, nec aperte praebeant, verum chan Tartarorum amicum se amicis et inimicum inimicis nostris praestens, contra hostes nostros dum a nobis sive per literas sive per nuncium vocatus fuerit, iuxta pacta antiqua cum Tartarorum chanis per divos maiores nostros et nos ipsos sancita et inita [*sic*], cum exercitu suo fidelem nobis promptamque operam militarem navare debet. Si vero illum aut sultan galga aut Cantimir murza aliosque murzas et Tartaros ad aliquod bellum iussu Serenissimi Turcarum Imperatoris proficisci contigerit, nullo modo confinia regni et imperii nostri attingere, nec per ditiones nostras exercitum ducere audeant, verum per ditiones Suae Serenitatis iter teneant, nostris vero omnino in transitu abstineant, nec illis ullum damnum inferant. Si vero quid in contrarium attentatum a chan Tartarorum, sultan galga, Cantimir murza, aliisque murzis et Tartaris fuerit, iustitiam Serenissimus Turcarum Imperator, ubi eo nomine sive per literas sive per nuncium a nobis requisitus fuerit, indilatam et competentem administrabit, captivos sine pretio restituere, damnaque illata resarcire mandabit. Quod itidem nos si damna aliqua per insolentiam Cosacorum vel aliorum quorumvis subditi Serenissimi Imperatoris passi fuerint, praestabimus.

Nos vero praedicto chan Tartarorum solitum donativum sive stipendium, si in officio et intra metus^m huius foederis sese, ipse suosque continuerit, pacate sese et amice gesserit, praedictisque articulis et conditionibus in toto satis fecerit, nec contra eas ne minimum quidum excesserit, quotannis de anno in annum solvi et in civitate Jassy aut ubi commodius visum, et cum moderno chan constitutum fuerit, devehi et ibidem nunciis ipsius tradi et numerari mandabimus. Ratione cuius donativi chan Tartarorum non modo supra expressis conditionibus in omnibus punctis et clausulis satisfacere tenebitur, verum etiam contra hostes nostros dum a nobis sive per literas sive per nuncium vocatus fuerit, cum exercitu suo iuxta pacta cum Tartarorum chanis per decessores nostros mita, operam nobis suam navabit, ut hac ratione grati animi officium sinceramque amicitiam nobis testificetur.

Quoniam vero Tartari Valachiam circa Belgradum et Tehiniam incolentes, frequentibus in regni nostri ditiones incursionibus amicitiam et pacta violant, ii omnes ex Valachia migrare et sedes ultra Istrum transferre nec in posterum ullo praetextu in Valachia et Moldavia domicilia figere debent.

Si Serenissimus Imperator bellum alicui ex christianis principibus vel aliis quibuscunque movere et sive ipse in persona sua sive aliquis ex ducibus ipsius cum exercitu ad id bellum proficisci vellet, nos neque milite neque pecunia hostem Suae Serenitatis iuvabimus, verum amici amicis, inimici

² I.e., *kalga sultan*, the Crimean dignitary post held exclusively by the members of the Giray dynasty.

¹ B. *Kantimir*.

^m B. *metam*.

inimicis Suae Serenitatis erimus. Quod itidem vice versa nobis cum quocunque hoste bellum gerentibus, Serenissimus Imperator praestare debet.

Si quispiam hostium Serenissimi Imperatoris militem per immissas personas in regno nostro colligere et contra Suam Serenitatem educere, vel si quis ex principibus, nobilibus, praefectis et subditis nostris hosti Suae Serenitatis sese adiungere, et ad bellum contra Suam Serenitatem proficisci voluerit, nos eius rei facultatem non dabimus, imo quod eius fieri poterit obsistemus, dum modo Serenissimus Imperator idem sua ex parte faciat.

Ex utraque parte legati et homines utro citroque commeantes tuti sint transitumque securum et liberum cum familia, equis rebusque suis habeant, nec ullum damnum tam personis, quam rebus, bonis, mercibus, pecuniisque eorum inferatur aut impedimentum fiat, neque illis sit necesse literas salvi conductus securitatis causa petere. Quin potius legati utriusque nostrum ubi fines dominiorum nostrorum ingressi fuerint, per virum bonum et fidelem praesidii causa in locum destinatum deducatur.

Mancipia et subditi Serenissimi Imperatoris, si qui superiore bello a nostris capti sunt, diligenter et accurate inquiri mandabimus, inventosque libertate donabimus, et abire libere permittemus. Pari quoque ratione Serenissimus Imperator homines et subditos nostros, captos et abductos, Machometi sacra non dum professos, sed in christiana religione perseverantes homini nostro, quem illuc eo nomine ablegabimus, ubi constiterit nostros subditos esse, restitui imperabit. A die vero praesentis foederis, utrinque quomodocunque captos sine pretio domini eorum liberos faciant et dimittant. Superiore vero tempore capti gratis restitui debent si gratis in dominorum potestatem devenerunt, si vero ab illis empti sunt, maius pretium petere domini non debent, sed eodem pretio quod tamen debent iuramento coram competenti iudicio comprobare, redemptos libere dimittant.

Mercatoris utriusque tutum, liberum, securumque iter, liberaque ultro citroque cum mercibus commeandi facultas, sit datum tamen de more et consuetudine antiqua solvere debent, quo soluto nullum bonis, personis, rebus, mercibus, thesauris aut pecuniis eorum damnum inferatur aut impedimentum fiat. Ut vero eo luculentiorum amicitiae atque sincerarum voluntatis Serenissimus Imperator nobis affectum testificetur non modo te[rra]ⁿ mercatoribus iuxta antiqua et nova pacta liberum erit ultro citroque cum mercibus commeare, verum etiam merces varii generis per fluvium Tyram ad portum Belgradiens[em]^o devehere, exponere, divendere, ita tamen ut sese pacate gerant, et absque omni noxa et fraude hanc navigationem et mercaturam exercent. Datis vero vectigalibus et theloneis maioribus, quam antiquis mos et consuetudo fert, gravari mercatores aut pro aliorum debitis, nisi sint fideiussores, vexari non dessent, sed persoluto iuxta normam antiquam ex eductis et inductis mercibus theloneo Constantinopoli et Adrianopoli a solutione thelonei refoh^p dicti, et alterius kasabie nuncupati omnino liberi esse debent.

ⁿ Written correctly in B.

^o Written correctly in B.

^p B. *refet*; it should read *refit*.

Equi etiam ipsorum a causiis, spagiis, et janiceris aut quibusvis aliis nullo modo aut praetextu accipientur, licebitque illis captivos ex ditionibus nostris isthic redimere, liberare et secum abducere qua in re iudices nec quisquam alius debet ipsos impedire, nec contradicere, nec redemptos captivos vel liberos expleto servitutis tempore factos eripere. Verum ii, qui musulmanismum christiana religione eiurata sint, peti non debent.

Mercatores et alii homines, sive mercandi sive captivorum redimendorum causa euntes et redeuntes nullum a taleris theloneum solvere debent. Dabimus tamen nostra ex parte quo ad eius fieri poterit operam, ut ne taleri lewkowe³ dicti adulterini aut iniusti debiti valoris in ditiones Serenissimi Imperatoris a nostris hominibus et mercatoribus invehantur, ex imperio etiam Serenissimi Imperatoris taleri boni iustique ac integri valoris importari debent.

Iisdem etiam mercatoribus liberum sit merces suas in Bursa aut Adrinopoli verum exponere et libere divendere. Si vero lis aliqua inter eos intercesserit, praefectus caravani rei veritate beni cognita ubi competierit respondere teneatur.

Ratione vero debiti aliquis conventus et in iudicium vocatus, si nulla recognitione subscripta et sigillata debitum probatum fuerit, absolvatur. Quod si iisdem mercatoribus Tartari vel alii quicunque persones molestiam aut damnum aliquod intulerint, praefecti et capitanei locorum eos inquirere et supplicio afficere penitusque debere et tutum securumque transitum reddere, damna illata integre resarciri curent, ne ulla ratione pax stabilita infringatur.

Si quis mercatorum aut hominum nostrorum in ditionibus Suae Serenitatis mortuus fuerit, bona illius non confiscantur, sed praefecto caravani integre tradante,⁴ ut in regnum delata haeredibus restitur [sic] possint.⁵ Similiter ex mercatoris Suae Serenitatis si quis in regno et dominiis nostris mortuus fuerit, bona mortui non confiscabuntur sed in fideli custodia servabuntur haeredibusque cum literis Serenissimi Imperatoris venientibus restituentur.

A tempore renovationis huius foederis si ab aliquo ex subditis et hominibus nostris in imperio Serenissimi Imperatoris damnum aut iniuria aliqua illata fuerit, eius modi facinorosis conquisitis, inventis punitisque, damnum illatum absque omni excusatione et subterfugiis resarciatur. Ex parte etiam Serenissimi Imperatoris idem fiet ut si per Tartaros, Valachos, Moldavos aut alios quosvis subditos et homines Suae Serenitatis damnum hominibus et subditis nostris vel in persona vel in rebus illatum fuerit, ex illis Serenissimus Imperator ubi vel literis vel per nuntium eo nomine a nobis requisitus fuerit, indilatam iustitiam administrabit et damna illata absque quavis excusatione resarciri mandabit.

⁵Si ex subditis Serenissimi Imperatoris aliquis debitorem in regno et dominiis nostris habuerit, praefecto loci illius praesentetur et examinetur, et postquam

³ Pol. *talary lewkowe* (lit. "lion thalers"); from Tur. *esedi gurus*.

⁴ Sic; B. *tradantur*.

⁵ B. *restitui possunt*.

ultime probatum fuerit, debitum ad solvendum debito adigatur. Si vero apparuerit eam nihil debere, absolvatur. Ne quisquam ob debitum et delictum alterius puniatur et ad solvendum, nisi fideiussor sit, adigatur; ita ut in dominiis utriusque nostrum subditi innoxii non turbentur.

A palatino Moldaviae incolisque eius regno hominibusque et subditis nostris nullum damnum aut iniuriam inferatur, quod si illata fuerint, post legitimam comprobationem violationisque coniunctionem iustitia mandato Serenissimi Imperatoris indilata administretur, damnaque illata resarciantur. Ex parte quoque nostra nullus Moldavorum tam in persona quam in rebus laedetur, quod si id quispiam ex hominibus nostris temere attentaverit, inquisitus et inventus severe punietur et damnum illatum resarcietur. Mercatoribus itidem Moldavis accepta solutioni thelonei usitati nihil noxae iniuriaque inferetur.

E Moldavia, Valachia, Transylvania in regnum nostrum fugientes, si aliquo praetextu aut modo Moldaviam turbare voluerint, eos non ubi eo nomine requisiti fuerimus, capi et tradi mandabimus.

Iustitia competens et indilata utrinque ex debitoribus administretur requisitique eo nomine a creditoribus, iudices et praefecti quorumcunque locorum semota omni dilatione ius dicere et iustitiam administrare debebunt.

Similiter de furibus, praedonibus, homicidis aliisque facinorosis iustitia sine mora administrari diligenterque ab iisdem praefectis conquisiti, puniri, et quae per illos errepae fuerint, post comprobationem legitimam iis quibus ablata sunt aut eorum haeredibus integre reddi debent.^{s-t}

Si ex subditis Serenissimi Imperatoris quispiam debitum ab aliquo subdito nostro in ditionibus Suae Serenitatis commorante, vel mercaturam exercente, ratione mutui aut fideiussionis aut mutuae negotiationis aut alicuius alterius rei non exhibita iudici inscriptione contractu aut chirographo repetere voluerit, talis non erit audiendus, nec ulla alias probationes quam inscriptiones ultimas et chirographa intueri iudice Suae Serenitatis debebunt, ne falsorum testimoniis, calumniae aut doli committantur. Quod itidem nostri iudices et praefecti civitatum locorumque quorumvis facere tenebuntur et nisi re bene cognita ac intellecta aliquid cuipiam adiudicare.

Begi sive sandziaki Silistrienses et Belgardienses, theloneatores, pontium custodes et civitatum aliorumque locorum publicorum praefecti Serenissimi Imperatoris praeter subditos et homines nostros in negotiis nostris euntes, et praeter mercatores nemini in regnum nostrum transitum concedant, quod si homines aut mercatores utriusque partis euntes vel redeuntes mancipium aliquod penes se habuerint, ab illis tol[li]^u et remitti debet.

Pastores cum in ditiones regni nostri cum ovibus transierint, capitaneis et praefectis nostris se ipsos et oves suas denunciare mercedemque pascuorum persolvere debent, si post denunciationem eiusmodi oves perierint, a praefectis requirantur, insolitis tamen ut furtivis viis pascuorum solutionem subterfugiendo oves agere non debent.

^{s-t} Missing in B.

^u Written correctly in B.

Nemini subditorum nostrorum in ditionibus Serenissimi Imperatoris negotiantium equi pro augeriis^v vel ulak accipiantur, tam a janczeris in bellum proficiscentibus quam alio quovis Suae Serenitatis subdito vel officiali.

Pallatini Moldaviae ex vi et formula antiquorum foederum et pactorum debitum amicitiae bonaque vicinitatis ac honoris officium nobis praestent nihilque omnino attentent quae praesentis foederis atque amicitiae iura labefactari possint. Mercatoribus etiam utriusque partis maiore quam vetus mos et institutum ferat thelonea ne imponantur.

Mercatores utriusque partis publicis solitisque viis eant et redeant, euntibus vero si per praedones damnum illatum fuerit, malefici inquiri et puniri debent et res ablata mercatoribus restitui.

Si quid sive iure belli, sive alio quovis modo et titulo regno nostro ab aliis regnis et provinciis christianis adiunctum fuerit et sub nostrum imperium ac dominium cesserit, id totum eodem praesentium foederum et pactorum beneficio aequae ac ea, quae nunc sub nostro imperio tenemus gaudere debet, nullumque in proferendo imperio nostro adiungendesque illi regnis, provinciis, civitatibus et locis, quae ad imperium Serenissimi Imperatoris non spectant, nobis impedimentum Serenissimus Imperator aut difficultatem facessat, aut sese quovis modo in ea quae iuris et dominii nostri sunt ingerat.

Hominibus inquietis et pacis osoribus turbarumque ac tumultuum avidis, si quid ex utraque parte sinistrum et a pacis foederibusque mutuae amicitiae alienum ad ulterutrum nostrum detulerint, antequam rei ipsius veritas apparuerit nulla fides habeatur. Quod si calumnia aut dolus deprehensa fuerint calumniatores ac turbatores dignis poenis afficiantur. Palatino Moldaviae serio Serenissimus Imperator iniungere et mandare debet, ut omnem adiutum Tartaris aliisque hostibus et latronibus in regnum ditionesque nostras praeccludat neve illis ullo moro favorem aut <aut> auxilia praestet.

Causa ratione debiti inter mercatores mota si quinque millium asprarum summam excesserit non nisi ad iudicium Suae Serenitatis pertinebit; si minoris summae debitum fuerit ab inferioribus iudicibus ordinariis tamen et competentibus iudicari poterit. Quod si ad probationem debiti actor inscriptionem aut chirographum non produxerit, tam maior, quam minor causa inaudita maneat.⁴

A mercatoribus aliisque hominibus subditis nostris ne quid vel minimum quidem contributionis aut pensionis alicuius nomine exigatur excepto theloneo antiquitus pendi solito Sua Serenitas sedulo providebit, litera etiam in contrarium a quovis quocunque praetextu obtenta nullius valoris et fidei ab utraque parte censi debent.

Sicut omnes quasvis imperio Serenissimi Imperatoris subiectas provincias ita etiam Valachiam, Moldaviam Transylvaniamque per exercitus hominesque nostros infestari iniuriisque aut damnis affici non permittemus, neque cuiquam quocunque praetextu eos invadere sive imperandi sive ulciscendi

^v It should read *angariis*.

⁴ This article is missing in the Turkish text of the treaty (cf. Document 38). Perhaps it was copied from the treaty of 1619, cf. Documents 33–34.

sive depraedandi libidine cupienti auxilium fecimus aut transitum per regnum nostrum concedemus.

Mercatoribus Transylvaniis, Valachis et Moldavis liberum erit ditiones nostras mercaturae exercendae causa adire eosque nos ad maiora thelonea non adigemus; sed circum antiquum morem pactorumque vetustorum praescriptum conservabimus. Quod itidem princeps Transylvaniae palatinique Moldaviae et Valachiae mercatoribus nostris praestabunt, viasque consue-
tas illis non prohibebunt, sed ab omni noxa et iniuria euntes redeuntesque tutabuntur, nec eos insolitis theloneis gravabunt ac erga maiestatem nostram regnumque Poloniae inveteri debitaque amicitiae atque observantiae permanebunt.

Insuper omnes et singulos articulos in antiquis pactis utrinque rite sancitis et praesentim iis, quae inter serenissimum et potentissimum Sigismundum Primum regem Poloniae maiores nostros non minus prudenter constituta, quam sancte culta et observata erant, praesente foederi inserimus; eosque reassumimus et innovamus sacrosanctaque utrinque observabimus ita ve sinceram inter nos amicitiam colamus, nullaque ipsius violandae ansam atque occasionem scientes volentesque nobis vicissim praebeamus, sed amici amicis inimicisque inimicis utrinque simus. Quos omnes et singulos supra expressos et in antiquis pactis comprehensos foederis articulos atque conditiones nos in omnibus pactistis^w et clausulis sacrosanctae atque inviolabiliter toto vitae nostrae tempore servaturos esse in Dei Salvatorisque nostri Jesu Christi nomen iuramus, spondemus et vovemus quamdiu Serenissimus quoque Imperator ex parte sua idem praestiterit praesentique huic foederi iuramento atque sponsioni in toto aeque ac nos satisfecerit. In cuius rei fidem perpetuumque testimonium praesentes foederis literas sigillo regni nostri communiri iussimus.

Datum Varsaviae die prima mensis Aprilis anno a nativitate Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi MDCXXIII^o [regnorum nostrorum Poloniae XXXVII Svetiae vero XXX anno].^x

^w In B. written correctly: *punctis*.

^x In B. only.

DOCUMENT 40 (9 OCTOBER 1630)

An extract of the Ottoman document of agreement concluded
between Murtaza Pasha and Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski

The original document is missing.

An extract in Turkish is published in the chronicle by Mustafa Na'ima, *Ta'rih* (Istanbul, 1281–1283/1864–67), vol. 3, pp. 68–69.

German summary in J. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 5 (Pest, 1829), p. 127.

Özi muhafazasında olan serdar Murtaza Paşa bu salda Leh vilayeti serdarlarıyla 'akd-i sulh eyleyüb baş hotman Istaslav Kors^a tarafından cevab-name ile asitaneye göndürdi bu sulhnamede yedi madde zikr olunmuşiydi:

madde-i evveli:	Kazak sakin oldukları adalara birer mu'temed adamlar nesb idüb Kazakları andan ihrac itdirmek
ikinci:	içerüde esir olan Tatarlardan sultani asitaneye göndürmek
üçüncü:	varan Ali Aga eglenmeyüb Kazakların adadan çıkdığın görmek
dördüncü:	iki taraftan 'asker dagilyub ^b ilç geldikten sonra cem'iyet bulunmamak
beşinci:	Kırım hanı tarafına mu'tad üzere virgü virilmek
altıncı:	berü taraftan Tatar zabt olunmak
yedinci:	Leh vilayetine zarar olmamak için Kantemir ve Aytemir ve Ovak ^c Mirza ve Akkerman ahalisine tenbih oluna deyü gur-re-i Seferde yazıldı ve mezbur mirzaların ita'atı sicil olundu.

Translation:

In this year Murtaza Pasha, the governor of Oçakiv and the serdar concluded a peace with the Polish commanders and sent it [i.e., the document] to the [imperial] threshold along with the letter of reply [issued] on behalf of the grand hetman [baş hotman] Stanisław Koniecpolski. This sulhname¹ consists of [the following] seven articles:

The first article: to appoint reliable agents from each side to the islands inhabited by the Cossacks in order to remove them;

^a استاسلاو قورسا; corruption for Stanisław Koniecpolski.

^b It should read *dagilyub*.

^c It should read *Orak*; cf. the account on Piaseczyński's embassy of 1630 in A. Walaszek, ed., *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzulmański w I połowie XVII w.* (Muratowicz, Piaseczyński, Lubieniecki) (Cracow, 1980), p. 58.

¹ Lit. "letter of peace," the same as *'ahdname*.

- The second [article]:* to send the Tatars imprisoned within [Poland] to the sul-tanic threshold;
- The third [article]:* upon the arrival of Ali Agha, to let him see without delay the removal of the Cossacks from the islands;
- The fourth [article]:* to disband the troops from both sides and not to gather [them again] after the arrival of the envoy;
- The fifth [article]:* to give the customary payments [virgü] to the Crimean khan;
- The sixth [article]:* to keep the Tatars [from attacking Poland] by this [i.e., Ottoman] side;
- The seventh [article]:* to enjoin Kantemir, Aytemir, Orak Mirza, and the inhabitants of Akkerman not to cause damage to Poland; this was written on 1 Safer [1040 A.H.], and the obedience of the said mirzas became a matter of the judicial record.

DOCUMENT 41 (30 AUGUST–8 SEPTEMBER 1630)
Peace terms agreed on by the *kaymakam* Redžeb Pasha and the
Polish envoy Aleksander Piaseczyński
[Facs. XIII]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 73, t. 333, no. 600 (*KDT*, pp. 276–77).

57 × 42 cm.

pençe (black, sprinkled with gold sand)

text (black): *nesih* script

oval seal (*mühür*) is affixed next to the pençe

Polish translations: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 73, t. 333, no. 601 (by Prandota Dzierżek, copied by Crutta); b) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 246b–247b (by Otwinowski); c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 397–98 [413–14].

Hüve

Sulh u salah rı‘ayetine müta‘allık Lih kralı dostumuza yazılacak maddelerdir

evvelki madde bu dur ki bu kadar zamandan berü mabeynde bir söz dür ki siz Tatarı def‘ ideniz biz dahi Kazagı zabt idelim deyü ‘özür olunur lakin bu kelim makbul söz olmayub heman lazım olan Kazak eşkıyası ol adalardan kaldırub içertüye götüresiz ve min ba’d Kara Denize ve memalik-i mahruseye ve Kırım diyarına karadan ve deryadan Kazak ta‘ifesi çıkarılmayub men‘ ü def‘ oluna ta ki bu canibden Kili ve Akkerman ve Bucak ve Çöplücede olan yurtaman^a ta‘ifesi dahi kaldırılıb Kırım diyarına göndürülüb muhkem zabt ve mazarretleri def‘ ü ref‘ oluna ve Kırım Tatarının def‘-i <ve> mazarretleriyçün kadimden her sene han-i ‘ali-şan hazretlerine ma‘hud olan virgüleri eda ve irsal olundukça bu taraftan dahi han müşarün-ileyh hazretleri ve kağılgayları ve sultanları ve sa‘ir mirzaları ve Tatar ta‘ifesi muhkem zabt olunub garet ü mazarretleri men‘ ü def‘ olunmak mukarrerdir

ikinci madde bu dur ki minval-i meşruh üzere ‘amal ve Kazak zabt olunmayub aşikare ve hırsızlık ile memalik-i mahruse yahılarına eger az ve eger çok şayka ile Kazak çıkar ise balada mestur olan Tatar ta‘ifesi ve sa‘ir Dobruca ve Bucak Tatarı Turladan geçüb Lih vilayetin garet etdiklerinde tarafeynden su‘al varid olmaya

üçüncü madde bu dur ki Erdel ve Bogdan ve Eflak vilayetlerine bir vechle yaramaz nazar ile bakmayub ve ya hafiyeten ve ‘alaniyeten ahardan kimesneye

^a In the Polish translation *ciapłudzieckich jurtmienów*.

‘asker ve gayri tarikle imdad ve bir vechle mu‘avenet ve muzaheret olunmayub hilafi zuhur ider ise sulh u salah ahvali ref‘ olmak iktiza ider

dördüncü madde bu dur ki mukaddema virilen ‘ahdname-i hümayunda tahrir ve ta‘yin olunan ‘uhud u şurut her ne ise tarafeynden ri‘ayet olunub zerre kadar hilafına cevaz gösterilmeye ta ki sulh u salah müstemirr ve berkarar ola

beşinci madde bu dur ki sulh u salah ahvali vech-i meşruh üzere sübut u zuhura gelince tarafeynde olan esara hususları tezekkür olunmayub sulh ahvaline tamam-i sebat ve karar virildikdensonra tarafeynde olan esirler taleb ve teslim olunub muhalefet olunmaya

efkarü'l-‘ibad Receb Paşa^b

ez‘afu'l-‘ibad Receb 1032^c

ey Bar-Hüda bi-Hakk hasti	şeş çiz ma ra meded feresti
‘ilm ü ‘amal ü ferah-desti	iman u aman u ten-dürüsti

Translation:

He

These are the articles to be written to our friend, the Polish king, concerning the observance of peace and amity:

This is the first article:

The excuse has long been given [by the Poles], saying that: “if you stop the Tatars, we will restrain the Cossacks, too.” But, these words cannot be accepted; it is necessary for you to immediately remove Cossack brigands from the [Dnieper] islands, and you should transfer them to the interior [of the country]. Henceforth, the Cossacks should not be allowed to travel overland or by sea to the Black Sea, to the well-protected [Ottoman] dominions, and to the Crimea, and [their raids] should be forbidden and prevented, so that on this side also the nomadic tribes should be removed from Kilia, Akkerman, Budjak, and Çöplüce¹ and be sent to the Crimea and be firmly constrained and their harms be redressed and removed. As long as the payments [virgüleri] agreed on since olden times in order to prevent harms by the Crimean Tatars are paid and

^b Text of the *pençe* (a stylized signature of the vizier).

^c Text of the seal, (*mühür*). The same *mühür* was used on another letter of Redjeb Pasha, addressed to King Sigismund III; see *KDT*, p. 258. The versified outer inscription written along the edge is identical with that of the *mühür* of Ahmed Pasha, quoted in *KDT*, p. 230; for the same type of a versified seal inscription, see Uzunçarşılı, “Osmanlı Devleti zamanında kullanılmış olan bazı mühürler hakkında bir tetkik,” *Belleten* 4 (1940): 495–544, esp. p. 506.

¹ Rum. Ciubarciu, a fort on the Dniester between Bender and Akkerman; see Document 33, note 5.

delivered every year to his excellency, the illustrious khan, also on this side his excellency, the aforesaid khan, his kalgas, sultans, other mirzas, and [ordinary] Tatars will be firmly restrained; and it has been decided that their raids and harms be forbidden and prevented.

This is the second article:

If one does not act in accordance with the aforementioned conditions and the Cossacks are not restrained, and if the Cossacks set out openly for [the purpose of] robbery to the shores of the well-protected dominions, whether with a few or many boats, nobody from either side should wonder when the aforementioned Tatars and the other Tatars from Dobrudja and Budjak might cross the Dniester and plunder Poland.

This is the third article:

One should not look with a greedy glance toward Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and bring rescue, any kind of help or support by military or other means to alien individuals, either secretly or openly; if something contrary happens, it will result in the rupture of peace and amity.

This is the fourth article:

Whatever are the articles and conditions written and fixed in the imperial 'ahdname, given previously, they should be observed by both sides; even the slightest infraction should not be tolerated, so that the peace and amity may be firm and stable.

This is the fifth article:

Until the conditions of peace and amity are settled and established in the manner described, the problem of the captives [held] by the two sides will not be discussed; after peace terms are definitely fixed and resolved, the captives [held] by the two sides can be reclaimed and released; and nothing should happen to the contrary.

[pençe] *The most humble of the servants [of God], Redjeb Pasha*

[seal] *The weakest of the servants [of God], Redjeb, 1032²*

<i>O God the Lord, You are the Rightful</i>	<i>You sent me six reinforcements</i>
<i>knowledge, practice, and generosity,</i>	<i>faith, mercy, and health</i>

² The seal was not updated; the Muslim year 1032 A.H. extended from 5 November 1622 to 24 October 1623.

DOCUMENT 42 (5 DECEMBER 1633)
The Polish protocol of demarcation (extract)¹

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 399–404 [415–20].

Published in M. Krykun, “Rozgraniczenie ziem Rzeczypospolitej i Imperium Ottomańskiego w 1633 roku,” in: *Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w dobie szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Żenonowi Guldonowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*. Edited by W. Kowalski and J. Muszyńska (Kielce, 1996): 145–57, esp. pp. 156–57.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 46a–47b.

Actum in castro Camenecensi Podoliae, feria quinta post festum Sancti Joannis Baptistae proxima, anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo tertio.²

Ad personalem affect[at]ionem^a generosi Joannis Gembiński,^b petentis sibi certam oblationem dislimitationis inter Regnum Poloniae et Excelsum Imperium Othomanicum factae, ex actis praesentibus dari et extradi, officium praesens annuit et extradidit, cuius tenor est talis:

Excerptum ex originali instrumento confiniorum inter Regnum Poloniae et Excelsum Imperium Othomanicum constitutorum, vigore tractatus Chocimensis inter serenissimum Sigismundum Tertium, regem Regnumque Poloniae ex una, et serenissimum Osmanum imperatorem Turcarum altera parte initū [sic], ac demum per legationem illustrissimi et excellentissimi principis Christophori, principis in Zbaraż, supremi Regni Poloniae stabuli prae-fecti, ratificati, finaliter vero per illustrissimum et excellentissimum Stanislaum in Konieczpole Konieczpolski, castellanum Cracoviensem, supremum exercituum ducem ex parte Poloniae, et illustrissimum et excellentissimum Abazi Pasza ex altera parte, dislimitatorum, ad maiorem notitiam omnium por-recto, ad actaque castrensia Camenecensi Podoliae per generosum Sebastianum Uchański, aulicum eiusdem illustrissimi et excellentissimi castellani Cracoviensis

¹ A copy of the original document was entered into the court register of Kamieniec Podolski. An extract from the Kamieniec register was used during the Polish-Ottoman demarcation of 1703 and then copied into the Crown Register in Warsaw (*Metryka Koronna*). Both copies from the Czartoryski Library are based on this extract (the heading in B. reads: *przepisana z ekstraktu autentycznego w Metryce Koronnej znajdującego się*). Though three volumes of the Crown Register containing documents of 1703 are preserved (AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, sign. 220, 243, 400), the original extract has not been found there.

² I.e., 28 June 1703.

^a In B. spelled correctly.

^b B. *Gębiński*.

feria secunda post festum Sancti Andreae Apostoli proxima, anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo trigesimo tertio³ acticato. Originale vero idem offerens ad se recepit, et de recepto officium praesens quietavit Sebastianus Uchański manu propria.

Nos infrascripti commissarii et plenipotentarii serenissimorum principum nostrorum designati et deputati ex facultate muneri et iurisdictioni nostrae ad obeundam et peragendam dislimitationem inter confines provincias Regni Poloniae et Excelsi Imperii Othomanici specialiter data nobisque et executioni nostrae demandata, insistendo eidem iuri, ordini et officio nostro in locum controversum descendimus, ubi actu nostro ad notitiam omnium propalato et promulgato, ad mutua inter se colloquia et rationes in[c]hoandic^e feliciter negotii publici processimus. Tandem post tot controversias exauditis, examinatis beneque pensatis et trutinatis relationibus senum, optime notitiam regionum et vetustiora callentium, tum ex^d prolixissimis informationibus eorum visum est, in gratia et benedictione Dei, opus ipsum paci et securitati utriusque gentis utile et salutare aggredi et inchoare. Et inprimis a monte, vulgo nuncupato Kruty Góra,⁴ ad ostium Tyra^e iacente, ex mutuo consensu incepimus, uti termino, a quo moto de ingressu id est, a prima extremitate eiusdem montis, ad flumen deflectendo,^f considerato bene loco et omnibus circumstantiis eius, signum primum seu scopulum in progressu montis, vulgariter dictum Kruta Mogiła,⁵ fundavimus, qua perfecta et per elevationem terrae eminenter extructa et constituta; processimus recta versus vallem, prout ordinarie dicitur Tarnowska Dolina,⁶ ubi aliquot terreni excipati^g monticuli, ibi bis superato flexu vallis Suchy Jaorlik⁷ eaque relicta ad levam partem ultra movimus^h observata positione loci, veluti indice, qua nobis eundum esset, et quo ulterior ductus dirigi et affigi debeat. Sic itaque in consideratione omnium, quae partim oculis subiecta erant, partim informationibus seniorum certa et indubitata esse videbantur, ivimus recta ad summitatem vallis Tarnowska Dolina, inde lustrata et decreta valle pro vestigio continuati tractus attigimus certum transitum, vulgari fama Ślak Rożyński seu, ut alii volunt, Ślak Kuczmański,⁸ at nec ibi morando notato, solummodo

³ I.e., 5 December 1633.

^c In B. spelled correctly.

^d In A. spelled erroneously *et*.

⁴ Pol. Kruta Góra; Ukr. Kruta hora.

^e B. *Tyrae*.

^f B. *deflectente*.

⁵ Pol. Kruta Mogiła; Ukr. Kruta mohyla.

⁶ Pol. Tarnowska Dolina; Ukr. Tarniv'ska dolyna.

^g B. *exsippiati*.

⁷ Pol. Suchy Jahorlik; Ukr. Suxyj Jahorlyk; a stream falling to the Dniester south of the river Jahorlyk.

^h In A. spelled erroneously *novimus*.

⁸ Pol. Szlak Rożyński or Szlak Kuczmański; Ukr. Rožyns'kyj šljax or Kučmans'kyj šljax.

nomine continuationi nostrae et notitiae hominum, in posterum servienti, eundem transcendimus, ubi etiam reperiebantur nonnulli terreni annuli et, si credi famaе, debeat Czarские Mogiły⁹ vocati. Inde substitimus ad certam cisternam, vetere et recepto more hominum appellatam quondam Burniczowa Krynica,¹⁰ qua aliquantulum considerata, placuit ultra progredi, nitente ad consummationem operis nostri cura sedulae, et ideo examinatis perceptisque bene, ut nobis mos erat, informationibus, pervenimus recta ad summitatem vallis, ut populos vocat Dziduszkowa Dolina,¹¹ veluti rectum tramitem ad latus eius tendentem, et limites ipsos indicantem. Ab illa similiter procedentibus obvia fuit summitas vallis, per vetustissima temporum Romanowa Dolina¹² nominata, quam pro scopulo ab utrinque recepimus, ubi pariter reperiuntur exsipationes terrenae, bellorum inditia aut monumenta caesorum. Hanc ubi transivimus, lustrationi adiacentium institimus, connotando fideliter omnia, ut labor noster et principibus nostris sit acceptus et populo ipsi plausibilis. Itaque per edita montium progressi consideravimus vallem, dictam olim Mistowska¹ Dolina,¹³ ubi nonnulla signa lateritia indicant fuisse aliquid considerabile, quam itidem inter signa metalia ponere non abs re iudicavimus; et^j vertice eius iam manifestum erat tendere ad terrena menia^k castelli, quondam per Vitoldum principem famosissime extracti, cuius etiam nunc recentissima memoria hominum optime antiqua famosaeque retinens, Horodyszcze^l Witolda¹⁴ nuncupat augetque fidem famaе magnitudo operis exposita oculis lustrantium. Demum, insistendo consummationi officii nostri, ultra et ultra progredimus, festinando ad vallem solito usu populi Czarny Taślik¹⁵ appellatum, qua diutius pensata non tam taedio laboris, sicut desiderio satiandi vota, non tantum regnantium, verum etiam et expectantium, eo diligentiori motu, cursui nostro institimus relic-

⁹ Pol. Carskie Mogiły; Ukr. Cars'ki mohyly.

¹⁰ Pol. Burnicowa Krynica; Ukr. Burnyčova krynycja.

¹¹ Pol. Dziduszkowa Dolina; Ukr. Diduškova dolyna.

¹² Pol. Romanowa Dolina; Ukr. Romanova dolyna; this valley is shown on the seventeenth-century map by Beauplan. Later, a village named Wielka Romanówka (Ukr. Velyka Romanivka) was founded in this area; see Krykun, "Rozgraniczenie," p. 152.

ⁱ B. *Mistowska*.

¹³ Pol. Mistowska Dolina; Ukr. Mistivs'ka dolyna.

^j B. *a*.

^k B. *moenia*.

^l B. *Horodyszcze*.

¹⁴ Pol. Horodyszcze Witolda; Ukr. Horodyšče Vitol'da; the ruins of a castle called *Dolnia Horofossa* were seen in this area in 1579 by the Polish envoy to the Crimea, Marcin Broniowski. Apparently the castle was situated on the site of the modern town Pervomaj's'k, at the confluence of the rivers Boh and Synjuxa; see Krykun, "Rozgraniczenie," p. 152.

¹⁵ Pol. Czarny Taślik, Ukr. Čornyj Taślyk; the left tributary of Synjuxa. The border, as described in the protocol, had a rather strange course here. It must have run along Synjuxa upstream and turned back to the Boh after reaching the mouth of Čornyj Taślyk.

taque valle ad manum sinistram tam Probitae,^{m16} quam Krzemieńczuk,¹⁷ tandem ad vadum rippae Boh, ut vulgo nominare placuit Owczy Bród,¹⁸ veluti terminum ad quem substitimus, ubi ex mutuo consensu duos terrenos monticulos fecimus, impositis in vertice eorum duobus lapidibus, utriusque dominii confinia terminantibus. Hic itaque decursi stadii [*sic*] longique satis studii nostri signaculum in aeviternum et inviolabile unquam a limitaneis gentibus monumentum, tranquillitati publicoⁿ mutuaeque securitati validum, at perennem perpetuamque memoriam omnium posuimus et determinavimus. Hic ergo iam perfecti operis nostri meta, hic diuturni laboris quies, hic utriusque gentis securitas et in ea principum felicitas, sed praehis^o omnibus auctori Deo gratia, laus, honor et gloria. Hunc itaque tractum decretosque in eo ac constitutos terminos, pro meliori notitia utriusque dominii et populorum ad fines regnorum degentium, pro certis et indubitatis scopulis a nobis fideliter descriptis et constitutis, pro firmitate et securitate limitum, ab utrinque in posterum servandorum ex facultate a serenissimis principalibus nostris ad id sibi specialiter data, ab omnibus servari et in perpetuum teneri et observari auctoritate nostra commissoriali, qua fungimur, decernimus, ingungimus^p et demandamus. Demum constitutis, ut supra utriusque dominii limitibus, eadem potestate et iurisdictione nostra commissoriali (obviando insolentiis populi ex utraque parte ad confinia habitantis pacemque mutuam et stabilitam inter regna amicitiam disturbantis) decernimus, quatenus utraque latera supradicti Suchy Jahorlik ad littora Tyra^q iacentia scopulosque primos inchoatae per nos commissarios et plenipotentarios, dislimitationis designantia, quatuor horis euntium inhabitata semper in posterum maneant. Si vero aliqua pars non repugnante altera colonias novas erexerit, licitum quoque erit [et alteri]^r pariter colonias suas producere, ita tamen utrivis violentiis omnibusque in universum iniuriis abstineant, iustitiam sibi ab invicem praestent, pacem ac amicitiam inter se colant conserventque inviolabilem.

Stanislaus Makowiecki
dapifer Podoliae et
iudex castrensis Camenecensis

(locus sigilli)

Ex actis castrensibus
capitanealibus Camenecensis
Podoliae extractum^s

Correxerit Korędowicz

^m B. *Probite*.

¹⁶ Probyte; an island on the river Boh, situated south of the mouth of Synjuxa and mentioned by Broniowski and Beauplan; see Krykun, "Rozgraniczenie," p. 153.

¹⁷ Pol. Krzemieńczuk; Ukr. Kremenčuk; an island on the Boh, situated south of Probyte; see Krykun, "Rozgraniczenie," p. 153.

¹⁸ Pol. Owczy Bród; Ukr. Ovečyj brid; a ford on the Boh, situated south of Kremenčuk; see Krykun, "Rozgraniczenie," p. 154.

ⁿ B. *publicae*.

^o B. *pro his*.

^p B. *iniungimus*.

^q B. *Tyrae*.

^r In B. only.

^s B. *extraditum*.

DOCUMENT 43 (19 AUGUST 1634)

The Ottoman document of agreement concluded between Shahin
Agha and Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski
[Facs. XIV]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 74, t. 356, no. 634 (*KDT*, pp. 295–96).

39.5 × 31.5 cm.

text (black): *rik'a* script with some features of *divani*
oval seal (*mühür*) is affixed on the reverse side

French translation by Crutta: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 74, t. 356, no. 635; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 365–72 [381–88].

Polish translation: Bibl. Racz., ms. 24, fol. 32b–34a.

Merhum Sultan Süleyman Han zamanında ve sa'ir selatin-i sabık ba-vücut sa'adetlü Sultan Murad Han hazretlerinin 'ahdnamelerinde meşrut olan mevadd her ne ise yazılıb dutula

madde-i evvel

çünkü ahval-bilmez kiminler bu iki ulu padişah mabeyninde olan sulh u salahı kıskanub dostluğu ve kadimi konşulugı bozmaga cehd idüb bizim gibi ta'ifeden harac almagı kolay gösterüb ve al-i 'Osman toprakında palankalar yapılmışdır deyü hilaf işkiletmişler lakin ol palankalar al-i 'Osman toprakında olmadugın Şahin Aga göziyle gördüğinden gayri Bogdan boyarlarının ihtiyarlarından dahi su'al idüb dogrusın dimişlerdir vaki^a olmuşdur ki Lih hududı Bogdan ile Hotun^a nam kal'enin aşagasından Turlu^b suyu sınırdur ne bizim Bogdan toprakında ve ne Bogdanın bizim yakamızda 'alakası vardır ve bir dürlü palanka memalik-i al-i 'Osmanda yapılmamışdır böyle olıcak serhadd ahvalin ve konşuluk ile sulh umurun bilmeyen ve olur olmaz söz peyda idenlere inanmayub sulh ri'ayet oluna ki anın gibi adamların gamz eyleyecek sözleri kalmaya ve biz azad ve başımıza buyruk iken bizden harac namında hedaya taleb olunmaya cümlemiz can u başımızı ve mal u rızkmızı meydana koruz harac namı üzerimize kabul eylemeriz ve bu anılmaya ve palankalar bizim hududumuzda olmagla bundansonra yıkılmasın teklif eylemeyeler amma eger zıkr olunan palankalardan vilayet-i Bogdana bir zarar olursa iki bile canıbden nam-dar ve 'akıllu adamlar ta'yin olunub göndürile ki zararları ödendikden sonra idenlerin hakklarından geline ki sa'irlerine mucib-i 'ibret ü refi' ola ve kadimden Kırım hanı tarafına virilen hedaya

^a هوتون.

^b طورلو.

yine virile ve sulhı ri'ayet idüb dostluk üzere ola ve elçilerimizi bir bahane ile durgutmayalar bu taraftan dahi böyle ola 'ahdname ile 'amal oluna

madde-i sani

eski namelerde yazılmışdırki Bucakda Tatar olmaya lakin şimdikihalde Kırım Tatarlarından gayri Nogaydan dahi Tatar gelüb Bucakda karar eylemişlerdir ba-husus Tatarlara paşalık ve beglik virilmekle <dört> dört canibden Tatar gelüb anlara dayanub vilayetimize akın ve ılgardan ve zarardan hali degillerdir imdi ri'ayet-i sulh bu durki Bucakdan Tatar kaldırılıb Hantemür paşaya ve Aytömür mirzaya ve sa'ir mirzalarına orada mansıb virilmeye ve durmayalar eger ugurlanub Tatar veyahud Kazak ta'ifesi çıkar ise aldıkları eger mal ü rızk ve eger esir dir hakimleri ve zabıtları buldurub girüye redd olundukdan sonra hakklarından geline amma bu sebeb ile yine sulha hael gelmeye

madde-i salis

bu iki vilayet arasında kadimi dostluga ve konşuluga hael viren iki ta'ife dir 'Osmanlı tarafından Tatar Lih canibinden Kazakdır al-i 'Osman tarafından Tatar ve sa'ir namda olan levendat ta'ifesi muhkem zabt olunub Lih vilayetinden bir yere zarar etmeyeler lakin eger beşbaş namıyla bir kaç yüz nefer serhaddımıza gelür ise yine dostluga ve barışğa hael gelmeye amma aldıkları mal ü rızk ve esir girüye redd olundukdansonra hakklarından geline sulh dutula ve Lih tarafından dahi karadan ve deryadan mermalik-i al-i 'Osmana Kazakdan vech-i meşruh 'amal olunub sulh yine bozulmaya iki bile canibden böyle mukayyed olmak gerekdir

madde-i rabi'

Tatar ta'ifesi vilayetimize akın ve ılgar için gelmek murad eylediklerinde Özi^c suyu her kez Özü^d kal'esi altında geçiyorlar^e idi Özüde olan hakimlere ve zabıtlara ve iskele eminlerine muhkem tenbih eyleyelerki anın gibiler geçidden yol ve gemi vermeyeler virerler ise zabıtların muhkem hakklarından geline eger hizmet-i padişahi için Tatar Özü suyun geçmek lazım geldikde Lih vilayetine zarar u ziyan etmeyeler ve al-i 'Osman 'askeri konşulugumuzda olan Krıstyan^f ta'ifesi üzere sefer itmek lazım geldikde vilayetimize yaklaşmayalar ve konşulugumuzda olan palankalarına ve şehirlerine dahl idüb almayub rencide etmeyeler kadimi 'ahdnameler mucibince 'amal oluna

madde-i hamis

ve bazargan kadimden vire-geldikleri gümrüğü virüb ziyade gümrük taleb olunmaya ve bazargan gelüb gitmekde çok fa'ide var ve hem dostluk konşuluk ziyade olmasına sebeb dir ve Akkermana rızk gemiler ile varmak kabildir ve sa'adetlü al-i 'Osman padişahı hazretlerine fa'idesi olur ba-vücut böyle olacak re'aya fukarası dahi orada bulunmayan rızkı alub satum iderler ve

^c اوزی.

^d اوزو.

^e Or, geçiyorlar.

^f قرستیان.

‘araba ile varmag kabil olmayan mata’ gemi ile varır iskele eminlerine ve zabıtlarına tenbih olunmak gerekdirki anları rencide etmeyüb mani’ olmayalar ve serhadda olan hakim ve zabıtlar ‘ahdnamelere muhalif bazargana ve sa’ir re’ayaya eger hayvanat almakda ve balık göllerde avlamaga mani’ olmayalar ve kimesne incitmeye ve bir bazarganın borcu için gayri bazarganın rızkın durgutmayalar ‘adet ü kanun üzere görölüb takayyud oluna ve şimdiye degin Lih ile Bogdan hududunda olan kanlar ve da’valar ayın ü ‘adet üzere görüle ve idenlerin haklarından geline

madde-i sadis

ve bunlardan ma ‘ada eger al-i ‘Osman padişahı hazretlerinin ve eger devletlü kral hazretlerinin elçileri birbirlerine göndürüldükde bu şehir bu kasaba bu köy bu varoş bizim degildir deyü kondurmagda muhalefet olunmaya eger serhaddlarda ve eger iç-i illerde ri’ayet oluna ve yollarda bir dürlü bahane ile mahalline ve dermege mani’ olmayalar ve cefa etmeyeler ve bu makule elçilerden kasabat ve köylerde bir nesnelerinden ve iskele ve kapularda gümrük alınmaya bunlardan gayri eski namelerde şart çokdur yine cümlesi namelerde yazıla ve evvelkiden ziyade mü’ekked olmak gerekdir ki ri’ayet-i sulh oluna (sahh)

Hüve

hala işbu altı ‘aded mevadd ki tahrir olunmuşdur ba’zileri selatin-i sabık virdikleridir ba’zileri dahi bu sulh u salaha te’kid olmak için bu def’a ma’kul gözetmişdir ve devletlü Lih kralı hazretlerinin bu sulh u salaha vekil-i mutlak olan baş hetmanı ve sa’ir vükelası ile mükaleme olunub vekaletimiz hasbıyla bu altı maddeye karar virilmiştir ve mührimizle bir sureti kendülere teslim olunub ve bir sureti dahi serdar-i ‘ali-mikdar vezir Murtaza Paşa hazretlerine göndürölüb minval-i meşruh üzere ‘ahdname virilmek için bu yüzden karar virilmiştir ve bir iki madde dahi teklif eylediler lakin biz asla ruhsat virmedik taraflarından der-i devlete göndürilen elçiye ‘uvade eylemişdür tahriren fi yigirmi üçüncü gün ki Sefer ayıdır sene-i bin kırk dört tarihidir

el-fakir

Şahin Aga müteferrika-i dergah-i

‘ali ve elçi hala^g

Layık eyle Hüda-i Zu’l-minen

lutfuna mazhar Şahin [bin] Hasan^h

Translation:

Whatever articles are stipulated in the ‘ahdnames of the era of the late Sultan Suleyman Khan, of the other earlier sultans, and also of his excellency, the felicitous Sultan Murad Khan, they should be written down [again] and preserved.

^g Text of the signature.

^h Text of the seal, (*mühür*), appended on the reverse side of the document.

The first article:

As certain individuals, ignorant of matters, are jealous of the peace and amity existing between the two great padishahs and strive to spoil the friendship and old neighborliness, they have suggested that it would be easy to collect harac from a nation like ours; and they have raised false suspicions saying: "they [i.e., the Poles] have built forts on Ottoman soil." But, Shahin Agha has not only seen with his own eyes that these forts are not on Ottoman soil, but he has also interrogated the elders from among the Moldavian boyars, and they have confirmed the truth. In actual fact, the Polish-Moldavian border below the fortress of Hotin is determined by the river Dniester. We have no claim on Moldavian land, nor do the Moldavians have any claim on our shore. And no fort has been built in the Ottoman dominions. As it is so, one should not trust those unfamiliar with border matters and the issues of neighborliness and peace, who produce true or false words; one should respect the peace, so that any such future malicious reports should not be accepted.

And as we are free and independent,¹ one should not demand from us a gift named harac. We would sooner sacrifice our lives and heads, property and belongings, but we do not accept the word "harac." It should not [even] be mentioned. And as the [aforementioned] forts are within our borders, henceforth one should not propose that they be destroyed. If, however, damage is inflicted on Moldavia by the said forts, esteemed and clever men should be appointed from both sides and sent, so that after damages are compensated for, the evildoers should be punished as a warning and deterrence to others. The gifts [hedaya] given to the Crimean khan since olden times should once again be given. One should respect the peace and act in accordance with the friendship. Our envoys should not be stopped under any pretext. Also, for our part, one should proceed likewise and act in accordance with the 'ahdname.

The second article:

It was written in the old ['ahd]names that the Tatars should not dwell in Budjak. Yet, at present, the Crimean Tatars as well as Nogay Tatars have come to settle in Budjak. Especially when the posts of pashas and beys were given to the Tatars, the Tatars would come from all four directions [of the world]. When we presented no hindrance to them, they continually attacked, raided, and brought damage to our country. Therefore, the peace should be respected in that way that the Tatars should be removed from Budjak, and [official] posts should not be given there to Kantemir Pasha, Aytemir Murza, and the other mirzas, and they should not stay there. If a raid occurs, whether it is caused by the Tatars or Cossacks, after the stolen goods, belongings, or captives are found and sent back by [the local] commanders and officers, [the evildoers] should be punished. But this should not cause a renewed dissolution of the peace.

The third article:

There are two tribes that cause the dissolution of the old friendship and neighborliness between these two countries: the Tatars on the Ottoman side, and the Cossacks on the Polish side. From the Ottoman side the Tatars and other adventurers² should be

¹ *Başımıza buyruk iken*, translated by Crutta: *ayants à nôtre Tête qui nous command.*

² *Tatar ve sa'ir namda olan levendat ta'ifesi*; lit. "the Tatars and otherwise named adventurers [levendat]."

firmly restrained, so that they do not bring damage to any place in Poland. But, if a [small] raid of a few hundred individuals, called beşbaş, happens within our [i.e., Polish] borders, it should not cause a renewed dissolution of the friendship and peace. But after the taken goods, belongings, and captives are sent back, [the evildoers] should be punished, and the peace should be preserved. Also on the Polish side one should act in the same way in relation to those Cossacks, who [raid]³ Ottoman lands by land or by sea, but again it should not spoil the peace. It is necessary that it be thusly registered by both sides [in the future 'ahdname].

The fourth article:

When the Tatars wanted to attack and raid our country, they always used to cross the Dnieper below the fortress of Očakiv. It should be severely ordered to the commanders, officers, and harbor masters in Očakiv that they should not allow any such as these to pass, by land or by boat. Any officers who would let them go should be severely punished. If it is necessary that the Tatars who are in the imperial service cross the Dnieper, they should not bring damage or harm to Poland. If the Ottoman troops set out for a campaign against a Christian nation in our neighborhood, they should not ruin our country. And they should not enter, take, or disturb forts and towns situated in our neighborhood [i.e., close to our borders]. One should act in accordance with the old 'ahdnames.

The fifth article:

Merchants should pay the same customs duties as they have customarily paid since olden times, and one should not demand that they pay more. When merchants come and go, they provide large profits and contribute to the increase of friendship and neighborliness. [Therefore] it is practicable that they arrive at Akkerman with trade ships [rızk gemiler]. Notwithstanding the profits to his excellency, the felicitous Ottoman padishah, poor subjects may also buy goods that are not to be found there, or may sell [other goods]. The goods that cannot be transported by cart may be brought by ship. One should order the harbor masters and officers that they not molest or hinder them [i.e., the merchants]. The border commanders and officers should not hinder merchants and other subjects from hunting animals and catching fish in ponds, as that would be contrary to the 'ahdnames, and they should not injure anybody. For the debt of one merchant one should not detain goods of another merchant. One should investigate [the matter] and act carefully according to custom and law. Bloodsheds and disputes that have occurred up to now on the Polish-Moldavian border should be investigated according to law and custom, and their perpetrators should be punished.

The sixth article:

Moreover, when his excellency, the Ottoman padishah, or his excellency, the illustrious king, send their envoys to each other, one should not raise difficulties in finding lodgings [for them] by saying: "this town, this borough, this village, this suburb is not ours." Whether on the border, or within the country, one should respect [this clause]. And while on [their] way, one should not hinder [them] from reaching their places [of destination] and gathering by any kind of excuse, and one should not oppress them. And

³ Apparently omitted; this article is better formulated in Document 44.

no customs duties should be collected in villages, boroughs, harbors, and at [city] gates from these envoys and their property. In addition, there are many clauses [contained] in the old ['ahd]names. They should be all written again in the [new 'ahd]name and corroborated stronger than before, so that the peace should be respected. ("correct")⁴

He

Now, some from among these six articles written above were conceded by the former sultans, some others were considered rational for this time in order to corroborate this peace and amity. The negotiations were carried out with the grand hetman [baş hetman] of his excellency, the illustrious Polish king, being his absolute deputy for [the conclusion of] this peace and amity, and with his other deputies; in accordance with our full powers as deputies, we have agreed on these six articles. One copy, provided with our seal, was given to them, and one more copy was sent to the serdar of high rank, his excellency, the vizier Murtaza Pasha; thus, it was resolved to issue a new 'ahdname in the manner described. They [i.e., the Poles] have also proposed one or two other articles, but we absolutely did not accept [them]. They have reiterated [these matters] to the envoy sent to the prosperous gate [i.e., Porte].

Written on the twenty-third day [of] the month of Safer [in] the year 1044.

[signature] *The humble Shahin Agha, the mütefferika of the high threshold and the present envoy*

[seal] *God, the Bountiful, make Shahin, [son of] Hasan, deserving of Your grace!*

⁴ *Sahh*, a typical bureaucratic formula of approval appended at the end of a line of text.

DOCUMENT 44 (8 SEPTEMBER 1634)
The Ottoman document of agreement concluded
between Shahin Agha and Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski,
confirmed by Murtaza Pasha
[Facs. XV]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 74, t. 359, no. 638 (*KDT*, p. 296).

41.5 × 31 cm.

pençe (black)

text (black): *rik'a* script with some features of *divani*

oval seal (*mühür*) is affixed next to the pençe

French translation by Crutta: Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 357–64 [373–80].

Merhum Sultan Süleyman Han zamanında ve sa'ir selatin-i sabık ba-vücut bi'z-zat 'azametlü ve mahabetlü Sultan Murad Han hazretlerinin 'ahd-namelerinde meşrut olan mevadd her ne ise yazılıb dutıla

madde-i evvel

çünkü ahval-bilmez kiminler şevketlü ve 'azametlü padişah-i al-i 'Osman hazretleriyle devletlü Lih kralı mabeyninde olan sulh u salahı kıskanub ve dostluğu ve kadimi konşulugı bozmaga cehd idüb bizim gibi ta'ifeden harac almagı kolayı gösterüb ve al-i 'Osman toprakında palankalar yapılmışdır deyü hilaf işkiletmişler lakin ol palankalar al-i 'Osman toprakında olmadugın Şahin Aga göziyle gördüğinden gayri Bogdan boyarlarının ihtiyarlarından dahi su'al idüb dogrusın dimişler ve vakı' olmuşdur ki Lih hududı Bogdan ile Hotun^a nam mahalden Turlu^b suyu sınırudur ne bizim Bogdan toprakında ve ne Bogdanlunun bizim yakamızda 'alakası vardır ve bir dirlü palanka memalik-i al-i 'Osmanda yapılmamışdır böyle olcak serhadd ahvalin ve konşuluk ile sulh umurun bilmeyen ve olur olmaz söz peyda idenlere inanmayub sulh ri'ayet oluna ki anın gibi adamların gamz eyleyecek sözi kalmaya ve biz azad ve başımıza buyruk iken bizden harac namında hedaya teklif etmeyeler cümlemiz başımızı malimizi meydana koruz harac namı üzerimize kabul eylemeriz ve bu anılmaya ve palankalar bizim hududumuzda olmagla bundansonra yıklamasın teklif etmeyeler amma zikr olunan palankalardan vilayet-i Bogdana bir zarar olursa iki bile canıbden nam-dar ve 'akıllı adamlar ta'yin olunub göndürile ki zararları ödendikden sonra idenlerin hakklarından geline ki sa'irlerine mucib-i 'ibret ü refi' ola ve kadimden Kırım hanı tarafına virilen hedaya yine virile ve sulhı ri'ayet idüb dostluk

^a هوتون.

^b طورلو.

üzere ola ve elçilerimizi bir bahane ile durgutmayalar bu taraftan dahi böyle olub 'ahdname ile 'amal oluna

madde-i sani

eski namelerde yazılmışdırki Bucakda Tatar olmaya lakin şimdiki halde Kırım Tatarlarından gayri Nogaydan dahi Tatar gelüb Bucakda karar eylemişlerdir ba-husus Tatarlara paşalık ve beglik virilmekle dört canıbden Tatar gelüb anlara dayanub vilayetimize akın ve ılgardan ve zarardan hali degillerdir imdi ri'ayet-i sulh bu durki Bucakdan Tatar kaldırılıb Hantemür paşaya ve Aytemür mirzaya ve sa'ir mirzalara orada mansıb virilmeye ve durmayalar eger ugurlanub Tatar veyahud Kazak ta'ifesi çıkar ise aldıkları eger mal ü rızk ve esiri hakimleri ve zabıtları buldurub girtüye redd itdirdikden sonra haklarından geline amma bu sebeb ile sulha hael gelmeye

madde-i salis

bu iki vilayet arasında kadimi dostluga ve konşuluga hael viren iki ta'ife dir 'Osmanlı tarafından Tatar Lih canibinden Kazakdır al-i 'Osman tarafından Tatar ve sa'ir namda olan levendat ta'ifesi muhkem zabt olunub Lih vilayetinden bir yere zarar etmeyeler lakin eger beşbaş namıyla bir kaç Tatar serhaddımıza gelür ise yine dostluga ve barışıklığa hael gelmeye amma aldıkları mal ü rızk ve esir girtüye redd olundukdansonra haklarından geline sulh dutulub bozulmaya ve Lih tarafından dahi Kazak karadan ve deryadan memalik-i al-i 'Osmana zarar etmeyüb zabt etdirilüb vech-i meşruh üzere 'amal olunub sulh ri'ayet oluna iki bile canıbden böyle mukayyed olmak gerekdir

madde-i rabi'

Tatar ta'ifesi vilayetimiz içine akın ve ılgar için gelmek murad eylediklerinde Özi^c suyu her kez Özü^d kal'esi altında geçiyorlar^e idi Özüde olan hakimlere ve zabıtlara ve <eminlere ve> iskele eminlerine muhkem tenbih ü te'kid eyleyelerki anın gibiler geçidden yol ve gemi virmeyeler virerler ise zabıtların haklarından geline eger hizmet-i padişahi için Tatar Özü suyun geçmek lazım geldikde Lih vilayetine zarar u ziyan etmeyeler ve al-i 'Osman 'askeri konşulugumuzda olan Kristyan^f ta'ifesi üzere sefer itmek lazım geldikde dostluk ve barışıklık hatırıyçün vilayetimize <yakın> yıklaşmayalar ve konşulugumuzda olan palankaların ve şehirlerin <etmeyeler> rencide etmeyeler (sahh, sah, sah)^g

madde-i hamis

ve bazargan kadimden vire-geldüğü gümrüğü virüb ziyade gümrük taleb olunmaya ve bazargan gelüb gitmekle dostluk ziyade olmasına sebeb olur ve

^c اوزی.

^d اوزو.

^e Or, geçiyorlar.

^f قریستیان.

^g Written three times.

Akkermana gemiler varmak kabil olmakla 'azametlü al-i 'Osman padişahı hazretlerine dahi fa'idesi olur re'aya fukarası dahi orada bulmadığı mata'ı bunda bulub alım satım iderler 'araba ve koçı ile varmak kabil olmayan mata'ı gemi ile varır iskele eminlerine ve zabıtlarına tenbih olunmak gerekdirki anları rencide etmeyüb mani' olmayalar ve serhadda olan hakim ve zabıtlar 'ahdnamelere muhalif bazargana ve sa'ir re'ayaya hayvanat almakda ve göllerde balık avlamakda mani' olmayalar ve kimesne incitmeye ve bir bazarganın borcu için gayri bazarganın rızkın durgutmayalar 'adet ü kanun üzere görülüb takayyud oluna ve şimdiye değin Lih ile Bogdan hududunda olan kanlar ve da'valar ayın ü 'adet üzere görüle ve idenlerin haklarından geline

madde-i sadis

ve şevketlü ve kudretlü al-i 'Osman padişahı hazretlerinin ve devletlü Lih kralı hazretlerinin elçilerine tarafeynde ri'ayet oluna gelmiştir idi gerekdirki bizim diyarda eger devletlü kral hazretlerinin şehirlerinde ve eger beglerin köylerinde ve şehirlerinde elçilere ri'ayet oluna ve yanlarına söz-anlar 'ırz ehli adam ta'yin oluna ki ri'ayet ve huzur üzere olalar şevketlü ve kudretlü padişah-i islam hazretlerinin dahi canibinden böyle ri'ayet oluna (sahh)

Hüve

şevketlü ve 'azametlü ve mahabetlü padişah-i islam hazretlerinin ferman-i hümayunları üzere müteferrika Şahin Aga devletlü Lih kralı dostumuzun baş hetmanı olan Istanislaw Konecpolski^h ile vekaleti ile hasbıyla hayırlı sulh u salahı bu altı madde üzere bağlayub sureti bu canibe göndürmeleriyle manzumumuz oldukda makbulumuz olmanın berayı temessük mühürlenüb haliya irsal olunmuşdur tahriren fi on beş-i mah-i Rebi'ü'l-evvel sene-i bin kırk dört tarihidir

efkarü'l-'ibad Murtaza Paşaⁱ
sahh

hakk-i pay-i al-i 'Osman Murtaza^j

ey Bar-Hüda bi-Hakk hastı
'ilm ü 'amal ü ferah-desti

şeh çiz ma ra meded feresti
iman u aman u ten-dürüsti

Translation:

Whatever articles are stipulated in the 'ahdnames of the era of the late Sultan Suleyman Khan, of the other earlier sultans, and also of his excellent person, the great, majestic Sultan Murad Khan, they should be written down [again] and preserved.

^h استانسلاو قوکیچ پولسکی.

ⁱ Text of the *pençe*.

^j Text of the seal, (*mühür*). The same *mühür* was used on another letter of Murtaza Pasha, addressed to King Ladislaus IV. Its inner inscription written in the central area is quoted by Abrahamowicz (*KDT*, p. 290). The versified outer inscription written along the edge is identical with that of the *mühür* of Ahmed Pasha (quoted in *KDT*, p. 230) and with that of Redjeb Pasha (see Document 41).

The first article:

As certain individuals, ignorant of matters, are jealous of the peace and amity existing between his excellency, the majestic and great Ottoman padishah, and the illustrious Polish king, and strive to spoil the friendship and old neighborliness, they have suggested that it would be easy to collect harac from a nation like ours; and they have raised false suspicions saying: "they [i.e., the Poles] have built forts on Ottoman soil." But, Shahin Agha has not only seen with his own eyes that these forts are not on Ottoman soil, but he has also interrogated the elders from among the Moldavian boyars, and they have confirmed the truth. In actual fact, the Polish-Moldavian border starting at the place named Hotin is determined by the river Dniester. We have no claim on Moldavian land, nor do the Moldavians have any claim on our shore. And no fort has been built in the Ottoman dominions. As it is so, one should not trust those unfamiliar with border matters and the issues of neighborliness and peace, who produce true or false words; one should respect the peace, so that any such future malicious reports should not be accepted.

And as we are free and independent, one should not demand from us a gift named harac. We would sooner sacrifice our heads and property, but we do not accept the word "harac." It should not [even] be mentioned. And as the [aforementioned] forts are within our borders, henceforth one should not propose that they be destroyed. If, however, damage is inflicted on Moldavia by the said forts, esteemed and clever men should be appointed from both sides and sent, so that after damages are compensated for, the evildoers should be punished as a warning and deterrence to others. The gifts [hedaya] given to the Crimean khan since olden times should once again be given. One should respect the peace and act in accordance with the friendship. Our envoys should not be stopped under any pretext. Also, for our part, one should proceed likewise and act in accordance with the 'ahdname.

The second article:

It was written in olden ['ahd]names that the Tatars should not dwell in Budjak. Yet, at present, the Crimean Tatars as well as Nogay Tatars have come to settle in Budjak. Especially when the posts of pashas and beys were given to the Tatars, the Tatars would come from all four directions [of the world]. When we presented no hindrance to them, they continually attacked, raided, and brought damage to our country. Therefore, the peace should be respected in that way that the Tatars should be removed from Budjak, and [official] posts should not be given there to Kantemir Pasha, Aytemir Murza, and the other mirzas, and they should not stay there. If a raid occurs, whether it is caused by the Tatars or Cossacks, after the stolen goods, belongings, or captives are found and sent back by [the local] commanders and officers, [the evildoers] should be punished. But this should not cause a dissolution of the peace.

The third article:

There are two tribes, which cause dissolution of the old friendship and neighborliness between these two countries: the Tatars on the Ottoman side, and the Cossacks on the Polish side. From the Ottoman side the Tatars and other adventurers should be firmly restrained, so that they do not bring damage to any place in Poland. But, if a raid of a few Tatars,¹ called *beşbaş*, happens within our [i.e., Polish] borders, it should not

¹ In Document 43: a [small] raid of a few hundred individuals.

cause a renewed dissolution of the friendship and peace. But after the taken goods, belongings, and captives are sent back, [the evildoers] should be punished, and the peace should be preserved and should not be spoiled. Also on the Polish side the Cossacks should not raid Ottoman lands by land or by sea, and should be restrained; and one should act in the manner described so that the peace may be respected. It is necessary that it be thusly registered by both sides [in the future 'ahdname].

The fourth article:

When the Tatars wanted to attack and raid our country, they always used to cross the Dnieper below the fortress of Očakiv. It should be severely ordered and repeated to the commanders, officers, and harbor masters in Očakiv that they should not allow any such as these to pass, by land or by boat. Any officers who would let them go should be punished. If it is necessary that the Tatars who are in the imperial service cross the Dnieper, they should not bring damage or harm to Poland. If the Ottoman troops set out for a campaign against a Christian nation in our neighborhood, for the sake of amity and peace they should not ruin our country. And they should not disturb forts and towns situated in our neighborhood [i.e., close to our borders]. ("correct")²

The fifth article:

Merchants should pay the same customs duties as they have customarily paid since olden times, and one should not demand that they pay more. When merchants come and go, they contribute to the increase of friendship. [Therefore] it is practicable that ships arrive at Akkerman, as it brings more profit to his excellency, the great Ottoman padishah. Poor subjects may also find here goods that are not to be found there, and buy and sell. The goods that cannot be transported by cart or carriage may be brought by ship. One should order the harbor masters and officers that they not molest or hinder them [i.e., the merchants]. The border commanders and officers should not hinder merchants and other subjects from hunting animals and catching fish in ponds, as that would be contrary to the 'ahdnames, and they should not injure anybody. For the debt of one merchant one should not detain goods of another merchant. One should investigate [the matter] and act carefully according to custom and law. Bloodsheds and disputes that have occurred up to now on the Polish-Moldavian border should be investigated according to law and custom, and their perpetrators should be punished.

The sixth article:

The envoys of his excellency, the majestic and mighty Ottoman padishah, and of his excellency, the illustrious Polish king, should be respected by both sides. If they arrive, whether in our country, or in the towns of his excellency, the illustrious king, and the villages and towns of his nobles, they should be respected. Reasonable and esteemed men should be appointed for them [as an escort], so that they may enjoy respect and ease. Likewise, this [clause] should be respected also from the side of his excellency, the majestic and mighty padishah of Islam. ("correct")

² A triple sign of approval (*sahh*).

He

According to the imperial firman of his excellency, the mighty, great, majestic padishah of Islam, the müteferrika Shahin Agha concluded an auspicious peace and amity, based on these six articles, with the grand hetman [baş hetman] of the illustrious Polish king and our friend, Stanisław Koniecpolski, according to his full powers; its copy was sent here, examined and accepted by us, and then sealed, so that a temessük may be issued; now [this temessük] is being dispatched.

Written on 15 of the month of Rebi I of the year 1044.

[pençe] *The most humble of the servants [of God], Murtaza Pasha*
“correct”

[seal] *The dust under the feet of the Ottoman dynasty, Murtaza*
O God the Lord, You are the Rightful You sent me six reinforcements
knowledge, practice, and generosity, faith, mercy, and health

DOCUMENT 45 (23 OCTOBER–1 NOVEMBER 1634)

The *‘ahdname* sent by Murad IV to King Ladislaus IV

[Facs. XVI]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 74, t. 362, no. 643 (*KDT*, pp. 298–99).

204.5 × 64.5 cm.

invocation (gold): *divani* script¹

formula devotionis (gold): *sülüs* script

tugra (gold)

text (black with gold insertions and *zerefşan*, sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

a sign of correction, resembling the word *buyurulmuşdur*, is placed on the reverse side

Polish translation of the articles: a) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 351–55 [367–71]; b) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 1874 (folder: “Turcica”), no. 8; c) L’vivs’ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 4 (Baw.), opys 1, no. 280/II, fol. 10b–11b.

French translation by Crutta: a) Bibl. Czart., ms. 126, pp. 789–800; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 405–414 [421–30]; c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 415–28 [431–44].

Hüve ‘llahu ‘l-galibu ‘l-kadiru ‘l-mennan

- [I] **Hazret-i Rabbü ‘l-‘Izzet cellet kudretühü ve ‘alet kelimetühünün
‘inayet-i bi-gayeti ve mihr-i sipehr-i nübüvvet**
[II] **ahter-i burc-i fütüvvet pişva-yi zümre-i enbiya mukteda-yi
firka-i asfiya Muhammed Mustafa salla ‘llahu**
[III] **ta‘ala ‘aleyhi ve sellemin mucizat-i kesiretü ‘l-berekatı ve cemi‘-
i enbiya-i ‘izam ve evliya-i kiram ve çahar yar-i**
[IV] **resul-i Melik-i ‘Alamın ridwanu ‘llah ‘aleyhim ecma‘ın ervah-
i mukaddeseleri mürafakatıyla**

Murad-şah bin Ahmed han muzaffer da‘ima

- [I] Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i zaman ve bürhan-i havakin-i ‘asr ü evan tac-
bahş-i husrevan-i cihan sahib-kıran-i ‘ali-mekan zillu ‘llahi ‘l-Meliki ‘l-
Mennan Ak Denizin ve Kara Denizin ve Rum-ilinin ve Anadolu’nun ve
Şam ve Haleb

¹ The upper strip of paper has been cut off and pasted face down on the linen, so that the notes on the reverse side would be visible. A piece of paper with the invocation has been cut out from this strip and pasted above the *formula devotionis*.

- [2] ve Mısır ve Mekke-i mükerrerme ve Medine-i münevvere ve Kuds-i şerif ve Halilü'r-Rahman ve külliye Diyar-i 'Arab ve Karaman ve Rumın ve vilayet-i Du'l-kadriyenin ve Diyarbekir ve Kürdistanın ve Azerbaycan ve Eflak ve Bogdan ve Vanın ve Budun ve Temeşvar ve Kanije ve Egre vilayetlerinin ve Basra ve Lahsa ve Kıbrıs
- [3] ve Tunus ve cümle-i Ceza'ır vilayetlerinin ve Trablus-i Şam ve Trablus-i Garb ve Kefe ve Trabzon ve Erzurum eyaletlerinin ve Erdel memleketinin ve hasretü'l-müluk daru's-saltanatı'l-'aliye mahmiye-i Kostantiniyenin ve bunların imsalı niçe memalik-i ma'mure ve mesalik-i gayr-i mahsurenin ve kila'-i felek-irtifa'n
- [4] padişahı ve sultanı ve hakan-i 'azimü's-şan-i sahib-kıranı sultan ibn sultan ve hakan ibn hakan güzide-i nesl-i al-i 'Osman **hazret-i sultan Murad hanım** bu şerif 'ahdname-i hümayunumuzu görüb okuyanlara şöyle ma'lum ola ki
- [5] şimdikihalde Lih vilayetinin kralı ve Litva^a vilayetinin ulu dukası ve Rusya^b ve Prusya^c ve Majovya^d ve sayir memleketlerin varisi ve İsviçya^e vilayetinin kralı olan iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fıham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihîye muslihu masalihi [cemahiri] 't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet
- [6] ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Dördüncü Vladislav^f hatema'l-lahu 'avakibahu bi'l-hayr ata ve dedesi melikiyet-nigeran olub aban 'an ceddin astan-i sa'adet-unvanımı 'arz-i sadakat u iltica ve ihlas ve izhar-i muhabbet ve vidad ve ihtisas ide-gelmegin cenab-i celalet-ma'abım ve yüce hazretim ile dahi dostluk
- [7] ve barışıklık murad eyleyüb ve mukarreb ve mu'temed adamlarından bi'l-fi'l baş kadah-garı olan iftiharü'l-a'yani'l-milleti'l-mesihîye Braklabalu Yakub Ziyelinçki^g nam müdebbir ve yarar adamısın baş ilçî idüb ve on beş nefer-i nam-dar yarar Lih begzadelerin bile göndürüb 'arz-i hulus u mütaba'at
- [8] ve izhar-i husus-i müvafakat eyleyüb dasturu mukarram muşiru mufahham nizamı'l-'alam 'asakir-i fevz-ma'asirime serdar u sipah-salar olan vezirim Murtaza Paşa edama'llahu ta'ala iclalehü ile mektublaşdıkları üzere mukaddema ellerinde olan 'ahdname-i hümayun tecdid ve dostluk şerayiti te'kid olunmak ve müceddeden 'ahdname-i hümayunum virilmek
- [9] iltica itmegin cennet-mekan firdevs-aşıyan gurfa-lece^h rahmet-i Rahman cedd-i büzürgvarım Sultan Süleyman Han 'aleyhi'r-rahmet ü'l-gufran zaman-i sa'adet-iktidasında olan 'uhud u peyman üzerine tecdid-i 'ahd

^a لٹوا.

^b روسیه.

^c پروسیه.

^d ماژویه.

^e اشویچیہ.

^f دردنچی ولادسلارو.

^g براقلا بیلو یاقوب ذبیہ لنجی.

^h لجة; written with *he* instead of *elif*.

- ü eyman olmasına ferman-i kaza-cereyan-i mülukanım zuhur u sudur idüb cümle-i enbiya ve rüsülün
- [10] müfahharı ahirü'z-zaman peygamberi ulu ve hürmetlü peygamberimiz Muhammed el-Mustafa salla'llahu 'aleyhi ve sellem hicreti tarihinin bin kırk dört Cemaziyü'l-evvelisiⁱ gurreinde<n> ki hazret-i 'İsa 'aleyhi's-selam tarihinin bin altıyüz otuz dört senesinde vakı' olmuşdur müşarun-ileyh vezirim Murtaza Paşa edama'llahu ta'ala iclalehü ile altı madde
- [11] üzerine başlanan umur-i sulh u salah ki 'ahdname-i hümayunumda mestur u muharrer dir makbul ü mu'teber dutub işbu 'ahdname-i hümayun 'izzet-müstahıkk virdüm ve buyurdum ki cenab-i celalet-ma'abım canibinden kiral muma-ileyhin iline ve vilayetine ve kadimden memleketinde olan kal'eler ve serhadda yakın zararsız palankalarına ve varoşlarına ve bi'l-cümle kadimden
- [12] taht-i tasarrufunda olan memleketlerine benim vezirlerimden ve begler-begilerimden ve sancakbeglerimden ve kenarda olan beglerden ve gayri-den hiç bir vechle zarar u ziyan irişmeye ma dam ki Kazak tayifesinden beşden ve ondan ve dahi ziyade ve noksan Kara Denize bir şayka çıkmaya ve benim ilime ve memleketime ve kal'elerime ve varoşlarıma ve nevahi
- [13] ve köylerime ve bi'l-cümle taht-i tasarrufumuzda olan memalik-i mah-rusemize mezbur kiral tarafından ve kralın beglerinden ve tevabi'inden ve levahikinden hiç bir vechle zarar u ziyan degmeye ve Kazak ta-yifesi bir vechle görünmeye ve'l-hasıl dostuma dost ve düşmanıma düşman olub mabeynde iki canibin ilçeri
- [14] ve adamları varub gelüb kendülerine ve mallerine ve rızklarına bir vechle zarar u ziyan yetişmeyüb tarih-i mezburdan mukaddem şol esir-ler ki küfürleri üzerine dura islama gelmeye kralın adamları gelüb arayub bulub sahiblerin irza idüb satun alalar alub gideler kimesne mani' olmaya ve 'ahdname tarihinden
- [15] sonra iki taraftan her [ne] kim tutulursa bahasız ve satusuz azad idüb salı-vireler ve iki canibin bazarganları denizden ve kurudan gelüb ve gidüb bey' ü şıra ideler bulundukları yerlerde 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsumi ne ise vireler kimesnenin maline ve nefesine zarar u taharri ve ziyan olmaya ve eger mezbur kiral
- [16] memleketinden gelen bazarganlardan benim memalik-i mah-rusemde fevt olursa müteveffanın rızkı bizim tarafımızdan alınmayub hıfz oluna ol taraftan kiral mektubi ile varisi geldikde müteveffanın mali ve rızkı emr-i şerifimle varisine teslim oluna eger bizim bazarganlarımızdan anların memleketinde fevt olmak
- [17] vakı' olursa kiral dahi böylece ide ve eger tarih-i mezburdan sonra kralın memleketine cenab-i saltanat-ma'abıma tabi' olan kimesneler-den zarar u ziyan vakı' olursa emr idüb bulunub anun gibi yaramazlık idenin hakkından geline ve ol ziyanı dahi emr idüb yerine döndüreler

ⁱ Written with a superfluous *elif* or *lam*.

- [18] özür ve bahane itmeyeler kiral canibinden dahi öyle ola ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesnenin medyuni kiralın vilayetine varsa her ne yerde ise ol yerin hakimine mürâf'a olub ve teftiş olunub her ne zahir olursa ol yerin hakimi alub sahibine vireler ve bir kimesnenin
- [19] borcu ve günahı olmadın aharın borcu ve günahı için anı tutmayalar ve incitmeyeler ve iki canibin vilayetleri arasında anların gibi bi-günahları rencide eylemeyeler biz dahi ana göre ideyüz ve bi'l-cümle aba ve ecdad-i 'ali-şîdadımız zaman-i devletlerinden berü olan mu'ahede ve peyman
- [20] mukarrer ve mü'ekked olub hiç bir yerden zarar gelmeye ve iki canibin güzeste ziyanları için vekiller[i] bir araya gelmek müyesser olmamagın bu tarihe gelince iki canibden olan ziyanlardan göçile istima' olunmaya ve şimdinsonra Tatar hanı tarafına ma dam ki kiral canibinden
- [21] kadimü'l-eyyamdan vire-geldikleri 'adetleri vakti ile eda ideler ve kiral tarafından 'ahda muhalif bir iş olmayınca han canibinden ve Tatar leşkerinden kiralın memleketlerine ve adamlarına dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub zarar u ziyan irişdirmeyeler şöyleki Tatardan zarar irişe fermanın-i şerifimle hakları
- [22] alı-virile ve Bogdan ve Eflak halkından dahi kral-i mezbur vilayetlerine ve adamlarına zarar irişmeye ve eger zarar olursa zahir oldukda emr-i hümayunumla yerine konıla kral tarafından ve adamlarından ke-zalık Tatar halkına ve Eflak ve Bogdan tayifesine ve adamlarına ve memleketlerine zarar olursa
- [23] anlar dahi yerine koyub ehl-i fesadın hakkından geleler özür ve bahane itmeyeler ve Bogdan ve Eflak vilayetinden ba'z kimesne kaçub Lih vilayetine sığınub bir tarikle gelüb memlekete fitne bıragub müfsidlik iderler ise anun gibiler taleb olundukda virile ve şimdiye degin alınan
- [24] esirleri kiralın adamları memalik-i mahrusemde buldukda [sahibi niçeye satun almış ise bahasın virüb alalar sahibi ziyade]^j baha taleb etmeye niçeye aldugın [yemin]^k virüb satun alalar ol esirlerden islama gelmişleri azad oluna ve küfri üzerine olanı alub gitmege mani' olmayalar ve kiral vilayetinde dahi olan esir Müslümanları
- [25] ol taraftan salı-virüb yerlü yerine gelmesine mani' olmayalar ve bu dostluk için^l gelen ilçileri bir yerde eglendirmeyüb gelişde ve gidişde yanlarına adamlar koşulub ve haber eyleyüb getüreler kimesne mani' olmaya emin ü salim varub geleler öte canibde dahi öyle ola ve bazarganlara dahi
- [26] <ve bazarganlara dahi> 'adet ü kanun üzere gümrüklerin virdiklerindensonra asla bir vechle mani' ve müzahim olmayalar karadan

^j In the "classical" *'ahdname* of Sultan Süleyman from 1553, to which this document conforms in form and content, the respective fragment is also missing in one of the copies (see Document 15, note bk). It is unlikely that this fragment was omitted deliberately.

^k Evidently omitted, cf. Document 15.

^l Perhaps it should read *içinde*, as in Document 15.

ve denizden gelüb gidüb *Azaklu*^m ve gayrileri kiminleri incitmeyeler ve memalık-i mahruşem halkından bir kimesnede bir kimesnenin hakkı var ise Lehlü tayifesi

- [27] gelüb taleb eylediklerinde sabit oldukdan sonra eglendirmeyüb hakimlerimiz girü alı-vireler ve hırsuz ve haramiler zarar u ziyan eyledikde ta'cil üzere hakim olanlar arayub bulub ele getürdükde halas olmayub hakkından geline ve hırsuzlukda aldugı esbabı
- [28] sahibine ba'de's-sübut bi-kusur virile ve tüccar tayifesi ve sayrı bir kimesne ile bey' ü şıra eyleyeler sicillat ve hüccet olmayınca istima' olunmaya ve eger kefalet ve eger karzdanⁿ da'va ve taleb itdiklerinde sicillat veya hüccete nazar olunub bu ikisinden biri olmayınca zur-i şahid
- [29] ikamet eylemekle tezvir ü telbis etmeyeler kral canibinde dahi memleket hakimlerinin ma'lumı olmayınca ve yazılmayınca istima' olmaya ve Silistre ve Akkerman sancagı begleri ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları <ve> dergah-i 'alem-penahım kullarından ve iki canibin tacirlerinden gayri Turla^o suyundan
- [30] [Lih sunurına kimesneyi koyı virmeyeler]^p geçenlerin yanlarında eger öteden ve eger berüden gelenlerin yanlarında esir bulunursa ellerinden alınub girü döndüreler ve çoban tayifesi Lih vilayetine geçdiklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin ve koyunların bildirüb mahfi varmayalar ve otlak hakkını vireler çoban tayifesi
- [31] kendülerin bildirdiklerinden sonra koyunları zayı' olursa memleket hakimlerinden taleb eyleyeler ve gelüb ve giden Lih tüccarı bargirlerin ulaklar tutmayalar ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeri tayifesi bunların tavarların almayalar bundan sonra Kazak tayifesinden beş veya on veya dahi ziyade ve noksan
- [32] şayka deryaya çıkub 'ahd ü peymanımıza muhalif memleketimize ve serhaddımızda^q halkına veya kenarında olan re'ayamıza tecavüz eylemeyeler tecavüz iderler ise bir vechle sulha istikrar buldurmayub girü seferimiz mukarrer ola ve bi'l-cümle bu 'ahdnamede mestur ve mezkur olan
- [33] şerayitin ri'ayeti için Allahu ta'alanın 'azametine ve hazret-i risaletin ve cemi'-i peygamberlerin ervah-i mukaddeselerine yemin iderim ki müddet-i baka ü sebat ve eyyam-i hayat-i sa'adet-simatımda ma dam ki kral [canibinden]^r hilaf-i 'ahd bir vaz' olunmaya ve Kazak şaykaları deryaya çıkarmayalar
- [34] cenab-i celalet-ma'abım canibinden dahi eyledüğim 'ahda muhalif vaz' sadır olmaya ve Tatar leşkerinden memleketlerine bir vechle zarar

^m ازاقلو; perhaps it should read *kazaklu*?

ⁿ Perhaps it should read *karzdar*, as in Document 15.

^o تورلي.

^p Evidently omitted, cf. Document 15.

^q The suffix *-da* is written after the word *halkına* above the word *veya*.

^r Cf. Document 15.

itdirilmeye ve müşarun-ileyh vezirimiz Murtaza Paşa ile sözleşildiği üzere ahval-i sulh u salah tarafeynden mukarrer ve pay-dar ve bu 'ahdnamemizde

[35] olan levazım-i dostluk ve barışıklık mü'ebbed ve ber-karar ola tahriren fi evayili şehri Cemaziyi'l-evvel min şuhuri seneti erba' ve erba'in ve elf mine'l-hicreti'n-nebeviye 'aleyh efzalı's-salat u't-tahiye

bi-makami
dari's-saltanati
'l-'aliye Kostantiniyeti
'l-mahmiye hamiyet
'ani'l-afat
u'l-beliye

Translation

He, the Victorious God, the Almighty, the Munificent

[tugra] *Murad-shah, son of Ahmed, the ever victorious khan*

*I who,
by the boundless grace of His Majesty, the Lord of Glory (exalted is His Power and elevated is His Word!), and by the miracles, full of divine blessings, of Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), the sun of the heaven of prophecy, the star of the constellation of magnanimity, the leader of the class of prophets, the guide of the group of saints, and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of all the magnificent prophets and noble saints, and of the four companions of the Prophet of the King of the World (may the approbation of God be upon them all!),*

am the sultan of the sultans of the age, the proof of the emperors of the era and season, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusraws of the world, the lord of the fortunate conjunction and of the high rank, the shadow of God, the Munificent King, the sultan, the padishah, and the most glorious and victorious emperor of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea, of Rumelia, Anatolia, Damascus, Haleb [i.e., Aleppo], and Egypt, of the honored Mecca and illuminated Medina, of the noble Jerusalem and Hebron, of all the lands of Arabia, of Karaman, Rum, the provinces of Zulkadir, Diyarbakır, Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, Wallachia, Moldavia, Van, of the provinces of Buda, Temesvár, Kanizsa and Eger, of Basra, Lahsa, Cyprus, Tunis, and all the countries of Algiers, of the provinces of Syrian Tripoli and Western Tripoli, Caffa, Trabzon, and Erzurum, of the country of Transylvania, and of the abode of the high sultanate, the well-protected Constantinople, which afflicts the kings with nostalgia, and of many similar prosperous provinces, unlimited byways, and fortresses reaching the heavens, the sultan, son of the sultan, and the emperor, son of the emperor, the chosen from among the Ottoman dynasty, His Majesty Sultan Murad Khan.

To those, who see and read this our noble imperial 'ahdname, it should be known that the king of Poland, the grand duke of Lithuania, the heir of Ruthenia, Prussia,

Mazovia, and other countries, the king of Sweden, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene [community], he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Ladislaus the Fourth (may God seal his days with good!), whose father and grandfather of royal qualities used by ancestry to express devotion, sincerity, and [wish of] taking refuge, and to demonstrate affection, friendship, and exclusive devotion toward my felicitous threshold, has now also requested for friendship and peace with my glorious majesty and high excellency; and he has appointed as his head ambassador a councillor and fit man from among his courtiers and reliable functionaries named Jakub Zieliński from Braclav, the pride of the notables of the nation of the Messiah, being actually the head cup bearer;² and along with him he has sent fifteen famous and fit Polish noblemen; and he has displayed devotion and obedience and demonstrated inclination for agreement, asking that the imperial 'ahdname, being previously in his hands, be renewed, and that the conditions of friendship be corroborated according to their correspondence with the honored vizier, the illustrious müşir,³ the basis of the world order, the chief and commander of my successful army, my vizier Murtaza Pasha (may God—may He be exalted!—make his glory eternal!), and that my imperial 'ahdname be issued anew; [therefore] my royal irrevocable firman has been proclaimed and issued, ordering that the treaty and oaths be renewed according to the clauses and agreement from the felicitous era of my illustrious grandfather residing in paradise, dwelling in heaven, taking refuge in the highest paradise and pardoned by the All-Compassionate, Sultan Suleyman Khan (mercy and pardon be upon him!); what has happened on the first day of Djumada I of [the year] 1044 since the emigration [Hegira] of the exalted among all the prophets and messengers,⁴ the last prophet, our great and venerable prophet, Muhammad Mustafa (may God command and salute him!), that is, in the year 1634 of the era of His Excellency Jesus (peace be upon him!). [And] I have accepted and corroborated the clauses of peace and amity, which are registered and written in [this] my imperial 'ahdname, starting with the six articles [agreed on] by my aforementioned vizier, Murtaza Pasha (may God—may He be exalted!—make his glory eternal!); I have given this glorious imperial 'ahdname and I have ordered that:

From the side of my glorious majesty and from the side of my viziers, beylerbeys, sancakbeys, border commanders, and others, no damage or harm should touch the aforementioned king's country, land, fortresses situated in his domain since olden times, border forts which are harmless [for the Ottoman territories], his towns, and the whole dominion being under his possession since olden times, provided that not a single Cossack boat with five, ten, or more or less tiers of rowers put out to the Black Sea. And from the side of the aforementioned king, the king's governors, his dependents and subjects, no damage or harm should touch my country or my land, my fortresses, towns, districts, villages, and all our well-protected dominions being under our possession. And by no means should the Cossacks be seen. In short, [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy;

² Actually Jakub Zieliński was the cup bearer of Braclav (Ukr. Braclav), i.e., *podczaszy braclawski*.

³ Müşir, Tur. "who makes a sign," an honorary title for a vizier.

⁴ I.e., 23 October 1634.

when the envoys and agents of the two sides enter and come between [the two countries], no damage or harm should touch them, their property, and belongings;

royal agents may come and search for those prisoners [captured] before the aforementioned date, who have persisted in their infidelity and have not become Muslim; [after] locating [any such prisoners] and satisfying their owners they can ransom them, take them and go, and nobody should hinder them.

If after the date of [this] 'ahdname whoever from either side is taken [prisoner], one should set them free and let them go without ransom.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land, and sell and buy. According to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places. [But] nobody's property or life should be exposed to damage, search, or harm.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from the domain of the aforementioned king dies in my well-protected dominions, the belongings of the deceased will not be seized by our side but kept; when an heir [of the deceased] comes from the other side provided with a royal letter, the goods and belongings of the deceased should be handed over to the heir, according to my noble order. If anybody from among our merchants dies in their country, the king should proceed likewise.

If after the aforementioned date damage or harm is done to the domain of the king by anybody from among the dependents of my imperial majesty, I will issue an [appropriate] order and cause such evildoers to be found and punished. Also an [appropriate] order will be issued so that the damage may be compensated. One should not find any excuse or pretext. On the royal side one should also proceed likewise.

If the debtor of anybody from my well-protected dominions arrives at the country of the king in whatever place, the petition should be heard and investigated by a local judge, [then] a local judge should seize all revealed [goods of the debtor] and give to their owner.

One should not arrest and injure a person, who has neither debt nor guilt, for the debt or guilt of another person. [Because of a dispute] between two sides one should not molest innocent people alike. We will also proceed likewise.

As the treaty and agreement existing since the time of the reigns of our powerful fathers and grandfathers has been fixed and corroborated, no harm should be done [to it]; and since the commissioners of the two sides [appointed] for [discussing] the previous damages did not manage to meet in one place, the damage incurred by either side prior to this date expires and should not be heard.

Henceforth, as long as the customary payments ['adetler], which used to be given since olden days, are paid on time by the king to the Tatar khan, and as long as the king does nothing contrary to the treaty, no meddling or interference, harm or damage should be done to the dominions or subjects of the king by the khan and the Tatar army; in such a manner that when a damage is done by the Tatars, they will be punished according to my noble order.

Also no damage should be done to the country or subjects of the aforementioned king by the Moldavians and the Wallachians. If any damage is done, after being revealed, it should be compensated for according to my imperial order. Likewise, if any damage is done to the Tatars, Moldavians, or Wallachians, their people and country, from the side of the king or his subjects, it should be compensated for as well, and the evildoers should be punished without any excuse or pretext.

If certain individuals flee Moldavia and Wallachia and take refuge in Poland, [then]

come [back] to the country and raise rebellion and intrigue, such individuals should be delivered upon request.

When royal agents find in the well-protected dominions prisoners captured prior to the present time, [they may ransom them for the price for which they were purchased by their owners, and take them. Their owners]⁵ should not demand more and should confirm the price of the purchase by an oath. Those from among the prisoners who have become Muslim should be manumitted; and those who have persisted in infidelity may be taken and nobody should hinder them from leaving. Also in the royal country one should set free Muslim prisoners, and one should not hinder them from going home.

One should not detain envoys who arrive for the purpose of friendship at any place. One should give them escort upon arrival and departure and one should not hinder agents who bring messages. They should enter and come secure and safe. One should proceed likewise on the other side.

After merchants have paid customs duties according to tradition and law, by no means should one hinder them or give trouble to them. Cossacks⁶ and others should not hurt those who come and depart by land and by sea. If anybody from among the people of my well-protected dominions owes something to anybody [from Poland] and a Pole comes and demands [that it be returned], after it is proved, our judicial authorities should execute [the debt] without delay.

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm or damage, the judicial authorities should immediately search for, find, and punish them; and once they are captured, they should not escape [from punishment]. After it is proved, the stolen goods should be restored to their owner without deficiency.

If merchants and others conclude a transaction with anybody, as long as it is not certified in kadi records [sicillat] or a certificate issued by the kadi [hüccet], [their grievances] should not be heard. When a claim and demand arises concerning surety [kefalet] or a loan, one should look at the kadi record or certificate. When neither of these two [documents] exists, no false witness should be brought and one should not falsify and cheat. Also on the royal side, the land judicial authorities should not hear [a grievance], if [the matter] is not known to them and if it is not registered.

The beys of the sancaks of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, [should not let anybody go]⁷ across the Dniester [toward the Polish borders] except the servants [kullar] of my court, which is the refuge of the universe, and the merchants of the two sides. And if those passing and going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should take them from their hands and send them back.

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret. After the herdsmen have made their presence known, if their sheep are lost, they can demand from the land authorities [that they be returned].

The baggage horses of Polish merchants who come and depart should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their animals be taken by janissaries on campaign.

⁵ This portion is missing. For its reconstruction see note j and Document 15.

⁶ In the Turkish text: *Azaklu* ("Azovians"), apparently written by mistake.

⁷ This portion is also missing; cf. note p.

Henceforth no Cossack boat with five, ten, or more or less tiers of rowers should put out to sea and no violence should be done to our country, to the people living within our borders, or to our subjects dwelling in border regions, as that would be contrary to our treaty and agreement. If they commit violence and the peace is not observed in any way, our campaign [against the Cossacks] will be resumed.

Then, in order to protect the clauses registered and mentioned in this 'ahdname, I swear by the greatness of God (may He be exalted!), and by the sanctified souls of the Prophet [Muhammad] and of all the [other] prophets that for the remaining and fixed period [of my rule], and for the days of my life, marked with felicity, as from the side of the king nothing should occur contrary to the treaty and the Cossack boats should not put out to sea, also from the side of my glorious majesty nothing will occur contrary to the treaty [thusly] agreed on by myself. And no damage should be brought to their country by the Tatar army. [Also] the conditions of peace and amity discussed with our aforementioned vizier, Murtaza Pasha, should be fixed and observed by both sides; and the requirements of friendship and peace [registered] in this our 'ahdname should be perpetual and permanent.

Written in the first decade of the month Djumada I from among the months of the year 1044 since the emigration [Hegira] of the Prophet (may the most superior prayer and salutation be upon him!) in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, the well-guarded Constantinople, protected from misfortune and evil.

DOCUMENT 46 (13–22 MAY 1640)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Ibrahim I to King Ladislaus IV
[Facs. XVII]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 75, t. 376, no. 663 (*KDT*, pp. 312–14).

305.5 × 60.5 cm.

invocation: *divani* script¹

formula devotionis (gold): *sülüs* script

tugra (gold)

text (black with gold insertions): *divani* script

a sign of correction is placed on the reverse side

Turkish copies:

A. BA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye [Ecnebi Defterleri], 55/1, pp. 8–12.

B. An unidentified copy published in Feridun Bey, *Münşe’atü’s-Selatin*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1274/1857–1858), pp. 529–32.

C. Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Cod. Ms. Turc. 29, fol. 39a–40b.²

D. Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8° Cod. Ms. Turc. 10, fol. 6a–11a.

Polish translation by Otwinowski: a) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 3555, fol. 290a–295b; b) Bibl. Ossol., ms. 224, pp. 358–66.

Published in A. Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.* (Warsaw, 1985), pp. 187–92.

Hüve

- [I] **Hazret-i Rabbü’l-‘Izzet cellet kudretühü ve ‘alet kelimetühünün ‘inayet-i bi-gayeti ve mühr-i sipehr-i nübüvvet**
[II] **ahter-i burc-i risalet pişva-yi zümre-i enbiya mukteda-yi fırka-i asfiya iki cihan fahri Muhammed el-Mustafa**
[III] **salla’llahu ta‘ala ‘aleyhi ve sellemin mu‘cizat-i kesiretü’l-berekatı ve çahar yar ke-zaynu ridvanu’llah ta‘ala**
[IV] **‘aleyhim ecma’inin muvafakatı ve sa’ir evliya-i kiram ve etkiya-i zevi’l-ihtiramın ervah-i mukaddeseleri mürafakatı ile**

¹ The upper strip of paper with an invocation has been cut off and pasted face down on the linen so that the notes on the reverse side would be visible. The invocation can be seen against the light.

² Registered under the erroneous date 1055 A.H.; it should be 1050.

Ibrahim-şah bin Ahmed han muzaffer da'ima

- [1] Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i zaman ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i cihan zillü'l-lahi'l-Meliki'l-Mennan hadimü'l-haremeyni'-ş-şerifeyn sani Iskender Du'l-karneyn eşrefü'l-meda'in ü'l-emsar akdesü'l-memalik ü'l-aktar Mekke-i mükەرreme ve Medine-i münevvere ve Kuds-i şerif
- [2] ve Lahsa ve Katif ve Mısır ve Yemen ve San'a ve 'Aden ve Basra ve Habeş ve Sivas ve Mar'aş ve Şam darü's-salam ve Haleb ve Trablus-i Şam ve Nihavend ve Pelengan ve Musul ve Diyarbekir ve Van ve Nahçıvan ve Revan ve Kara Bag ve memalik-i Şirvan ve Erzurum ve Gürcistan
- [3] ve Kürdistan ve Luristan^a ve Anadolu ve Karaman ve Bogdan ve Eflak ve Demür Kapu ve Deşt-i Kıpçak iklimlerinin ve Ak Deniz ve Kara Deniz ve Derya-i Kulzum ve Diyar-i 'Arab ve 'Acem ve ekalim-i Türk ve Dilemin ve Bagdad ve Şehrizul ve hasretü'l-müluk mahmiye-i İstanbul ve darü'l-cihad ve'l-harb
- [4] Cezayir-i Magrib ve Trablus-i Garb ve evtan-i Tunus ve cezire-i Kıbrıs ve 'umdetü'l-memalik [ü] diyar Rum-ili ve Temeşvar ve Bosna ve Budun ve Kefe ve Trabzon ve bunların emsali dahi niçe memalik-i ma'mure ve mesakin-i na-mahsurenin ve kıla'-i felek-irtifa' ve bika'-i kesiretü'l-intifa'in
- [5] padişahı ve şehriyari ve niçe havakin-i sahib-i temkinin ferman ferma-yi şehir ü diyari hazret-i sultan bin sultan ve hakan bin hakan **Sultan Ibrahim Han bin Sultan Ahmed Han bin Sultan Mehmed Han bin Sultan Murad Han bin Sultan Selim Han bin Sultan Süleyman Hanım**
- [6] kadimü'l-eyyamdan Lih kralı olanlar merci'-i kayasire-i devran ve melce'-i ekasire-i zaman olan südde-i seniye-i sa'adet-mekan ve 'atebe-i 'aliye-i devlet-'unvanımıza sadakat u ihlas ve istikamet ü ihtisasla 'arz-i intisab ide-gelüb haliya 'inayet-i 'avn-i Hazret-i Bari ile kabza-i kudret-i mülukanemize
- [7] 'inan-i cihan-dari müselleme ve mukarrer ve yed-i mü'eyyed-i husrevanemize zimam-i keşvar-giri^b ve baht-yari müfevvaz ve müsahhar olmağla serir-i sa'adet-masir-i sahib-kıranide cülus-i hümayun-i meymenet-makrunumuzun debdebe-i kös-i iclali^c velvele-endaz-i 'arsa-i kevn ü mekan ve sıt u seda-yi şevket ü ikbalim sami'a-resan-i cümle-i 'alemiyan olub^d havas ve 'avamme 'umumen ifaza-i birr ü ihsanım mebzul ve masruf ve kaffe-i ahibba ve dostana hususa eltaf u a'taf-i feravanım bi-dirig ve ma'tuf olmağın bi'l-fi'l Lih kralı ve Li[t]vanya^e ve Rusya^f

^a The order of the *intitulatio* is changed in D., where Luristan is replaced by Tebriz.

^b A. and B. *keşvar-keşayi*.

^c D. *debdebe-i kös-i saltanat u iclalim*.

^d A. and B. *şevket ü ikbalimiz gulgule-engiz-i sami'a-i 'alemiyan olub*.

^e لوانیه.

^f روسیه.

- ve Purusya^g ve Mazovya^h ve Livonyanınⁱ dukası^j ve İşveçya^k vilayetinin
 [9] varisi [ve] kralı olacak^l iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fiham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihîye muslihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-şahmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Vladislaş^m hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr tecdid-i libas-i 'ahd ü misak-i kadim ve te'kid-i esas-i
 [10] <ve> 'ahdⁿ ü vifak-i müstedim için mu'teber ve güzide beglerinden kıdvetü'l-ümera'i'l-mesihîye Albert Myaskonski^o ilçilik ile göndürüb cülus-i hümayunumuzun tehy'esi levazımın takdim ve dostluk ve muhabbet şerayitün tetnīm eyledüğinden gayri mukaddema sadr-nişin-i müsned-i 'Osmani ve sahib-i temkin-i mütteka-i sahib-kıranı
 [11] olan cennet-mekan firdevs-aşıyan merhum ve magfurun-leh karındaşım Gazi Sultan Murad Han ta'be serahü hazretleri tarafından virilen 'ahd-name-i hümayunı ma'an göndürüb ke-ma kan sulh u salah tarafeyn mukarrer kılmasın istid'a ve ol 'ahdname mazmunı üzere müceddeden canib-i saltanat-i aliyemizden
 [12] 'ahdname-i hümayunumuz ihsan olunmasın rica etmegin mezid-i merahim-i 'aliye-i şahane ve meziyet-i mekarim-i seniye-i padişahanemizden iltimas ve istid'ası huzur-i müstevcibü'l-hubur-i hümayunumuzdan hüsn-kabula karın olub re'aya fukerasının emn ü rahatı ve 'ibadu'l-lahunun huzur u istirahatı için
 [13] ulu peygamberizim iki cihan fahri hazret-i **Muhammed el-Mustafa salla'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellem**in hicreti tarihinin bin elli senesinde vaki' mah-i Muharrem'in evasiti ki hazret-i **'İsa** 'ala nebina ve 'aleyhi's-selamın bin altıyüz kırk tarihidir zikr olunacak 'uhud u şurut-i mu'tebere bi-izni'llahi ta'ala
 [14] ri'ayet olunmak üzere bu 'ahdname-i hümayun-i sa'adet-makrunı virdüm ve buyurdum ki ma damki Lih kralı tarafından ve beglerinden ve kapudanlarından ve Kazak eşkıyasından ve tevabi'inden ve sa'ir ehl-i fesadından serhadd-i memalik-i mahrusemde olan kal'elerime ve varoşlarıma ve sa'ir
 [15] memalik-i mahmiyeme tabi' olan kasabat ve kura ve araziye be vech mine'l-vücuḥ dahl u ta'arruz olunmaya ve Kara Denizde Kazak namı olmayub ve Kazak eşkıyasından bir zarar olur ise Moskov^p Kazagı eylemişdir deyü bahane olunmaya ve Moskov Kazagı ile Lih kazagı birbirlerine yoldaş olmaya ve yardım

^g پورسیه.

^h مازویه.

ⁱ لیونیہ نیک.

^j D. ulu dukası.

^k اشویچه; A. Istusa (استوصه); D. Švestna (شوستنه).

^l A. and B. varisi olan; D. varisi olacak.

^m ولادسلاش; A. and B. Vladilaş (ولادلافش).

ⁿ A. and B. sulh.

^o البرت میاسقونسکی; in A. a blank space was left for the envoy's name; missing in B.

^p مسکو.

- [16] itmege icazet virilmeyüb muhkem zabt olunub mamnu^q olmayanların haklarından geline Lih kralının dahi memleketine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına ve sa'ir kasabat ve kurasına taraf-i hümayunumdan ve vü-zera-i 'izam ve mirmiran ve ümera-i kiram ve 'asakir-i zafer-irtisamımdan ve Bogdanlu ve Dobruca ve Akkerman
- [17] ve Bender ve Özide olan Tatardan ve gayriden Lih memleketine zarar olmayub Nister^q ve Turla^r ve sa'ir geçidleri ol tarafların hakimleri canibinden muhafaza itdirile ve eger muhafaza eylemekde ihmal ve müsahele iderler ise 'azl olunub cezaları virile ve cenab-i imaret-ma'ab
- [18] Kırım hanı taraflarına Lih kralı canibinden irsalı mu'tad olan virgülerin sal be-sal vaktıyla irsal idüb canib-i adamlarına ma takaddemden ne mahalde vire-gelmiş ise gerü ol mahalde teslim ve isal olundukdan sonra Kırım hanı dahi kanun-i kadim üzere 'uhdesine lazım gelen dostluk ve muhabbet şartların
- [19] ri'ayet idüb minba'd han tarafından ve kagılgay sultan ve gayri mirzalar-dan Lih memleketlerine bir vechle zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye ve kiral müşarun-ileyhin üzerine düşman-i müstevli olub muma-ileyh tarafından adam varub mu'avenet ve imdad taleb eyledikde canib-i hümayunum-dan ferman-i şerifim oldukda
- [20] han dahi Tatar 'askeri ile imdad ve i'anet eyleye ve canib-i hümayunum-dan bir tarafa sefer vaki^s olub han müşarun-ileyh veyahud kagılgay sultan veya mirzaları ile Tatar 'askeri varmak lazım geldikde Lih memleketinin içine ugramayub kadimden ne mahalden geçe-gelmişler ise girü ol
- [21] mahalden geçe ve dahi Tatar tayifesi Bogdan memleketinde sakin ol-maya ve bu 'ahdname-i hümayunumdansonra Lih kralı memleketine Tatardan veya Bogdanlu ve gayriden kimesne varub garet veya esir ihrac ider ise kiral tarafından i'lam olundukda ol makuleler [bulunub haklarından gelenüb esirler ve esbabları girüye redd etdirile ve Lih esirleri]^s ki bu 'ahdname tarihindensonra
- [22] ihrac olunmuş ola memalik-i mahrusemde furuht^t olunmaya ke-zalik Kazak eşkıyasından dahi vech-i meşruh üzere memalik-i mahruseme gelüb garet idenleri Lih kralı buldurub haklarından gelüb esirler ve esbabları girüye redd itdirüb bu tarafa müta'allık olanlardan minba'd Lih memleketinde esir satılmaya ve dahi
- [23] kefare kırallarından ve gayriden birinin üzerine sefer-i zafer-şi'arım vaki^s olub bi'z-zat cenab-i celalet-ma'abım varmak iktiza itdükde veyahud bir serdar ta'yin olunub 'asakir-i nusret-ma'asirimle ve Erdel ve Bogdan ve Eflak voyvodalarıyla ol düşmanın üzerine teveccüh olunmagla düş-manım tarafından

^q نستیر.

^r طورلی.

^s The same fragment is omitted in the A. copy of Murad's *'ahdname* of 1623; see Document 38, note ar.

^t A golden soil is placed under this word, apparently by accident.

- [24] kendüye adam varub mu'avenet ve müzaheret taleb itdüklerinde asitane-i sa'adetime sadakat ve istikametle musafat ve muvafakatını izhar için Lih kralı 'askeri ve hazinesiyile düşmanıma yardım itmeye ve düşmanım tarafından bir kimesne varub Lih memleketine 'ulufe ile 'asker cem' etmek ister ise men' idüb
- [25] ruhsat vermeye ve kendünün hersek ve kapudanlarından ve gayriden ba'zıları ihtiyarıyla düşmanıma yardım için gitmek murad itdüklerinde salı-virmeyüb gizlü ve aşikare icazet virilmeye ve Erdel memleketi ecdad-i 'izamından ırsıl intikal itmiş memleketim olmagla Erdel hakimleriyle ve bu canibe izhar-i sadakat iden
- [26] Macar kırallarıyla dahi kemal-i musafat üzere olub Erdel canibinde dahi düşman zuhur ider ise gizlü ve aşikare düşman tarafına Lih canibinden imdad olunmaya ve dahi Erdel ve Bogdan ve Eflak voyvodaları taraflarından ve beglerinden ve gayrilerinden ba'zıları kabahat idüb
- [27] Lih memleketine firar iderler ise ol makuleler kabul olunmayub mabeynde olan dostluk ve aşnalık ri'ayeten tutub kayd ü bend ile asitane-i sa'adetime göndürüle bu vechle dostuma dost düşmanıma düşman ola ve mabeynde dostluk ziyade olmagıçün Lih tevabi'i ve re'ayası Turla suyundan Akkerman
- [28] iskelesine mata' götürüb bey' ü şıra eylemeleri iltimas olunmagla ol makule memalik-i mahruseme zarar u ziyan kasdında olmayub kendü halinde ticaretle <ile> gelenlere kimesne mani' olmaya ve Lih kralı südde-i sa'adetimle olan dostlugunda sabit-kadem oldukça Bogdan voyvodaları dahi kadimden Lih kıralları ile
- [29] ne vechle musafat üzere olı-gelmişler ise girü ol vechle musafat üzere ola ve mukaddema karışıklık eyyamında Lihluden esir olanlar ki küfri üzerine durub islama gelmemiş olalar Lih tarafından adamları gelüb o makuleleri memalik-i mahrusemde buldukları yerde sahiblerine niçeye aldıklarına yemin virüb
- [30] ma'lum olduktan sonra satun aldıklarından ziyade baha taleb itmeyeler ve bahaların virdikden sonra kendü vilayetlerine alub gitmege kimesne mani' olmaya ve ol esirlerden küfri üzerine durmayub islama gelmiş bulunanlara ta'arruz olunmayub kendü hali üzerine ibka oluna ve dahi 'ahdname tahririnden sonra
- [31] iki taraftan her kim tutulmuş ise bahasız salı-virile ve iki canibin ilçileri ve adamları vire-kagıdına muhtac olmayub varub gelüb kendülerine ve mallerine zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve tarafeynin bazarganları denizden ve karadan ve mu'tad olan istedikleri iskelelerden gelüb gide bey' ü şıra idüb bulundukları
- [32] yerlerde 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsumları ne ise virüb kimesne mallerine ve nefslere zarar eylemeye ve eger muma-ileyh Lih kralı memleketinden gelen bazarganlardan memalik-i mahrusemde mürd olurlar ise rızıkları taraf-i miriden alınmayub karban başlarına teslim oluna ki [vilayetlerine]^u götürüb varislerine teslim eyleyeler ve bu tarafın

^u In D. only; cf. Document 38.

- [33] bazarganlarından dahi Lih memleketinde vefat idenlerin mallerine ve rızklarına vech-i meşruh üzere öte canibden müdahale olunmayub bu tarafda varislerine göndürile ve iki tarafa müta'allık bazarganlardan ve gayriden bir kimesne bir kimesneden deyn ü karz hususunda veyahud bey' ü şıra babında ve sa'ir da'vada hakk taleb eyleyse
- [34] her kangı mahalde bulunurlar ise eger bu tarafın ve eger ol canibin vilayet hakimleri babında müraf'a olunub hakk üzere teftiş ve tafahhus olundukdansonra sabit olan hukuk u deyinleri her ne ise alı-virilüb 'inad u muhalefet itdirilmeye amma borcu ve günahı olmadın aharın borcu ve hakkı için da'va ve taleb idüb bi-gayri hakkın
- [35] rencide ve remide itmek isteyenler iki taraftan dahi men' olunub zarar-i mala kefaleti sabit olmadın bi-vech ve bela-sebeeb rencide ve remide itdirilmeye ve ol makulelerin ellerinde olan sicil ve hüccetlerine ve ma'mulün-bih temessüklerine nazar olmayınca mücerred şahid-i zur ikamet olunmagla tezvır ü telbislerine 'amal olunmaya ve bi'l-cümle iki canibin
- [36] hakimleri dahi tamam-i takayyüd gösterüb ma damki vaki' olan mad-denin ve da'valarının aslı ve hakikatı oldugunu hakimü'l-vakt ma'lum ve tahkik idenmeye bi-vech olan da'vaların istima' itmeyeler ve anın gibi hırsuz ve haramiler bir kimesnenin maline ve canine zarar irişdikde hakim olanlar o makuleleri
- [37] buldurub ve muhkem hakklarından gelüb hırsuzlukda aldıkları esbabları ba'de's-sübut sahiblerine teslim oluna ve bu dostluk içinde gelen ilçileri ve sa'ir adamları men' olunmayub emin ü salim varub gelüb serhaddlara geldikde yanlarına adamlar koşulub öte canibden dahi bu minval üzere 'amal oluna
- [38] ve Silistre ve Akkerman serhaddlarının hakimleri ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları südde-i sa'adetim kullarından ve iki canibin tacirlerinden gayrisini Turla suyundan Lih vilayetine [kimesneyi]^v salı-virmeyeler ve eger ol taraftan ve berü canibden gelüb giden kimesnelerin yanlarında esir bulunur ise ellerinden alınub
- [39] girü göndürile ve çoban tayifesi Lih vilayetine geçdüklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin ve koyunların bildirüb mahfı varmayalar ve otlak hakkını vireler tayife-i mezbure kendülerin bildirdikdensonra koyunları zayı' olur ise memleket hakimleri bulub vireler ve gelüb giden kimesnelerin bargirlerin
- [40] ulak tutmaya ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeri ve gayrileri atların almayalar ve iki canibin tacirleri vire-geldükleri virgülerin ve gümrüklerin eda itdikdensonra virilü-gelenden ziyade nesne taleb olunmayub ve marda yükletmeyüb bu ana degin ne vechle ve ne mikdar vire-gelmişler ise girü ol mikdar virüb olı-gelmişe muhalif
- [41] iş olmaya ve kiralın eli altında olan Ermeni ve sa'ir kefare bazarganları Bogdan vilayetine ve sa'ir memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret itmek istediklerinde biyaban ve mahfı yerlerden gelmeyüb kadimden bazarganlar

^v Evidently omitted, cf. Document 38, note bx, and the earlier documents.

mürür ide-geldükleri tarik-i 'ammdan geleler anın gibilerin maline ve canine zarar gelür ise ehl-i fesad

- [42] ele getirilüb hakklarından geline ve istikamet üzere gelüb giden bazargan-ları rencide olunmayub gümrükleri kanun-i kadim üzere alındıktan-sonra İstanbulda ve Brusa ve Edirne'de reft [akçesi]^w ve kassabiye deyü akçe talep olunmaya ve getürdükleri sahihü'l-'ayar guruşdan gümrük talep olunmaya
- [43] ma damki Lih kiralı tarafından ve kapudanlarından ve beglerinden ve gayriden muceb-i ihtilal-i 'ahd ü peyman ve ba'is-i inhilal-i şart u iman sulh u salaha muhalif ve mugayir bir vaz' sadır olmayub dostluk ve barışıklık hukukını geregi gibi ri'ayet ve madde-i fitne ü fesad olan Kazak eşkıyasının
- [44] def'inde ke-ma hüve hakka sa'i ve dikkat ide mukaddema merhum-i müşarun-ileyh karındaşım tarafından virilen 'ahdnamede testir olunduğı üzere bendahi yemin iderimki yerleri ve gökleri yokdan var iden Perverdegar celle zikrühü hakkıyçün ve ulu ve 'aziz peygamberimiz iki cihan güneşi
- [45] Muhammed el-Mustafa salla'llahu 'aleyhi ve sellem mu'cizat-i kesiretü'l-berekatı hakkıyçün bu mu'ahede olunan maddelerde[n]^x cüzvi ve külli ber hususda tahallüf ü tecavüz olunmayub müddet-i baka-yi devlet-i ruz-efzun ve zaman-i sebat-i saltanat-i ebed-makrunumda bu sulh u salah mukarrer ü pay-dar
- [46] ve bu 'ahd ü aman sabit ü ber-karar olub 'umumen ol vilayetlerin re'ayası saye-i sa'adet ve zill-i himayetimde asude-hal ve müreffehü'l-bal olalar şöyle bileler tahriren fi evahiri Muharremi'l-haram min şuhuri seneti
- [47] hamsin ve elf mine'l-hicreti'n-nebeviye 'aleyh efzalü's-salat ve ekmelü't-tahiye

bi-makami

dari's-saltanati'l-'aliye

Kostantiniyeti'l-mahruseti'l-mahmiye

Translation:

He

[tugra] *Ibrahim-shah, son of Ahmed, the ever victorious khan*

I who,

by the boundless grace of His Majesty, the Lord of Glory (exalted is His Power and elevated is His Word!), and by the miracles, full of divine blessings, of Muhammad

^w In C. and D. only; the original copy reads merely *reft*; in A. and B. *reft* is missing, too.

^x In A. and B. spelled correctly.

Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), the sun of the heaven of prophecy, the star of the constellation of apostleship, the leader of the class of prophets, the guide of the group of saints, the pride of the two worlds, and by the consent of his four companions (may the ornament of the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—be upon them all!), and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of other noble saints and most honored pious ones,

am the sultan of the sultans of the age, the proof of the emperors of the epoch, the distributor of the crowns of the Khusravs of the world, the shadow of God, the Munificent King, the servant of the two holy sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina], the second Alexander the Great, the padishah and the sovereign of the noblest of the towns and cities, the most holy among the dominions and districts, Mecca the venerated, Medina the enlightened, and Jerusalem the noble, and of Lahsa and al-Katif, Egypt and Yemen, Sana and Aden, Basra and Ethiopia, Sivas and Maraş, of Damascus, the abode of peace, of Haleb [i.e., Aleppo] and the Syrian Tripoli, Nehavend and Pelengan, Mosul, Diyarbakır and Van, Nakhichevan, Erevan, Karabagh, and the provinces of Shirvan, of Erzurum, Georgia, Kurdistan and Luristan, of Anatolia and Karaman, of Moldavia and Wallachia, of Derbend and of the climes of the Kıpçak steppe, of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea, the Black Sea, and the Red Sea, of Arabia and Persia, of the Turkish climes and of Dilem, of Baghdad and Shehrizul, and of the well-protected Istanbul, which afflicts the kings with nostalgia, and of Algiers and Western Tripoli, [being] the area of the holy war and combat, and of the native countries of Tunis, of the island of Cyprus, and of the chief among the provinces and regions, Rumelia, and of Temesvár, Bosnia, Buda, Caffa, and Trabzon [i.e., Trapezunt], and of many other prosperous provinces and unlimited dwellings, fortresses reaching the heavens and buildings of multiple benefits, such as these, and the one, who commands over the cities and countries of numerous emperors of dignity, his excellency, the sultan, son of the sultan, and the emperor, son of the emperor, Sultan Ibrahim Khan, son of Sultan Ahmed Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Süleyman Khan.

Since olden days the Polish kings used to display amity and sincerity, honesty, exclusive devotion and attachment toward the sublime felicitous threshold and my high prosperous court, which is the goal of the Caesars of the age and the refuge of the Khusravs of the epoch;

now, by the grace of the assistance of His Excellency, the Creator, the imperial rein was granted and fixed to the grasp of our royal power, and the conquering and fortunate leading rein was entrusted and taken by our divinely supported imperial hand; the noise of the glorious kettle-drum of our prosperous imperial accession to the felicitous imperial throne, that raises an outcry toward the courtyard of the universe, and the fame and echo of my majesty and fortune affected the ears of the whole mankind;

and as I lavished and showered my grace and favor to all the high and the low, and above all I did not deny my kindnesses and abundant favors while directing them to all those beloved and friends, the present Polish king, the [grand] duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, and Livonia, the heir and the future king of Sweden, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community,

he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Ladislaus (may his latter moments end with good!), sent in [his] embassy Albert³ Miaskowski, the model of the Christian commanders, from among his esteemed and chosen governors in order to renew the garments of the old treaty and pact and to confirm the principles of the perpetual treaty and agreement; and apart from performing necessary acts resulting from our imperial accession and completing the conditions of friendship and affection, he sent along [with his envoy] the imperial 'ahdname given previously by my late brother, whose sins are forgiven, His Excellency Ghazi Sultan Murad Khan (may he rest in peace!), residing in paradise and dwelling in heaven, seating in the highest place of honor of the Ottoman dynasty and being a person of dignity leaned upon heroism; and as he requested that peace and amity be determined by both sides as it used to be, and asked that our imperial 'ahdname be granted anew by our high sultanate according to the contents of the [old] 'ahdname,⁴ his request and petition to our abundant high royal mercies and our glorious exalted imperial excellence was associated with the graceful acceptance from the side of our imperial presence, which necessitates happiness;

and in order to provide safety and tranquillity to the poor subjects, and repose and rest to the servants of God; and on the condition that—by the permission of God (may He be exalted!)—the valid clauses and conditions stated below are respected, I have given this felicitous imperial 'ahdname in the second decade of the month of Muharrem in the year 1050 since the emigration [Hegira] of the pride of the two worlds, our great prophet, His Excellency Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), that is [in the year] 1640 of the era of His Excellency Jesus, our great prophet (peace be upon him!); and I have ordered that:

As from the side of the Polish king, his governors, commanders, Cossack brigands, dependents, and other mischief-makers no meddling or interference should touch my fortresses and my towns situated within the borders of my well-protected dominions, and other boroughs, villages, and lands belonging to my well-guarded dominions, the name of the Cossacks should disappear from the Black Sea, and if any damage is done by the Cossack brigands, one should not find a [false] excuse saying “the Cossacks of Muscovy have done it;” and as one should not permit the Polish Cossacks to form companionship and bring mutual aid to the Cossacks of Muscovy, [but] they should be firmly restrained and those who trespass the prohibition should be punished, also from the side of my imperial majesty and from the side of my great viziers, noble mirmirans and emirs, victorious soldiers, the Moldavians and the Tatars dwelling in Dobrudja, Akkerman, Bender, and Očakiv, and others, no damage should touch the country, fortresses, towns, and other boroughs and villages of the Polish king, or the Polish country; the crossings on the Dniester, Turla,⁵ and others should be guarded by the governors of both sides, and if they, while guarding, show negligence and carelessness, they should be dismissed and punished.

³ Albert, or rather Adalbert, is the Latin equivalent of the Polish name Wojciech.

⁴ Actually the 'ahdname of Sultan Ibrahim is based on the first 'ahdname granted by Murad IV to Sigismund III in 1623, and not on the later one granted to King Ladislaus IV in 1634; cf. Documents 38 and 45.

⁵ Turla is the Turkish name of the Dniester.

After the customary payments [virgüler] by the Polish king are sent every year on time to His Majesty, the abode of leadership, the Crimean khan and are delivered and brought to his agents in the same place in which they used to be given previously, the Crimean khan should also respect the conditions of friendship and affection, as required by his duty, according to the old law; henceforth the khan, his kalga, and other mirzas should not bring any damage or harm to the Polish country. If an enemy invades [the lands of] the aforementioned king, and an envoy of the aforementioned [king] arrives asking for help and rescue, upon my noble order being given from my imperial side, the khan with the Tatar army should bring rescue and help; and if from the side of my imperial majesty a campaign is ordered in any direction and it is necessary that the aforementioned khan, his kalga sultan or his mirzas set out with the Tatar army, they should not enter Poland but they should pass through the same places through which they have been accustomed to pass since olden times; and the Tatars should not dwell in Moldavia.

If after [the date of] this my imperial 'ahdname the Tatars, Moldavians, or others raid the countries of the Polish king or take captives, on receipt of a notification from the king, this sort [of mischief-maker] [will be found and punished, and the captives and the stolen goods will be sent back. Polish slaves]⁶ captured after the date of this 'ahdname are not to be sold in my well-protected dominions. Likewise, if anybody from among the Cossack brigands comes and raids my well-protected dominions, the Polish king should find and punish him, and send back the captives and the [stolen] goods; henceforth the subjects of this side should not be sold as slaves in Poland.

If my victorious campaign is declared against any from among the infidel kings or others, whether the presence of my glorious majesty is necessary or a serdar is appointed to attack this enemy with my victorious army along with the rulers [voyvodalar] of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, if an envoy from the side of my enemy reaches him [i.e., the Polish king] asking for help and aid, the Polish king should not help my enemy with his army or treasury so as to prove the loyalty and honesty toward my felicitous threshold and to demonstrate his amity and [wish of] agreement. If anybody from the side of my enemy comes and wants to recruit soldiers in Poland, it should be forbidden and permission should not be granted. And one should not permit anybody from among his [i.e., the king's] magnates [hersek], commanders, and others who voluntarily want to bring help to my enemy, and permission should not be given [to them], either secretly or openly. As Transylvania belongs to my domain by the inheritance and transfer from my magnificent grandfathers, [royal relations] with the rulers of Transylvania and with the Hungarian kings, who display loyalty toward this side, should also be based on sincere amity; and if an enemy appears in Transylvania, no help should be given to this enemy from the Polish side, either secretly or openly. And if anybody from among the Transylvanian, Moldavian, and Wallachian rulers, governors, or others commits an offence and escapes to Poland, this sort [of mischief-maker] should not be accepted but, in respect of the mutual friendship and intimacy, should be captured and sent to my felicitous threshold in bonds and chains. In this manner [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy.

⁶ The portion beginning "will be found and punished . . ." is missing also in the A. copy of Murad's 'ahdname of 1623; see Document 38, note ar. Most of the articles seem to be mechanically copied after that document.

And in order to strengthen the friendship between [us], as it was requested that the Polish dependents and subjects may bring merchandise to the seaport town of Akkerman by the river Dniester, and buy and sell, nobody will hinder those who come harmless for the purpose of trade and who have no intention of bringing damage or harm to my well-protected dominions.

And as long as the friendship between the Polish king and my felicitous threshold is firm, [the relationships] between the Moldavian hospodars and the Polish kings should also be kept in the same friendly way as they have been since olden times.

When [royal] agents come from Poland and find in [various] sites of my well-protected dominions prisoners from among the Poles captured previously in the days of enmity, who have persisted in infidelity and not become Muslim, their owners should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath and, after it is known, they should not demand more than they had paid. After they pay their price [the agents] may take [these prisoners] to their country and nobody should hinder them from leaving. [But,] they should not interfere in [the matters of] those among the prisoners who have not persisted in infidelity and have become Muslim; they should preserve their status. And if anybody from either side is captured after [the date of] the writing of the 'ahdname, one should let him go without ransom.

When the envoys and agents of both sides enter and come, they do not need a safe-conduct [vire-kagıdı] and no harm or damage should be done to them and to their belongings.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land through the seaports of their customary preference, and sell and buy; according to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places; [but] nobody should inflict damage on their property or lives.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from the country of the aforementioned Polish king dies in my well-protected dominions, his effects will not be seized by the state treasury [miri] but handed over to the heads of the caravan, so that they may take them [to their country]⁷ and hand them over to his heirs. Likewise, from the other side no interference should be done to the goods and effects of the merchants of this side, who die in Poland, but [their goods] should be sent to their heirs [living] on this side.

If a demand for [the repayment of] a debt arises from a conflict between the merchants and other dependents of the two sides concerning debt and loan, trade, or other matters, in whichever place it happens, the petition should be heard by a local judge, either on this side or the other; after it is justly investigated and examined, whichever debt is proved, it should be handed over [to the claimant]; and nobody should oppose or act in a contrary manner.

But, both sides should hinder those who want to injure and disturb unjustly a person having neither debt nor guilt for the reason of a suit and claim concerning the debt or guilt of somebody else; unless it is registered that [this person] has stood as surety for a loss of goods, nobody should be injured and disturbed without a reason and cause. Until one looks at the kadi record [sicil], kadi's certificates [hüccetler], or bills, which ought to be observed, being in the hands of such [claimant] individuals, no single false witness should be brought and one should not proceed according to his impostures and

⁷ Missing, cf. note u and Document 38.

lies. In sum, the judges of both sides should display an utmost care, and if the origin and authenticity of a case and suit is not known and verified by the judge of the time, one should not hear [such] a groundless claim.

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm to the goods and life of anybody from among such [merchants], the judicial authorities should find this sort [of evildoer] and severely punish them; after it is proved, the stolen goods should be handed over to their owners.

Within the time period of friendship, the envoys and other agents who come should not be hindered and should enter and come secure and safe; upon reaching the borders an escort should be given to their side; one should proceed likewise on the other side.

The border commanders of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland across the river Dniester except the servants [kullar] of my felicitous threshold and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should be taken from their hands and sent back.⁸

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret; after they have made their presence known, if their sheep are lost, the land authorities should find them and give them [back to them].

The baggage horses of the individuals [i.e., the Polish merchants] who come and depart should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janisaries on campaign.

When the merchants of both sides pay their taxes and customs duties, as they used to pay, one should not demand that they pay more than they used to pay and one should not impose excessive duties; they should pay in the same manner and amount as they used to pay; one should not do anything contrary to established custom. When Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand [i.e., the royal subjects] want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted areas or hidden places, but they should come by the public road, which has been customarily traveled by merchants. If an injury is done to the property or soul [i.e., life] of any of such [merchants], the evildoers should be captured and punished. Merchants, who come and go in sincerity, should not be molested; after their customs duties are collected according to the old law, one should not demand that they pay taxes called departure money [reft akçesi] or the tax on animals [kasabiye] in Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne.

And one should not impose customs duties on the cash [guruşlar] of good purity which they bring.

As on the part of the Polish king, his commanders, governors, and others nothing should occur contrary and adverse to the peace and amity that may cause a disturbance of the agreement and treaty or may provoke the breaking of the clauses and faith, and as they should respect the rules of amity and peace, as necessary, and they should properly endeavor and be assiduous in repulsing the Cossack brigands who are the cause of

⁸ In the *ahdname* of 1623 this portion is written in active voice; here again in the passive, as in the earlier documents.

intrigue and mischief, according to [the conditions] registered in the 'ahdname given previously by my late brother, whose sins are forgiven, I also swear by the sake of God, Creator of earth and heaven (may His praise be exalted!), and by the sake of the miracles, full of divine blessings, of our great and dear prophet, the sun of the two worlds, Muhammad Mustafa (may God command and salute him!), that no minor or major variation or violation will occur in the clauses of this pact, and for the remaining period of my long-lived rule and for the fixed time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, this peace and amity will be fixed and firm, and this treaty and peace will be permanent and stable, so that all the subjects of these countries may live under the felicitous shadow and shade of my protection in a state of tranquillity and in a prosperous condition. Thus they must know.

Written in the third decade of the noble Muharrem from among the months of the year 1050 since the emigration [Hegira] of the Prophet (may the most superior prayer and the most perfect salutation be upon him!) in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, Constantinople, the well-protected and well-guarded.

DOCUMENT 47 (3 SEPTEMBER 1640)

The royal confirmation of the treaty

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. Bibl. Ossol., ms. 224, pp. 372–78.

Published along with a Polish translation in A. Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.* (Warsaw, 1985), pp. 198–202.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 429–39 [445–55].

Rewersał paktorum Króla Jego Mości Władysława IV, posłanych Imbraimowi Sułtanowi, cesarzowi ottomańskiemu, przez pana Prandotę Dzierżka, i przyjęte u Porty w roku 1640.¹

Significamus praesentibus literis nostris, quorum interest, universis et singulis. Postquam Serenissimum et Potentissimum Dominum Sołtan Imbraim Chan Imperatorem Maximum Constantinopolitanum atque Asiae, Europae, Persarum, Arabum, Cypri, Aegiptique etc. dominum ad fastigium Ottomanici Imperii assumptum esse inaudivimus, statim legatum magnum et oratorem nostrum illustrem Albertum Miaskowski, succamerarium Terrae Leopoliensis, stabiliendi renovandique foederis causa, quod inter serenissimam ac potentissimam Domum Ottomanicam et serenissimos ac potentissimos reges Poloniae inclitumque regnum longe retroactis saeculis regnantibus in Imperio Ottomanico Solimano et aliis principibus ad tempora usque serenissimi Sołtan Amurath Han illibatum semper inquit, expedivimus. Quoniam vero idem Serenissimus Imperator vestigiis maiorum suorum insistendo studio pacis pactorumque calendorum ea foedera pristinis conditionibus acceperit, sanxerit atque maioris fidei causa authenticum diploma solenniter atque religiose ex formula antiqua foederum confectorum nobis per generosum Mechmet czausium transmiserit, nos vicissim mutua sponsione nostra atque literis hisce haec foederis pacta pro nostra parte sancientes et firmantes mandamus in universum regno nostro ac omnibus illi annexis palatinis, castellanis, capitaneis, exercituum ac militum praefectis, arcium et locorum capitaneis, ac in universum cuiuscunque status et conditionis subditis nostris, ne quispiam imperii Serenissimi et Potentissimi Turcarum Imperatoris provinciis ac in finibus existentibus arcibus civitatibus et aliis ad imperium Serenitatis eius pertinentibus oppidis, villis, pagis nocere aut damnum terra marique inferre audeat neve insolentia Cosacorum ex Boristhene Pontum Euxinum ingredi aut aliquod damnum et incommodum dominis et ditionibus Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Imperatoris inferre et Cosacis Moschoviticis

¹ "The confirmation of the treaty by His Royal Majesty, Ladislaus IV, sent to the Ottoman emperor, Sultan Ibrahim, by [the envoy] Prandota Dzierżek and accepted by the Porte in the year 1640."

e Dona² venientibus se adiungere societatemque cum ipsis inire, aut auxilia Moschis suppeditare sub gravissimis poenis praesumat. Quod si aliqui pauci lembi clam et furtive elusa diligenti custodia et excubiis nostris in mare excurrerint, in eos serio animadvertemus et custodes traiectionum si transitum permiserint, severissimis poenis puniemus. Neque ideo pacta violata censebuntur idemque si Moschis in Dona aliqui se coniunxerint. Ex parte etiam Serenissimi et Potentissimi Imperatoris dominiis imperio nostro longe lateque effuso subiacentibus veserii, beglerbegii, sandziach begi, capitanei exercitus et mancipia universa, Valachi item et Moldavi, Crimenses, Bialogrodienses, Techinenses et Oczakovienses Tartari et alii omnes in universum cuiuscunque status homines Serenitatis eius, nullo pacto contra pacta ab antiquo utrinque sancita nocere aut damnum aliquod terra marique inferre audeant passumque et transitum in ditiones regni nostri capitanei eorum locorum vetare et inhibere diligentemque eius custodiam et excubias agere debent. Qua in re si negligentes deprehensi et convicti fuerint, debent severe puniri. Simili ratione Tartarorum princeps et chan modernus seu pro tempore existens nullas incursiones in dominia nostra eorumque confinia facere nec civitatibus, oppidis, villis, pagis eorumque incolis, armentis, pecoribus, tectis, agris ulla damna quovis praetextu aut colore aut excursionem inferre praesumat idque nec ipse chan, nec galga soltan, nec Kantimir murza, nec alii murzae et Tartarii ulla ratione attentent, quin potius haec sacrosancta pacis foedera inviolabiliter observent, nec ullam occasionem aut ansam eorum violandorum nec per se nec per alium clam nec aperte praebeant, verum chan Tartarorum amicum se amicis, inimicum inimicis nostris praestet. Contra hostes nostros dum a nobis sive per literas sive per nuncium nostrum accersitus fuerit, iuxta pacta antiqua cum Tartarorum chanis per divos maiores nostros et nosmetipso sancita et inita cum exercitu suo fidelem nobis promptamque operam militarem navare debet. Et si ipse, aut soltan galga, aliique murzae et Tartari ad expeditionem bellicam iussu Serenissimi et Potentissimi Turcarum Imperatoris profecti fuerint, nequaquam exercitu suo fines ditionumstrarum attingant nec per ditiones nostras exercitum ducere audeant, verum per ditiones Serenitatis Suae iter consuetum teneant. Nostris vero in transitu omnino abstineant nec illis quovis modo noceant. Si vero quid in contrarium a chan Tartarorum, sułtan galga aliisque Tartaris et murzis attentatum et aliquod damnum illatum fuerit, iustitiam Serenissimus Imperator Turcarum, ubi eo nomine sive per literas sive per nuncium a nobis requisitus fuerit, indilatam et competentem administrabit, captivos sine pretio restituere damnaque resarciri mandabit. Quod itidem nos, si damna aliqua per insolentiam Cosacorum vel aliorum quorumvis subditi Serenissimi Imperatoris passi fuerint, praestabimus. Nos vero praedicto Tartarorum han solitum donativum sive stipendium, dummodo nulla ratione ditionibus nostris noceat et pactis antiquis promissisque et submissionibus suis praedectisque articulis et conditionibus in toto satisfaciat et contra eas ne minimum excedat, dari curabimus. Ratione cuius donativi

² I.e., the river Don.

chan Tartarorum non modo supra expressis conditionibus in omnibus punctis et clausulis satisfacere tenebitur, verum etiam contra hostes nostros, dum a nobis sive per literas, sive per nuncium vocatus fuerit, cum exercitu suo iuxta cum Tartarorum chanis per serenissimos praedecessores nostros inita pacta suam nobis operam navabit, ut hac ratione constantem sinceramque nobis amicitiam testetur.

Quoniam vero Tartari Valachiam circa Belgradum et Techniam incoherentes saepissimis in regni nostri ditiones incursionibus amicitiam et pacem violant, hi homines Valachia, Budziacho ex campisque Belgradiensibus migrare et sedes iuxta Boristhenem transferre nec in posterum ullo praetextu in Valachia et Moldavia domicilia figere debent.

Si qui ex subditis et mancipiis Serenitatis eius a Cosacis nostris post confirmationem horum pactorum capti fuerint, eos salvos et incolumes sine omni precio ad partes suas mittemus. Pari quoque ratione Serenissimus Imperator homines et subditos nostros quomodocunque captos et a Tartaris adductos restitui et liberos dimittere sine precio imperabit et venundari eos non patietur.

Quod si Serenissimus Imperator alicui principum bellum indicere et sive ipse in persona sua sive quempiam ex ducibus suis aut palatinis Valachiae et Moldaviae cum exercitu suo expedire vellet, isque princeps a nobis supplicat peteret, nos satisfaciendo constanti amicitiae nostrae neque milite neque pecunia hostem Serenitatis Suae iuvabimus neque ei, qui in Transilvania bellum movere aut thurmas et tumultus libidine dominandi iure praesumpserit, auxilium clam aut publice exhibebimus.

Quod etiam vice versa nobis cum quocunque hoste belligerantibus Serenissimus Imperator praestare tenebitur, imo si quispiam hostium Serenissimi Imperatoris ad colligendum exercitum in regno nostro miserit, vel si quis ex senatoribus hosti Serenitatis Suae se adiungere militemque ducere et contra Suam Serenitatem ad bellum proficisci voluerit, non omnino non permittemus et quoad fieri potuerit (salvis pactis cum vicinis nostris) obsistemus. Dummodo Serenissimus Imperator idem ex parte sua faciat.

E Moldavia, Valachia, Transilvania si aliqui turbatores et publici latrones in regnum nostrum sese receperint et si aliquo praetextu eas provincias turbare voluerint, tales a nobis cum eo nomine requisiti fuerint, reddentur.

Ut autem amicitia nostra maiora in dies capiat incrementa, liberum esse debet subditis et mercatoribus nostris iuxta antiqua et nova pacta ultro citroque cum mercibus commere et merces varii generis per fluvium Tiram ad portum Bialogrodiensem tuto et secure sine quovis impedimento exponere, vendere, distrahere et absque omni fraude hanc navigationem et mercatuum exercere.

Palatini Valachiae et Moldaviae iuxta antiqua pacta nobis debitam amicitiae et honoris observantiam eaque omnia, quae secundum morem receptum regibus Poloniae praestare tenebantur modo quoque praestare et exequi tenebuntur et hae provinciae in solita hucusque regiminis forma conservabuntur.

Subditi e regno et ditionibus nostris ab antiquo tempore capti et abducti et musulmanismum non modo professi, sed in christiana religione, si quipiam

repti fuerint nostrosque esse constiterit, pretio non maiori nisi eo, quo empti sunt, quod tamen iuramento liquidari debet, restituantur et redempti libere dimittantur. Qui vero musulmani facti sunt, liberi sint, et peti non debent. Vice versa quicumque ex musulmanis baptizatus religionem christianam professus fuerit, nunquam repetendus erit. A die autem praesentis foederis utrinque qualibet ratione captos pretio non petito domini eorum liberos faciant et dimittant.

Legati utriusque nostrum ex quacunque ratione missi, cum fines dominorum suorum ingressi fuerint, etiam sine literis passus tuti sint et liberi nullumque damnum personis, rebus, bonisque eorum in eundo et redeundo inferatur impedimentumque fiat et bono fidelique adiuncto comite ad locum destinatum deduci curentur.

Utriusque partis mercatoribus terra marique eundi et redeundi, cum mercibus commeandi easque vendendi et emendi libera facultas sit. Datium tamen iuxta normam et consuetudinem persolvent, quo soluto nullum damnum personis, bonis, mercibus pecuniisque ipsorum inferri debet. Si quis mercatorum aut hominum nostrorum in Imperio Turcico mortuus fuerit, bona illius a Serenissimo Imperatore aut eius praefectis et iudicibus non debent confiscari, sed praefecto caravani integre tradi et in regnum delata heredibus restituantur. Similiter quod si aliquis ex imperio Serenissimi Imperatoris advenientium mercatorum in regno nostro mortem obierit, bona illius non confiscantur, sed et reponantur et successoribus cum literis Serenissimi Imperatoris venientibus integre restituantur.

Quod si aliquae lites controversiaeque inter mercatores ab utrinque ex quacunque occasione tam ratione alicuius debiti quam mutuae negotiationis vel alia ex causa exortae fuerint, ad instantiam cuiusvis iudicis, ad quem inculpatus citatus fuerit et vocatus, inquisitores utriusque nostrum examen instituere et diligentem inquisitionem facere debebunt, et postquam chirographo debitum probatum fuerit, ad solvendum et satisfaciendum parti adigantur. Si vero quis in scriptione aut chirographo non exhibito a subdito nostro quidpiam repetierit, sine ratione debiti sive fideiussimis non est audiendus nec quisquam ad debitum et delictum alterius puniatur et ad solvendum, nisi chirographum aut inscriptio vera et legitima producta fuerit, compellatur, quae si defuerint, testes falsi et calumniae admitti non debent nec innoxii in regno turbentur.

Quod itidem iudices nostri, praefecti civitatum et locorum facere tenebuntur et non nisi causa bene cognita et intellecta ad iudicia procedent et aliquid cuiuspiam adiudicabunt. Quod si calumniae aut dolus eorum, qui bonis aliorum inchiare eaque rapere solent, apparuerit, calumniatores condignis poenis secundum commune iudicium officialium afficiantur et merces acceptae possessoribus restituantur.

Silistrenses, Bialogrodenses, et finitimi regni et caeteri portuum custodes, telloneatores et exactores praeter mercatores utriusque partis neminem in regnum nostrum transmittant. Si autem penes illos, qui ex Polonia veniunt aut deinde ad Poloniam eunt, mancipium aliquod repertum fuerit, auferri et remitti debet.

Pastores ovium cum in ditiones nostras transierint, capitaneis et praefec-

tis nostris nunciare debent nec insciis illis aut non soluto precio pascere, quod si post denuntiationem persolutumque precium eiusmodi oves perierint, praefecti et capitanei de damno requirantur et satisfaciant.

Nemini mercatorum aut subditorum nostrorum in ditionibus Serenissimi Imperatoris equi pro angariis et podwodiis³ vel ulak⁴ ab janiceris in bellum euntibus, quam ab alio quovis suae sortis subdito officialive accipiantur.

Mercatores persolutis usitatis telloneis, aliis maioribus, quam mos et consuetudo fert, gravari non debent nec ea quisdam ab iis extorquere audeat. Sed circa praescripta pactorum vetustorum conserventur persoluto vero iuxta normam antiquam de eductis et inductis mercibus telloneo Constantinopoli, Bursae et Adrianopoli a solutione aliorum quocunque nomine vocatorum omnino liberi esse debent nec a taleris pecuniaque sua, quam advehent, vectigal dare tenebuntur.

Armeni nostri alique mercatores in Turcarum Imperium ditionesque proficiscentes viis publicis solitisque, non autem per loca occulta et insueta venire debent euntibusque itineribus consuetis, si vis a latronibus illata vel bona ablata fuerint, malefici puniri et inquiri debent et res ablatae mercatoribus restituantur.

Insuper omnes et singulos articulos in pactis utrinque inter nos et serenissimum olim Amurathum fratrem Serenitatis Suae ultimarie per Murtassam Passa et eius delegatum Sachin Agam ipsius imperatoris defuncti plenipotentia instructum rite sancitis et prudenter institutis praesenti foederi inserimus eosque una cum limitibus inibi descriptis reassumimus et innovamus sacrosancte utrinque observandos, ita ut sinceram inter nos amicitiam colamus nullamque ipsius violandae occasionem scientes volentesque praebeamus, sed amici amicis, inimici inimicis utrinque simus.

Nos itaque omnes supra expressos et in praedictis pactis comprehensos foederis articulos et condiciones ex parte nostra in omnibus punctis et clausulis sacrosancte atque inviolabiliter toto vitae nostrae tempore servaturos esse in Dei Optimi Maximi Salvatoris nostri nomen iuramus, spondemus et vovemus usque dum a Serenissimo Imperatore nihil contra iuramentum et foedus tranquillitatemque commissum fuerit, ex parte etiam nostra nihil paci, foederi iuramento et tranquillitati contrarium fiet. In cuius rei fidem perspectumque^a testimonium praesentes foederis literas sigillo regni nostri communiri iussimus. Varsaviae etc.

³ From Pol. *podwoda*, "cart service," or "transport service."

⁴ From Tur. *ulak*, "courier service."

^a It should read *perpetuumque*.

DOCUMENT 48 (2–11 AUGUST 1667)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Mehmed IV to King John Casimir
[Facs. XVIII]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 453, no. 762 (*KDT*, pp. 352–54).

336.5 × 63 cm.

invocation (black): *divani* script

tugra (gold)

text (black sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

a sign of correction is placed on the reverse side

Turkish copies:

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 464, no. 779 (*KDT*, pp. 354–55).¹

B. BA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye [Ecnebi Defterleri], 55/1, pp. 12–15.

Polish translation: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 76, t. 452, no. 760 (a copy by Crutta); b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 464, no. 779 (written on the reverse side of the Turkish copy A.); c) AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, sign. 206, fol. 779a–782b; d) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 477–83 [483–89]; e) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 206, pp. 77–86; f) L’vivs’ka Naukova Biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka NAN Ukrainy, fond 4 (Baw.), opys 1, no. 280/II, fol. 11b–13b.

French translation by Crutta of 2 articles concerning Polish merchants: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 453, no. 763.

Hüve’l-mu‘in^a

Mehmed-şah bin Ibrahim han muzaffer da’ima^b

[1] Nişan-i şerif-i ‘ali-şan-i sami-mekam-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüfize bi’l-‘avni’r-rebbani ve’l-menni’l-mennani ve’l-savni’s-samedani <ve’l-menni’l-mennani>^c hükmi oldur ki

[2] Cenab-i Halik-i la-yüzal ve Hazret-i Kadir-i bi-zeval celle şane hü ve ‘azze sultanuhunun fazl-i ‘inayet-i ezeliye ve te’yid ü hidayet-i lem-

¹ This copy was issued by the Ottoman chancery though it is not provided with a *tugra*. It measures 301 × 41 cm. According to a marginal note in Polish, it was brought to Warsaw in 1667 along with the original *‘ahdname* and then taken by Wysocki to Istanbul in 1670. After the outbreak of war and the imprisonment of the envoy, it was finally returned to the Crown Chancery on 9 February 1673.

^a A. *Hüve*.

^b Missing in A.

^c Written twice in both copies.

yezeliyesi ve iki cihan serveri sipehr-i nübüvvetin mihr-i enveri habib-i ekrem-i efzal-i Beni Adem şefi'-i yevmü'l-ceza mu'ciz-i zümre-i enbiya peygamberimiz

- [3] Muhammed el-Mustafa salla'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellem mu'cizat-i bahirü'l-berekatı ve çahar yar ke-zeyn ve al ü eshab-i ehl-i yakinin himemi mürafakatı ile^d benki harameyn-i şerifeynin hadimi ve küfr ü dalal bünyanın hadimi sultanu's-selatin bürhanu'l-havakin zillu'llah fi'l-arazin ferman-ferma-yi memalik-i
- [4] Rum ve 'Arab ve 'Acem ve hükm-reva-yi keşvar-i 'İrak ve Tacik ve Türk ve Dilem şehriyar-i tac-bahş ve memleket-arayı ve tac-dar-i leşker-keş ve kişver-küşayı olub Ak Deniz etrafında olan bilad-i sipehr-irtifa'ın ve Kara Deniz eknafında kıla'-i ve bika'ın ve nadire-i 'asr olan
- [5] Masr-i Kahire ve Sa'id-i' a'la ve Bagdad daru's-salam ve Şehrizul ve Musul ve Haleb ve Şam ve bender-i Cidde ve Süveys ve Kuds-i şerif vacibü'l-ihtiram ve Medine-i münevvere ve Ka'be-i mükerrerme-i Beytü'l-Haram zadahuma'llahu şerefen^f ve ta'zimen ve vilayet-i Habeş ve Basra ve Lahsa ve Sayda ve Beyrut
- [6] ve San'an ve Kürdistan ve Gürcistan ve Luristan ve Diyarbekir ve Erzurum ve Van ve vilayet-i Anadolu ve Rum ve Du'l-kadriye ve Karaman ve Adana ve İzmir ve Aydın ve Saruhan ve Germiyan ve Rumili ve Erdel ve Eflak ve Bogdan
- [7] ve Akkerman ve Kefe ve Kırım ve Azak ve bender-i Kili ve Özü ve Deşt-i Kıpçak ve Bosna ve Budun ve Temeşvar ve Egre ve Kanije ve Sigetvar ve cezire-i Kıbrıs ve Rodos ve Sakız ve Midilli ve darü'l-cihad Cezayir-i Magrib ve Trablus-i Garb ve Tunus ve evtan ve 'ala'l-husus
- [8] hasretü'l-müluki'l-kayasire ve ma'mure-i büldan-i meymenet-bahire olan şehri-i İstanbul ve bunlardan ma 'ada darbet-i şemşir-i ateş-te'sir ve ser-pençe-i tedbir-i isabet-pezirim ile feth ü teshir olan niçe diyar-i celilü'l-i'tibar dar-i emn ü emanın padişahı ve sultanı ve şehinşah-i refi'ü'l-mekanı
- [9] ve hakan-i 'azimü's-şanı es-sultan ibnü's-sultan es-Sultanü'l-Gazi Mehemmed Han ibnü's-Sultan İbrahim Han ibnü's-Sultan Ahmed Han ibnü's-Sultan Mehemmed Han ibnü's-Sultan Murad Han ibnü's-Sultan Selim Han ibnü's-Sultan Süleyman Hanım çün ki hall ü 'akd-i umuri emn ü emani ve fetk ü retk-i
- [10] kar-i cihan-bani be-tevfik-i rebbani kabza-i tasarruf-i sahib-kıranıma müfevvezdir şükran 'ala tilke'n-ni'am zimmet-i himmet-i mülukaneme vacib ü ehemmi oldı ki hulus-i taviyet ve sıdk ve istikamet ile dergah-i sa'adet-destgahımıza iltica' ve ittika' idenlere 'avatıf ve 'avarıf-i padişahane-miz mebzul ve bi-dirig ola
- [11] bina'en 'ala zalik iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübe-

^d B. *himem ve mürafakatıyla*.

^e Written incorrectly with *sin* instead of *sad*.

^f A. *şerifen*.

ra'i'l-fıham f'l-milleti'l-mesihîye muslihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Lih vilayetlerinin kralı ve hükümdarı olan Yoanes Kasimiroz^g hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr

- [12] merci' ü mesned-i kayasire-i devran ve melce' ü menca'-i havakin-i cihan olan 'atebe-i 'aliye-i sidre-mekanımıza tecdid-i libas-i 'ahd ü misak-i kadime ve teşyid-i esas-i va'd ü visak-i müstedime için güzide ve mu'teber beglerinden kıdvetü ümera'i'l-milleti'l-mesihîye Yeronimo Radçoski^h elçisini
- [13] göndürüb aba ve ecdad-i 'izamımızın zaman-i sa'ad-iktiranlarından berü tarafeynde ri'ayet olunan sulh u salah ve fevz ü felah muhkem ve müstahkim tutulub cennet-mekan firdevs-aşıyan valid-i macidim Sultan Ibrahim Han ve 'amm-i büzürgvarım Sultan Murad Han eskene-hüma'llahu fi garaki'l-canan
- [14] taraf-i bahirü'ş-şereflerinden mukaddema virilen 'ahdname-i hümayun mucebince canib-i saltanat-i 'aliyemizden dahi 'ahdname-i hümayunumuz ihsan olunmasın istid'a eylemegin mezid 'inayet-i şahane ve meziyet-i 'avatıf-i padişahanemizden iltiması karın-i kabul-i hümayun-i hüsrevanemiz olub re'aya fukarasının
- [15] emn ü rahatı ve 'ibadu'llahunun huzur u istirahatı için 'akd-i musalaha olunub 'ahdname-i hümayunumuz virilmek sadedinde iken merkum elçi fevt olunmagla yerine tarafınızdan vekil ve ikinci elçi ta'yin itdiginizⁱ fahru'l-akran f'l-milleti'l-mesihîye Franciskus Kasimiruz Visocki cesnik^j ile müceddeden uslub-i sabık üzere 'akd-i
- [16] kelim olunub ulu peygamberimiz iki cihan fahri hazret-i Muhammed el-Mustafanın hicreti tarihinin sene-i bin yetmiş sekiz mah-i Seferü'l-hayrin [on beş]^k gününde zikr olunacak 'uhud u şurut-i mu'tebere bizni'llahi ta'ala ri'ayet olunmak üzere işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunı virdüm ve buyurdum ki
- [17] ma damki Lih kralı tarafından ve beglerinden ve kapudanlarından ve Kazak eşkıyasından ve tevabi'inden ve sa'ir ehl-i fesaddan serhadd-i memalik-i mahrusemde olan kal'elerime ve varoşlarım ve sa'ir memalik-i mahmiyeme tabi' olan kasabat ve kuraya ve araziye
- [18] be-vech mine'l-vücuha dahl u ta'arruz olunmaya ve Moskov^l Kazagı ile Lih kazagı birbirlerine yoldaş ve mu'in olunmaga icazet virilmeyüb muhkem zabt olunub mamnu' olmayanların hakklarından geline Lih kralının dahi memleketine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına ve sa'ir kasabat ve kuralarına taraf-i

^g یوانس قاسمیروز.

^h یرونیمو رادچوسکی.

ⁱ A. *itdiginiz*.

^j فرانسجسکوس قاسمیروز ویسوجکی; in A.: the word *cesnik* is missing.

^k In A. only; in the original a blank space is left.

^l مسکو.

- [19] hümayunumdan [ve]^m vüzera-i 'izam ve mirmiran-i fiham ve ümera-i kiram ve 'asker-i zafer-şi'arımdan ve Bogdanlu ve Dobruca ve Akkerman ve Bender ve Özide olan Tatardan ve gayriden Lih memleketine zarar olmayub Nisterⁿ ve Turla^o ve sa'ir Tatar geçidleri ol tarafların hakimleri
- [20] canibinden muhafaza itdürelər eger muhafaza eylemekde ihmal ve müsahele iderler ise 'azl olunub cezaları virile ve cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Kırım hanları tarafına İslam Giray Han zamanında virmege ta'ahhüd itdikleri virgüleri sal be-sal vaktıyla irsal olunub adamlarına teslim
- [21] ve isal olundukdan sonra Kırım hanı dahi kanun-i kadim üzere 'uhdesine lazım gelen dostluk ve muhabbet şartlarını ri'ayet idüb minba'd han tarafından ve kağılgayı sultandan ve gayri mirzalardan Lih memleketlerine bir vechle zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye ve kiral
- [22] müşarun-ileyhin üzerine düşman-i müstevli olub muma-ileyh tarafından adam varub mu'avenet ve imdad taleb eyledikde canib-i hümayunumdan ferman-i şerifim oldukda han müşarun-ileyh dahi Tatar 'askeriyle imdad ve i'anet eyleye ve canib-i hümayunumdan bir tarafa sefer vakı' olub
- [23] han müşarun-ileyh veyahud kağılgayı sultan veya mirzalarıyla Tatar 'askeri varmak lazım geldikde Lih memleketinin içine ugramayub kadimden ne mahalden geçe-gelmişler ise girü ol yerden geçe ve dahi Tatar ta'ifesi Bogdan memleketinde sakin olmayalar ve bu
- [24] 'ahdname-i hümayunumdan sonra Lih kralı memleketine Tatardan veya Bogdanlu ve gayriden kimesne varub garet veya esir ihrac ider ise kiral tarafından i'lam olundukda o makuleler [bulunub hakklarından gelenüb esirler ve esbabları girüye redd etdirile ve Lih esirleri ki]^p bu 'ahdname tarihinden sonra ihrac olunmuş ola memalik-i mahrusemde furuht olunmaya
- [25] ke-zalik Kazak eşkıyasından dahi vech-i meşruh üzere memalik-i mahruseme gelüb garet idenleri Lih kralı buldurub hakklarından gelüb esirler ve esbabları girüye redd itdirüb bu tarafa müta'allık olanlardan minba'd Lih memleketinde esir satılmaya ve dahi kefare
- [26] kırallarından ve gayriden birinin üzerine sefer-i zafer-şi'arım vakı' olub bi'z-zat cenab-i celalet-ma'abım varmak iktiza itdikde veyahud bir serdar ta'yin olunub 'asker-i nusret-ma'asirim ile ve Erdel ve Eflak ve Bogdan voyvodalarıyla ol düşmanın üzerine
- [27] teveccüh olunmagla düşmanım tarafından kendüye adam varub mu'avenet ve müzaheret taleb itdiklerinde asitane-i sa'adetime sadakat ve istikamet ve icra-i musafat ve muvafakat için Lih kralı 'askeriyle ve hazinesiyle düşmanıma yardım itmeye ve düşmanım tarafından

^m In A. and B. only.

ⁿ نستو.

^o طورلي.

^p The same fragment is omitted in the A. copy of Murad's *'ahdname* of 1623 and in the *'ahdname* of 1640 (there *ki* was added); cf. Document 38, note ar, and Document 46, note s.

- [28] bir kimesne varub Lih memleketinde ‘asker cem’ itmek ister ise men’ idüb ruhsat vormeye ve kendünün hersek ve kapudanlarından ve gayri-den ba‘zıları ihtiyarıyla düşmanıma yardım için gitmek murad eylediklerinde salı-virmeyüb gizlü ve aşikare icazet virilmeye ve Erdel
- [29] memleketi ecdad-i ‘izamımdan ırsıla intikal itmiş memleketim mesabesinde olmagla Erdel hakimleriyle ve bu canibe izhar-i sadakat iden Macar kralı olanlar ile dahi kemal-i musafat üzere olub Erdel canibinde dahi düşman zuhur ider ise gizlü ve aşikare
- [30] düşman tarafına Lih canibinden imdad olunmaya ve dahi Erdel ve Bogdan ve Eflak voyvodaları taraflarından ve beglerinden ve gayri-lerinden ba‘zıları kabahat idüb Lih memleketine firar iderler ise o makuleler kabul olunmayub mabeynde olan dostluk ve aşnalgı ri‘ayeten tutub
- [31] kayd ü bend ile asitane-i sa‘adetime göndüre bu vechle dostuma dost düşmanıma düşman ola ve hala mabeynde dostluk ziyade olmak için Lih tevabi‘i ve re‘ayası Turla^q suyundan Akkerman iskelesine mata‘ getürüb bey’ ü şıra eylemeleri iltimas olunmuş
- [32] o makule memalik-i mahruseme zarar u ziyan kasdında olmayub kendü halinde ticaret ile gelenlere kimesne mani’ olmaya ve Lih kralı südde-i sa‘adetimle olan dostlugunda sabit-kadem oldukça Bogdan voyvodaları dahi kadimden Lih kralı ile ne vechle
- [33] musafat üzere ol-gelmişler ise girü olvechle musafat üzere olalar ve mukaddema karışıklık eyyaminde Lihtüden esir olanlar ki küfri üzere durub islama gelmemiş olalar Lih tarafından adamları gelüb o makuleleri memalik-i mahrusemde
- [34] buldukları yerde sahiblerine niçeye aldıklarına yemin virüb ma‘lum olduktan sonra satun aldıklarından ziyade baha taleb itmeyeler ve bahaların virdikdensonra kendü vilayetlerine alub gitmege kimesne mani’ olmaya ve ol esirlerden küfri üzerine durmayub
- [35] islama gelmiş bulunanlara ta‘arruz olunmayub kendü hali üzerine ibka oluna ve dahi ‘ahdname tahririnden sonra iki taraftan her kim tutulmuş ise bahasız salı-virile ve iki canibin elçileri ve adamları vere-kagıdına muhtac olmayub varub gelüb
- [36] kendülerine ve mallerine zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve tarafeynin bazarganları denizden ve karadan ve mu‘tad olan istedikleri iskelelerden gelüb gide bey’ ü şıra eyleyüb bulundukları yerlerde ‘adet ü kanun üzere rüsumları ne ise virüb
- [37] kimesne mallerine ve nefslere zarar eylemeye ve eger muma-ileyh Lih kralı memleketinden gelen bazarganlardan memalik-i mahrusemde mürd olurlar ise rızkları taraf-i miriden alınmayub karban başlarına teslim oluna ki [vilayetlerine]^r götürüb varislerine teslim eyleyeler
- [38] ve bu tarafın bazarganlarından dahi Lih memleketinde vefat idenlerin mallerine ve rızklarına vech-i meşruh üzere öte canibden müdahale

^q طورلی.

^r Cf. Document 46, note u.

- olunmayub bu canibde varislerine göndürile ve iki tarafın giden bazar-
ganlarından ve gayriden bir kimesne
- [39] bir kimesneden deyn ü karz hususunda veyahud bey' ü şıra babında
ve sa'ir da'vada hakk taleb eylese her kangı mahalde bulunur ise eger
bu tarafın eger ol canibin vilayet hakimleri babında müraf'a olub hakk
üzere teftiş ve tafahhus olundukdan sonra sabit olan
- [40] hukuk u deyinleri her ne ise alı-virilüb 'inad u muhalefet itdirilmeye
amma borcı ve günahı olmadın aharın borcı ve hakkı için da'va ve
taleb idüb bi-gayri hakkın rencide ve remide itmek isteyenler iki taraf-
dan dahi men' olunub zarar-i mala kefaleti sabit olmadın
- [41] bi-vech ve bela-sebeb rencide ve remide itdirilmeyeler o makulelerin
ellerinde olan sicil ve hüccetlerine ve ma'mulün-bih temessüklerine
nazar olmayınca mücerred şahid-i zur ikamet olunmagla tezvır ü tel-
bislerine 'amal olunmaya ve bi'l-cümle iki canibin hakimleri dahi
tamam-i takayyüd gösterüb
- [42] ma damki vakı' olan maddenin ve da'valarının aslı ve hakikatı olduğunu
hakimü'l-vakt ma'lum ve tahkik itmeye^s bi-vech olan da'vaları istima'
olunmaya^t ve anın gibi hırsuz^u ve haramiler bir kimesnenin maline ve
canine <ve canine>^v zarar u ziyan irişdirdikde
- [43] hakim olanlar o makuleleri buldurub muhkem vechle hakklarından
gelüb hırsuzlukda aldıkları esbabları ba'de's-sübut sahiblerine teslim
oluna ve dostluk için^w gelen elçileri ve sa'ir adamları men' olunmayub
emin ü salim varub gelüb
- [44] serhaddlara geldikde yanlarına adamlar koşub^x öte canibden dahi bu
minval üzere 'amal olunub ve Silistre ve Akkerman serhaddlarının
<adamları> [hakimleri]^y ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları südde-i sa'ade-
tim kullarından ve iki canibin <bac-darlarından> [tacirlerinden]^z
- [45] gayrisin Turla suyundan Lih vilayetine [kimesneyi]^{aa} salı-virmeyeler ve
eger ol taraftan ve berü canibden gelüb giden kimesnelerin yanlarında
esir bulunur ise ellerinden alınub girü göndüreler ve çoban ta'ifesi Lih
vilayetine geçdiklerinde memleket hakimlerine
- [46] kendülerin ve koyunların bildirüb mahfi varmayalar ve otlak hakkını
vireler ta'ife-i mezbure kendülerin bildirdikten sonra koyunları zayı'
olur ise memleket hakimleri bulub vireler ve gelüb giden kimesnelerin
bargirlerin ulak tutmaya
- [47] ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeri ve gayrileri atların almayalar ve iki canibin
tacirleri vire-geldükleri virgülerin ve gümrüklerin eda eyledikten sonra

^s A. *idenmeye*.

^t A. *da'vaların istima' etmeyeler*.

^u A. *hırsız*.

^v Mistakenly repeated; in A. written correctly.

^w In the previous documents: *içinde*.

^x A. *koşulub*.

^y In A. written correctly: *hakimleri*.

^z In A. written correctly: *tacirlerinden*.

^{aa} Evidently omitted, cf. Document 46, note v.

virilü-gelenden ziyade nesne taleb olunmaya ve marda yükletmeyüb
bu ana degin ne vechle ve ne mikdar

- [48] vire-gelmişler ise girü ol mikdar virüb olı-gelmişe muhalif iş olmaya
ve kıralın eli altında olan Ermeni ve sa'ir kefere bazarganları Bogdan
vilayetine ve andan ma 'ada memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret itmek
murad itdiklerinde^{ab}
- [49] biyaban ve mahfi yerlerden gelmeyüb kadimden bazarganlar mürur
eylediği tarik-i 'ammdan geleler anın gibilerin maline ve canine zarar
gelür ise ehl-i fesad ele getirilüb hakklarından geline ve istikamet üzere
gelüb giden bazarganları rencide olunmayub gümrüklerin^{ac}
- [50] kanun-i kadim üzere alındıktan sonra Istanbulda ve Brusa ve Edirne
reft akçesi ve kassabiye deyü akçe taleb olunmaya ve getürdükleri gu-
ruşlarından eger riyal ve eger kara gurus ve eger esedi ve eger Lih
gurusıdır gümrük taleb olunmaya elçi-i merkumun
- [51] irad itdüğü 'ahdname-i hümayunda cümleten^{ad} mestur u mukayyed ve
eyman-i <ü>^{ae} gulaz u şıdad ile mü'ekked ve müşeyyed bulunmagn
bendahi 'ibadu'llahunun emn ü istirahatı ve re'aya fukarasının fera-
gat u refahiyeti için bu minval üzere müşarun-ileyh Lih kıralının
südde-i seniye-i
- [52] sa'adet-medarım ile olan barışıklığı ve dostluk ve aşnalığın makbul u
mu'teber ve muhakkak u mukarrer tutub müceddeden işbu 'ahdname-
i hümayunu virdüm [ve buyurdum]^{af} ki fi-ma ba'd eyyam-i devlet-i
hümayun ve hengam-i saltanat-i ebed-makrunumda dahi yukaruda
tafsıl olunan şurut u kuyud
- [53] ve mevadd u 'uhud muktazasınca 'amal ve sulh u salah levazımı gereği
gibi müretteb ü mükemmel kılma ma damki kıral tarafından ve kapu-
danlarından ve beglerinden ve gayriden muceb-i inhilal-i 'ahd ü pey-
man ve ba'is-i ihtilal-i şart u iman ve sulh u salaha mugayir ve muhalif
bir vaz' sadır olmayub
- [54] dostluk ve barışıklık hukukını gereği gibi ri'ayet ve madde-i fitne ü
fesad olan Kazak eşkıyasının def'inde ke-ma hüve hakka sa'i ve dikkat
ideler cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından dahi eyman-i gulaz ile yemin
iderim ki yeri ve göği yokdan var iden Perverdegar celle celalehü
hakkıyçün
- [55] ve ulu ve 'aziz peygamberimiz iki cihan güneşi Muhammed el-Mustafa^{ag}
salla'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellemin mu'cizatı hakkıyçün minval-i meşruh
üzere mu'ahede olunan maddelerden cüzvi ve külli ber hususda tahal-
luf ü tecavüz olunmaya müddet-i baka-yi devlet-i ruz-efzun ve zaman-
i sebat-i saltanat-i ebed-makrunumda

^{ab} A. *istediklerinde*.

^{ac} A. *gümrükleri*.

^{ad} Clearly written in A.

^{ae} In A. written correctly.

^{af} Evidently omitted.

^{ag} A. *Muhammed Mustafa*.

[56] bu sulh u salah mukarrer ü pay-dar ve bu 'ahd ü eman sabit ü ber-
karar olub 'umumen ol vilayetlerin re'aya ve berayası saye-i sa'adet
ve zill-i himayetimde asude-hal ve müreffehü'l-bal olalar şöyle bileler
'alamet-i şerife i'timad kılalar tahriren fi evasiti şehri Seferi'l-hayr
[57] seneti seman ve seb'in ve elf

bi-makami
Edirne
'l-mahruse^{ah}

Translation:

He, the Helper

[tugra] *Mehmed-shah, son of Ibrahim, the ever victorious khan*

This is the command of the noble, illustrious, lofty sultanic sign and of the illustrious, world-conquering imperial tugra (may it be effective through divine aid, munificent favor, and eternal protection!):

I who,
by the virtue of eternal grace and by the eternal support and spiritual guidance of His Majesty, the everlasting Creator and the imperishable Almighty (may His glory be exalted and His magnificence be glorified!), and by the miracles, shining with divine blessings, of our prophet Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), the chief of the two worlds, the bright sun of the heaven of prophecy, the superior, most generous friend of the sons of Adam, the intercessor for sinners on the Day of Judgment overpowering the group of prophets, and by the assistance of the support of the four companions, being as ornament, of the followers and associates of the Man of divine truth [i.e., of Muhammad],

am the servant of the two holy sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina], the destroyer of the building of infidelity and error, the sultan of sultans, the proof of emperors, the shadow of God on earth, the one, who issues orders to the Roman, Arab, and Persian countries, and is fit to command over the land of Iraq, the Tadzhiks, Turks, and [the people of] Dilem, the sovereign, who distributes the crowns and adorns the kingdom, the possessor of the crown, who leads troops and conquers countries, the padishah, the sultan, the sovereign of exalted position and the emperor of great glory of the heaven-reaching countries [situated] around the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea, and of the castles and buildings on the shores of the Black Sea, and of the [Lower] Egypt of Cairo, being the prodigy of the epoch, and of the exalted Upper Egypt, of Baghdad, the abode of peace, of Shehrizul, Mosul, Haleb [i.e., Aleppo], Damascus, of the harbors of Jidda and Suez, of the noble Jerusalem that must be respected, of the enlightened Medina and

^{ah} In A. the *locatio* is missing.

of the venerated Sacred Temple² of the Kaaba (may God increase them both with honor and reverence!), of the provinces of Ethiopia, Basra, Lahsa, Saida [i.e., Sidon], Beirut, Sana, Kurdistan, Georgia, Luristan, Diyarbakır, Erzurum, and Van, of the provinces of Anatolia, Rum, Zulkadir, Karaman, Adana, Izmir, Aydın, Saruhan, Germiyan, Rumelia, Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Akkerman, Caffa, Crimea, Azov, of the harbor of Kilia, of Očakiv, of the Kipchak steppe, of Bosnia, Buda, Temesvár, Eger, Kanizsa, Szigetvár, of the islands of Cyprus, Rodos, Chios, and Mytilene [i.e., Lesbos], and of Algiers, Western Tripoli, Tunis, and [its] native countries, [being] the area of the holy war, and especially of the city of Istanbul, which afflicts the Caesar-like kings with nostalgia and is the [most] prosperous of the countries, shining with fortune, and of many other countries of great respect, conquered and subjugated with a stroke of my fire-producing sword and with the power of my successful management, [being now] the domain of security and safety, the sultan, son of the sultan, Sultan Ghazi Mehemmed Khan, son of Sultan Ibrahim Khan, son of Sultan Ahmed Khan, son of Sultan Mehemmed Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Süleyman Khan.

Since the binding and the loosing of the matters of safety and security, and the rending and the mending of the acts of the empire have been committed to the grasp of my imperial power by the divine guidance of the Lord, while expressing gratitude for these bountiful blessings, it is my due and most important royal incumbency that our imperial kindnesses and favors be lavished and not be denied to those, who with sincere mind, truthfulness and honesty seek refuge and lean for support at our felicitous court.

Therefore, the king and commander of Poland, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, John Casimir (may his days end with good!), sent to our exalted court, where the lotus tree grows,³ which is the goal and attribute of the Caesars of the age and the shelter and refuge of the emperors of the world, his envoy Hieronim Radziejowski, the model of the Christian commanders, from among his chosen and esteemed governors, in order to renew the garments of the old treaty and pact and to strengthen the principles of the perpetual promise and union; and as he requested that our imperial 'ahdname be granted anew by our high sultanate according to [the contents of] the imperial 'ahdnames given previously from the glorious sides of my illustrious father residing in paradise and dwelling in heaven, Sultan Ibrahim Khan, and of my powerful uncle, Sultan Murad Khan (may God calm them both in the darkness!), and as the peace and amity, success and prosperity, respected from both sides since the prosperous times of our magnificent fathers and grandfathers, was firmly and strongly observed, his request from our abundant royal grace and from the excellence of imperial favors was associated with our imperial royal acceptance;

and in order to provide safety and tranquillity to the poor subjects, and repose and rest to the servants of God, the peace was concluded; and while we intended to issue our imperial 'ahdname, the aforementioned envoy died; then, according to the previous

² Tur.-Ar. *Beyti'l-Haram*.

³ The lotus tree is symbolic of Paradise.

conditions, negotiations were resumed with the cup-bearer [cześnik], Franciszek Kazimierz Wysocki, the pride among his peers in the Christian nations, appointed from your side as deputy and a second envoy in his place;⁴

and in order to respect, by the permission of God (may He be exalted!), the valid clauses and conditions that are stated below, I have given this imperial 'ahdname on the [fifteenth]⁵ day of the prosperous month of Safer of the year 1078 since the emigration [Hegira] of the pride of the two worlds, our great prophet, His Excellency Muhammad Mustafa; and I have ordered that:

As from the side of the Polish king, his governors, commanders, Cossack brigands, dependents, and other mischief-makers no meddling or interference should touch my fortresses and my towns situated within the borders of my well-protected dominions, and other boroughs, villages, and lands belonging to my well-guarded dominions, and one should not permit the Polish Cossacks to form companionship and bring mutual aid to the Cossacks of Muscovy, [but] they should be firmly restrained and those who trespass the prohibition should be punished, also from the side of my imperial majesty, and from the side of my great viziers, illustrious mirmirans, noble emirs, and victorious soldiers, the Moldavians and the Tatars dwelling in Dobrudja, Akkerman, Bender, and Očakiv, and others, no damage should touch the country, fortresses, towns, and other boroughs and villages of the Polish king, or the Polish country; the governors of both sides should guard the Tatar crossings on the Dniester, Turla,⁶ and others, and if they, while guarding, show negligence and carelessness, they should be dismissed and punished.

After the payments [virgüler] are sent every year on time to His Majesty, the abode of leadership, the Crimean khan and are delivered and brought to his agents, as was mutually agreed in the time of Islam Giray Khan,⁷ the Crimean khan should also respect the conditions of friendship and affection, as required by his duty, according to the old law; henceforth the khan, his kalga, and other mirzas should not bring any damage or harm to the Polish country. If an enemy invades [the lands of] the aforementioned king, and an envoy of the aforementioned [king] arrives asking for help and rescue, upon my noble order being given from my imperial side, the aforementioned khan with the Tatar army should bring rescue and help; and if from the side of my imperial majesty a campaign is ordered in any direction and it is necessary that the aforementioned khan, his kalga sultan or his mirzas set out with the Tatar army, they should not enter Poland but they should pass through the same places through which they have been accustomed to pass since olden times; and the Tatars should not dwell in Moldavia.

If after [the date of] this my imperial 'ahdname the Tatars, Moldavians, or others raid the countries of the Polish king or take captives, on receipt of a notification from the king, this sort [of mischief-maker] [will be found and punished, and the captives

⁴ I.e., in the place of Radziejowski; Wysocki was the secretary of his embassy.

⁵ I.e., 6 August 1667. This date is given only in A. copy, while the whole document is dated the second decade of Safer.

⁶ Turla is the Turkish name of the Dniester.

⁷ Islam Giray III reigned 1644–1654. Initially supporting the Cossack uprising of 1648, he mediated between the rebels and the Commonwealth, concluding agreements with the latter in 1649 at Zboriv (Pol. Zborów) and in 1653 at Žvanec' (Pol. Żwaniec).

and the stolen goods will be sent back. Polish slaves]⁸ captured after the date of this 'ahdname are not to be sold in my well-protected dominions. Likewise, if anybody from among the Cossack brigands comes and raids my well-protected dominions, the Polish king should find and punish him, and send back the captives and the [stolen] goods; henceforth the subjects of this side should not be sold as slaves in Poland.

If my victorious campaign is declared against any from among the infidel kings or others, whether the presence of my glorious majesty is necessary or a serdar is appointed to attack this enemy with my victorious army along with the rulers [voyvodalar] of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, if an envoy from the side of my enemy reaches him [i.e., the Polish king] asking for help and aid, the Polish king should not help my enemy with his army or treasury so as to prove the loyalty and honesty toward my felicitous threshold and to realize the amity and agreement. If anybody from the side of my enemy comes and wants to recruit soldiers in Poland, it should be forbidden and permission should not be granted. And one should not permit anybody from among his [i.e., the king's] magnates [hersek], commanders, and others who voluntarily want to bring help to my enemy, and permission should not be given [to them], either secretly or openly. As Transylvania belongs to my natural domain by the inheritance and transfer from my magnificent grandfathers, [royal relations] with the rulers of Transylvania, and with the Hungarian kings, who display loyalty toward this side, should also be based on sincere amity; and if an enemy appears in Transylvania, no help should be given to this enemy, either secretly or openly. And if anybody from among the Transylvanian, Moldavian, and Wallachian rulers, governors, or others commits an offence and escapes to Poland, this sort [of mischief-maker] should not be accepted but, in respect to the mutual friendship and intimacy, should be captured and sent to my felicitous threshold in bonds and chains. In this manner [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy.

And now, in order to strengthen the friendship between [us], as it was requested that the Polish dependents and subjects may bring merchandise to the seaport town of Akkerman by the river Dniester, and buy and sell, nobody will hinder those who come harmless for the purpose of trade and who have no intention of bringing damage or harm to my well-protected dominions.

And as long as the friendship between the Polish king and my felicitous threshold is firm, [the relationships] between the Moldavian hospodars and the Polish kings should also be kept in the same friendly way as they have been since olden times.

When [royal] agents come from Poland and find in [various] sites of my well-protected dominions prisoners from among the Poles captured previously in the days of enmity, who have persisted in infidelity and not become Muslim, their owners should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath and, after it is known, they should not demand more than they had paid. After they pay their price [the agents] may take [these prisoners] to their country and nobody should hinder them from leaving. [But,] they should not interfere in [the matters of] those among the prisoners who have not persisted in infidelity and have become Muslim; they should preserve their status. And if anybody from either side is captured after [the date of] the writing of the 'ahdname, one should let him go without ransom.

⁸ The portion beginning "will be found and punished . . ." is missing; see note p and Document 46, note 6.

When the envoys and agents of both sides enter and come, they do not need a safe-conduct [vere-kagıdı] and no harm or damage should be done to them or to their belongings.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land through the seaports of their customary preference, and sell and buy; according to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places; [but] nobody should inflict damage on their property and lives.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from the country of the aforementioned Polish king dies in my well-protected dominions, his effects will not be seized by the state treasury [miri] but handed over to the heads of the caravan, so that they may take them [to their country]⁹ and hand them over to his heirs. Likewise, from the other side no interference should be done to the goods and effects of the merchants of this side, who die in Poland, but [their goods] should be sent to their heirs [living] on this side.

If a demand for [the repayment of] a debt arises from a conflict between the merchants and others coming from the two sides concerning debt and loan, trade, or other matters, in whichever place it happens, the petition should be heard by a local judge, either on this side or the other; after it is justly investigated and examined, whichever debt is proved, it should be handed over [to the claimant]; and nobody should oppose or act in a contrary manner.

But, both sides should hinder those who want to injure and disturb unjustly a person having neither debt nor guilt for the reason of a suit and claim concerning the debt or guilt of somebody else; unless it is registered that [this person] has stood as surety for a loss of goods, nobody should be injured and disturbed without a reason and cause. Until one looks at the kadi record [sicil], kadi's certificates [hüccetler], or bills, which ought to be observed, being in the hands of such [claimant] individuals, no single false witness should be brought and one should not proceed according to his impostures and lies. In sum, the judges of both sides should display an utmost care, and if the origin and authenticity of a case and suit is not known and verified by the judge of the time, one should not hear [such] a groundless claim.

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm to the goods and life of anybody from among such [merchants], the judicial authorities should find this sort [of evildoer] and severely punish them; after it is proved, the stolen goods should be handed over to their owners.

The envoys and other agents coming by reason of friendship¹⁰ should not be hindered and should enter and come secure and safe; upon reaching the borders an escort should be given to their side; one should proceed likewise on the other side;

the border commanders of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland across the river Dniester except the servants [kullar] of my felicitous threshold and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should take [them] away from their hands and send [them] back.

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret; after they have made their presence known, if their sheep are lost, the land authorities should find them and give them [back to them].

⁹ Missing, cf. note r and Document 46, note u.

¹⁰ In Document 46: "within the time period of friendship."

The baggage horses of the individuals [i.e., the Polish merchants] who come and depart should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janis-saries on campaign.

When the merchants of both sides pay their taxes and customs duties, as they used to pay, one should not demand that they pay more than they used to pay and one should not impose excessive duties; they should pay in the same manner and amount as they used to pay; one should not do anything contrary to established custom. When Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand [i.e., the royal subjects] want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted areas or hidden places, but they should come by the public road, which has been customarily traveled by merchants. If an injury is done to the property or soul [i.e., life] of any of such [merchants], the evildoers should be captured and punished. Merchants, who come and go in sincerity, should not be molested; after their customs duties are collected according to the old law, one should not demand that they pay taxes called departure money [reft akçesi] or the tax on animals [kas-sabiye] in Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne.

And one should not impose customs duties on the cash [guruşlar] which they bring, whether it is reals [riyal], black thalers [kara guruş], lion [thalers] [esedi], or Polish thalers [Lih guruş].

As it was altogether written and registered in the imperial 'ahdname brought by the said ambassador, and corroborated and reinforced by hard and strong oaths, for the sake of the safety and rest of the servants of God and of the tranquillity and ease of the poor subjects, I have also accepted, respected, recognized, and fixed the peace, friendship, and intimacy between the aforementioned Polish king and my felicitous sublime threshold in the same manner, and I have given anew this imperial 'ahdname, [and I have ordered]¹¹ that:

Henceforth, for the [remaining] days of my imperial rule and for the time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, one will proceed according to the conditions, clauses, articles, and agreements detailed above, and one will arrange and complete the requirements of peace and amity, as necessary. As on the part of the king, his commanders, governors, and others nothing should occur contrary and adverse to the peace and amity that may cause the breaking of the agreement and treaty or provoke a disturbance of the clauses and faith, and as they should respect the rules of amity and peace, as necessary, and they should properly endeavor and be assiduous in repulsing the Cossack brigands who are the cause of intrigue and mischief; also by my glorious majesty I swear with a strong oath by the sake of God, the Creator of earth and heaven (may His glory be exalted!), and by the sake of the miracles of our great and dear prophet, the sun of the two worlds, Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), that no minor or major variation or violation will occur in the clauses concluded in the above described manner. For the remaining period of my long-lived rule and for the fixed time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, this peace and amity will be fixed and firm, and this treaty and peace will be permanent and stable, so that all

¹¹ Missing, cf. the identical segment in Document 38.

the subjects of these countries may live under the felicitous shadow and shade of my protection in a state of tranquillity and in a prosperous condition. Thus they must know. They should trust to the noble sign [i.e., tugra].

Written in the second decade of the prosperous month of Safer of the year 1078, in the place of Edirne, the well-protected.

DOCUMENT 49 (26 JANUARY 1670)
The royal confirmation of the treaty of 1667
[Facs. XIX]

Original parchment document in Latin: AGAD, AKW, Dokumenty pergaminowe, no. 5623.

84 × 67.5 cm.

the crown is drawn at the top

margins ornamented in gold, black, blue, yellow and red

text (black and gold)

six holes were pierced in the document to attach the seal; the parchment bears the impression of the string of the now removed seal

Published in facsimile in J. Siemieński, *Diplomatie de l'ancienne Pologne présentée en reproductions des actes des archives exposées dans la section du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères à l'Exposition Générale Polonaise à Poznań en 1929* (Poznań, 1929), pp. 30–31.

Michael Dei gratia Rex Poloniarum, Magnus Dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Masoviae, Samogitiae, Kiioviae, Volhyniae, Podlachiae, Podoliae, Livoniae, Smolensciae, Severiae, Czerniehoviaeque. Significamus praesentibus literis nostris, quorum interest, universis et singulis. Quod cum nos post serenissimum et potentissimum Ioannem Casimirum regem antecessorem nostrum gloriosissima regni huius insignia ultro ac libere abdicantem, liberrimae gentis suffragiis avitam maiorum nostrorum Iagelloniorum, unde ortum et sanguinem duximus, coronam assumpserimus. Ideo exemplo serenissimorum antecessorum nostrorum, qui semper cum Serenissima Porta Ottomanica amicitiam et bonam vicinitatem coluerunt, ad eandem mittere decrevimus, prout et ablegari mandavimus generosum Franciscum Casimirum Wysocki pincernam terrae Sochaczoviensis, secretarium et aulicum nostrum, et simul expediri descripta faedera [*sic*], quae inter serenissimum ac potentissimum principem Sultan Mechmet Chan ex una, et serenissimum ac potentissimum principem Ioannem Casimirum regem antecessorem nostrorum ex altera parte iuramentis ab utrinque firmata intercesserunt. Quae **Nos** uti in omnibus punctis, conditionibus, articulis approbamus et recipimus. Ita vicissim **eundem Serenissimum et Potentissimum Principem Sultan Mechmet Chan, Maximum Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, atque in Asia, Africa et Europa, Persarum, Arabum, Syriae, Cypri, Aegyptique dominum, amicum et vicinum nostrum carissimum** approbaturum et recepturum, servaturumque considimus.¹

Ac inprimis Serenissimus Imperator, bassae, officiales, exercitus, Valachi, Bialogrodenses,

¹ The whole section containing the articles of peace is written in italics.

Budziacenses et vulgo Dobruczanie, Benderczykowie² Tartari aliique omnes illius subditi terris, castris, civitatibus, oppidis, villis, ditionis nostrae nullum incommodum vel damnum inferre debebunt. Cui rei ut quam optime ad Tyram in traiectionibus Tartaricis eorundem locorum tenentarii sub poena et privatione officiorum suorum attendant, Serenissimus Imperator serio demandabit. Quemadmodum neque nos ullum damnum aut detrimentum civitatibus, villis, ditionibus Maiestatis Suae illaturi sumus; subditisque nostris, cuiuscunque gradus et conditionis existant, mandaturi, ne quod detrimentum vel incommodum ditionibus Serenissimi Imperatoris inferant; et praesertim Cosacos tanquam subditos nostros sub disciplinam bonam accepturi, tum neque eis coniunctionem cum Cosacis Dunensibus permissuri, licentiososque ac inobedientes puniuri sumus.

Carus Perecopensis³ et sultan galga, tum murzae observando hoc foedus in toto, quod duraverit, nulla damna ditionibus nostris inferent; immo cum exercitu suo ad auxilium nostrum, si a nobis requisiti fuerint, contra quemvis hostem venire et nobis adesse tenebuntur. Nos vero stipendium solitum militare eis dabimus.

Quod si quispiam ex Tartaris, Valachis, seu aliis quibuscunque a die renovationis horum pactorum causa praedarum abducendorumque hominum perirruptionem et invasionem subditis et ditionibus nostris damna et iniurias intulerint, idque a nobis Serenissimae Portae nuntiarum fuerit, eiusmodi captivi libere dimitti debent, neque in ditionibus illius vendi poterunt. Similiter nos, si Cosaci licentiosi subditique nostri caeteri facta incursione in ditiones suas aliquid praedati fuerint, animadversionem in eos faciemus, captivique abducti ad Serenissimum Imperatorem spectantes (quorum nullus in ditionibus nostris etiam vendi debet) cum rebus restituantur.

Carus Perecopensis et sultan galga cum murzis exercituque Tartarico, si eis cum Maiestate Illius ad bellum aliquod ire contigerit, antiquis itinerum tractatibus non tangendo fines ditionumstrarum transire debebunt.

Vetabit Serenissimus Imperator, ne gens Tartarorum Valachiam incolat.

Quod si nobis ad bellum contra aliquem hostem ire contigerit, nemini talium ob sinceram inter nos et illum amicitiam viribus seu opibus Serenissimus Imperator auxiliabitur, militemque contra nos colligi non permittet, neque officialibus exercituum suorum, neque aliis clam seu palam contra nos in subsidium eundi potestatem dabit. Quemadmodum et nos, si Serenissimo Imperatori ad bellum contra aliquem regum christianorum seu aliorum ire contigerit, nemini talium ob sinceram inter nos et illum amicitiam viribus seu opibus auxiliabimur. Militem contra Serenissimum Imperatorem colligi non permittemus, neque officialibus exercituum nostrorum neque aliis clam seu palam contra eum in subsidium eundi potestatem dabimus. Pari ratione, si quis hostium in Serenissimum Imperatorem a partibus Transylvaniae arma sumpserit, nullam ei opem et auxilium feremus.

Nullis subditis nostris, ex regno et ditionibus nostris ob malefacta profugientibus, receptum in imperio et ditionibus suis Serenissimus Imperator non dabit, seu eos victos ad nos remitti curabit. Similiter et nos palatinis ex Ungaria, Valachia aut Moldavia, propter malefacta profugientibus, receptum in regno et dominiis nostris non dabimus, sed eos victos ad Maiestatem Suam remitti curabimus.

Serenissimus Imperator amicus amicis, inimicus vero inimicis nostris erit. Quemadmodum et nos amici amicis, inimici vero inimicis eius futuri sumus.

² Dobruczanie, Benderczykowie (Pol.), i.e., the inhabitants of Dobrudja and Bender.

³ I.e., the Crimean khan.

Efficiet Serenissimus Imperator, ut durante hoc foedere palatini terrarum Moldaviae nobis iuxta antiquam consuetudinem sinceros sese exhibeant. Captivi nostri, si qui in ditionibus Serenissimi Imperatoris reperti fuerint, in christiana religione perseverantes, eos homines nostri cum invenerint, libere redimere poterunt, eodem quo empti sunt pretio. Et si de pretio aliqua differentia exorta fuerit, nempe si maius quam quo empti sunt eorum domini extorquere voluerint, tunc emptores more fidei suae captivorum pretium praestito iuramento comprobare, atque eo accepto subditos nostros libere manumittere sint adstricti. Quicumque vero ex subditis nostris a die inchoatorum ad tempus usque terminandorum foederum capti in ditiones Serenissimi Imperatoris abducti fuerint, ii absque omni pretio libere dimitti debebunt. Similiter quicumque illius subditi capti in ditiones nostras abducti fuerint, ii libere absque quovis pretio dimittantur.

Oratores seu legati, internuntii et servitores nostri liberum transitum, accessum et recessum ad Serenissimum Imperatorem nullis literis liberi transitus ad id requisitis habere debent, personis et rebus eorum salvis. Eodem pacto nos et subditi nostri erga Suae Maiestatis oratores seu legatos, internuntios et servitores geremus et conservabimus.

Mercatoribus utriusque gentis liber tam terra quam mari, perque Tyram ad dominium Białogrodense, transitus in terris et ditionibus per civitates, oppida et loca omnia, theloneo pro more soluto, esse debent, personis et rebus eorum omnibus salvis. Armeni alique mercatores ex ditionibus nostris in Valachiam et alia dominia Serenissimi Imperatoris, merces coemendi gratia, per deserta abolitaeque loca non eant, sed qua via antiquitus mercatores proficisci solebant, et illi debent, salvis personis et rebus ipsorum; quod si per aliquos latrones licentiosos damnum ipsis illatum fuerit, extunc Serenissimus Imperator ex eiusmodi captis sumere poenam tenebitur. Item, mercatoribus nostris, qui vere mercatores sunt, nulla debet fieri molestia, dummodo vectigal iuxta morem antiquum vulgo in Stambule, Bursie,⁴ et Edrinopoli persolvant, ad particularia vero et oppidanea thelonea non tenebuntur. Quod si vero aliquem mercatorem nostrum in ditionibus Serenissimi Imperatoris mori contigerit, eius res et merces pro Sua Maiestate confiscari non debent, sed omnes ad karavan⁵ deportari, eiusque locis praefecto ad integre asservandum dari, et cum per hominem nostrum literas nostras habentem requisitae fuerint extradi debebunt.⁶ Eodem modo nos subditique nostri erga mercatores Serenissimi Imperatoris geremus. Deinde si mercatores utriusque gentis invicem aliquod debitum in pecunia sive mercibus contraxerint, nec in tempore sibi satisfecerint, debitores ubicunque locorum deprehenduntur, respondere coram iudicio debebunt, ubi secundum iustitiam debitum creditoribus adiudicetur sine omni dilatione. Innocentes vero propter aliena debita non turbentur. Vadimoniorum causa debitorum oppignorationum si aliqua contentio inter subditos utriusque gentis exorta fuerit, diligenter scrutandae ac revidendae sunt recognitiones, non fidendo falsis testimoniis; ac proinde iudices sedulo incumbant, ne hac in parte falsis delationibus facile detur fides.

Fures et latrones, cum alicui ex subditis utriusque gentis res et merces vi aut dolo abstulerint, per officium aut iudicium vicinum inquirantur, et sine mora puniantur, resque

⁴ *W Stambule, Bursie* (Pol.), i.e., at Istanbul and Bursa.

⁵ I.e., caravanserai.

⁶ This clause seems to be anachronic. Since 1598 (see Document 28) the goods of deceased Polish merchants had been handed over to the heads of caravans and carried to Poland without waiting for a royal letter.

ablata domino praevio testimonio integre restituantur. Salvo iure legatorum utriusque gentis, quibus liber ut supra transitus esse debet; quare Silistriensis et Bialogrodensis praefecti, custodes portuum diligenter curabunt, ne quempiam per Tyram aliosque fluvios in ditiones nostras transire permittant, solummodo legatos, internuntios et mercatores; quod ex parte nostra idem observabitur, ut nemo alius praeter legatos, internuntios et mercatores in ditiones Serenissimi Imperatoris ingrediatur. Quod si aliquos captivos ex regno et dominiis nostris in ditiones Serenissimi Imperatoris abduci per quempiam contigerit, ii recipi et libere dimitti per Maiestatis Suae portuum custodes debent.

Pastores cum greges et armenta ultra Tyram et Borysthenem in parte nostra seu fundo pascere voluerint, sine diffugis gregem hunc notificare, tributum que a pascuis conductis huic, qui ad id designatus fuerit persolvere teneantur. Si vero iisdem pastoribus, postquam in toto persolverint a pascuis, oves perierint, officium seu iudicium vicinum eas inquirere et reddere sit astrictum.

Equi subditis et mercatoribus nostris per subditos Serenissimi Imperatoris pro vecturis, seu per ianczaros belli tempore ne accipiantur.

Quae quidem omnia in literis hisce expressa, si Serenissimus Imperator plene, integre, inviolate religioseque tenebit et servabit ad extrema vitae suae tempora, et iuramento Deo Omnipotenti et Prophetae suo Machometo caeterisque prophetis praestito confirmabit, nos etiam similiter ea omnia in literis hisce expressa, plene, integre, inviolate religioseque tenere et servare ad extrema vitae nostrae tempora spondemus, pollicemur et iureiurando per nomen Dei Omnipotentis confirmamus, dummodo ex parte Serenissimi Imperatoris occasio aliqua rumpendi huiusce faederis [*sic*] non detur, quam nos nullam Deo duce daturi sumus et certo pollicemur. In cuius rei fidem praesentes sigillo regni communiri iussimus. Dabantur Varsaviae die XXVI^a mensis Ianuarii, anno a nativitate **Dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi** millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo, regnorum vero nostrorum anno primo.

[the place of the affixed seal]

Ad mandatum Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis proprium, Boguslaus comes de Leszno, praepositus Plocensis, canonicus Cracoviensis, regens Regni Cancellariae Maioris, manu propria.

DOCUMENT 50 (16 OCTOBER 1672)
The Polish document of the agreement of Buczacz

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. AGAD, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich, sign. 45 (old sign. Wilanów 45), vol. 4, pp. 153–55.

B. AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich [AZ], sign. 3037 (old sign. BOZ 1808), fol. 222a–225b.

Published in a) “Diaryusz Legacyi Ichmć PP^w Wołyńskiego i Czernichowskiego Kasztellanów, y Je^omć P^a Jana Szomowskiego, Podskarbiego Nadwornego Koronnego, Commissarzów do traktatu pokoju z Portą Ottomańską wyprawionych, in Anno 1672” in: *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*. Vol. 2: *Acta Joannis Sobieski*, vol. 1, pt. 2. Edited by F. Kluczycki (Cracow, 1881), pp. 1099–1119, esp. pp. 1113–14; b) *Theatrum Pacis*, vol. 2 (Nuremberg, 1685), pp. 575–79 (provided with a German translation); c) J. Dumont, *Corps Universel diplomatique*, vol. 7, pt. 1, p. 212; d) *Treaties, etc. between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, pp. 382–84.

Puncta Tractatus inter Serenissimum Michaellem, Poloniae Regem, ac Serenissimum et Potentissimum Sultanum Machmet Han, Imperatorem Turcarum, per illustres et magnificos dominos commissarios ab utraque parte destinatos agitata et conclusa, in castris imperialibus ad oppidum Buczacz positis; 1672, die 16 Octobris.^a

1. Tartari habitantes antea in Regno Poloniae, nuncupati alias Lipcae, quicumque iam exiverunt, et sese dominio Serenissimae Portae subdiderunt, uxores autem suas reliquerunt, easdem ac liberos suos et bona mobilia libere ac sine ullo gravamine repetere possint; alii autem, qui adhuc in regno remanserunt, cum uxoribus, liberis et bonis mobilibus, exeundi vel remanendi, libertatem habeant.

2. Quolibet anno Serenissimus Rex Poloniae per ablegatos suos mittet pro munere ad Serenissimam Portam Otthomanicam viginti duo millia aureorum, incipiendo id facere post finitum annum praesentem 1672, futuri anni 1673 die 5 novembris, id est die Sancti Demetrii. Idque tempus sequentibus annis semper observabitur ea conditione, ut finitimos Poloniae Turcas, Tartaros, et Cosacos, aliosque populos [Portae subiacentes],^b Serenissimus Imperator arceat ab incursionibus, ne ab illis ullum damnum terris Regni Poloniae aut incolis inferatur. Si vero aliquod damnum illatum fuerit, Serenissimus Rex Poloniae requirit per literas satisfactionem; quam si non

^a B. *Anno Domini 1672, die 17 mensis Octobris*.

^b In B. only.

obtinerit a Porta Otthomanica per bassam confinianum,^c iam pro eodem anno munera non mittet.

3. Podolia secundum antiqua confinia dominio Porthae Otthomanicae subiacebit, et si erit aliqua controversia de confiniis et limitibus Podoliae, tum ex consensu dominorum utriusque partis commissarii constituti ibunt ad limites, de quibus controversia erit, et secundum iustitiam et informationem senum et in illa re versatorum,^d conclusio fiet. Praesidia polonica, quae sunt in Podolia, exhibunt cum familiis bonisque mobilibus, et propriis armis; Porta vero Otthomanica castella et oppida, quaecumque fuerunt expugnata vel per deditionem capta in palatinatu Russiae, integra cum hominibus et munitione ex nunc reddet dominio Regis Poloniae. In Podolia eosdem omnes proventus describent; post quam descriptionem, nobilibus Podoliae, habentibus ibi suas possessiones, liberum erit manere in suis oppidis et pagis; tributa autem, decimas, et ceteros proventus a suis subditis collecta secundum proportionem factam, reddent commissariis a Sua Caesarea Maestate constitutis; pro se autem sufficientes proventus assignatos habebunt. Praedicti nobiles et illorum filii liberi erunt, neque removebuntur ab iisdem bonis, nisi iusta causa, et excessu aliquo commisso. Ex prole illorum, subditorumque, ut et aliorum in Podolia christianorum, nullae a Serenissimo Imperatore, vel quopiam alio, accipientur decimae; liberum cuique exercitium religionis suae conceditur, et indemnitas ecclesiarum cavetur, exceptis arcibus, in quibus aedificabuntur templa Turcica. Ex Cameneco, et aliis locis Podoliae, in spatio duorum mensium a conclusione pactorum, liberum erit exire unicuique qui voluerit, cum uxoribus, liberis utriusque sexus, et bonis mobilibus; securitatemque exeuntibus usque ad confinia Regni Poloniae Portha Otthomanica procurabit; subditi autem manere tenebuntur.

4. Ukraina secundum antiquos limites relinquetur Cosacis, et si aliqua de confiniis erit controversia, ita componetur, ut supra de Podolia dictum. Biała Cerkiew, et alia fortalitia ad Ukrainam pertinentia, reddentur etiam Cosacis praesidiis evacuata. Praesidiariis autem cum supellectili, bonis suis, et armis propriis, securum iter usque ad confinia regni cavetur, eo adiecto, ne plus quindecim ex tormentis ad arcem Biało Cerkieviensem spectantibus secum avehant. Ex aedificiis autem nihil destruant. Cosaci, qui cum Hanenko¹ fuerant, libertatem redeundi, si voluerint, ad bona sua habebunt, et nulla ipsis fiet iniuria, quousque manebunt pacifici. Hanenko autem [ipse]^e non veniat.

5. Vetera et antiqua pacta inter Regem Poloniae et Serenissimam Portam Otthomanicam in integro conservantur, exceptis his punctis, quae praesentibus pactis tolluntur.

^c B. *bassam confinium sive limitaneum*.

^d In A. spelled erroneously *versutorum*.

¹ Myxajlo Xanenko, the Cossack leader with proPolish sympathies and the adversary of Dorošenko.

^e In B. only.

DOCUMENT 51 (18 OCTOBER 1672)
The Ottoman document of the agreement of Buczacz
[Facs. XX]

Original document in Turkish: Bibl. Czart., ms. 609, fol. 46a–46b = pp. 89–90 (*KDT*, pp. 357–59).

60 × 42.5 cm.

pençe (black, sprinkled with gold sand)

text (black): *divani kırmazı*

oval seal (*mühür*) is affixed next to the pençe

Turkish copy:

A. Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Cod. Ms. Turc. 29, fol. 208a–209a.

Turkish copies quoted in Ottoman chronicles:¹

B. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Halet Efendi 615: Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa, *Vekayiname*, fol. 152b–153a.

C. *Silahdar Tarihi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1928), pp. 615–17.

D. *Tarih-i Raşid Efendi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1282/1865–1866), pp. 284–87.

French translation by Crutta: Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 146a–149b.

efkarü'l-‘ibad Ahmed Paşa^a
sahh

Allahu ber hatem-i dil-i bin-i Mehmed Ahmed^b
wa ma tawfiki illa bi'llah 'aleyhi tawakkaltu wa ileyhi 'unibu

bi-'inayeti'llahi ta'ala işbu bin seksen üç senesinde vakı' mah-i Cemaziye'l-ahirin yigirmi beşinci gününde Buçaş^c sahrasında darb olunan ordu-i hümayun-

¹ Perhaps the texts quoted in Ottoman chronicles were based on the '*ahdname*', issued five days later at Žvanec', as they include certain clauses of this longer and more solemn document that are missing in the *temessük* (*ma damki Leh kralı tarafından . . .*); however, they are identified as the Buczacz treaty and not as the '*ahdname*'. Moreover, the sultan is referred to in the third person, as in the *temessük* (*ordu-i hümayuna*, i.e., "to the imperial army"), and not in the first person, as in the '*ahdname* (*ordu-i hümayunuma*, i.e., "to my imperial army").

^a Text of the *pençe*.

^b Text of the seal, (*mühür*). The reading of the hardly legible inner verse has been kindly suggested by Prof. Halil Inalcık. For the outer inscription containing the same fragment of the Koranic verse, see Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Devleti zamanında kullanılmış olan bazı mühürler hakkında bir tetkik," *Belleten* 4 (1940): 495–544, esp. pp. 510 and 523.

^c بوچاش.

i şevket-makruna mevad-i musalaha söyleşilüb 'akd-i sulh u salah ricasıyla Leh kırāl ve memleketleri ahalilerinden vekiller gelmekle devlet-i 'aliye tarafından dahi vezir-i mükerrrem sa'adetlü ve devletlü kaymakam Mustafa Paşa hazretleri vekil ta'yin olunub Leh tarafından gelen Volina hakimi Lupofski^d ve Çernehov kapudanı Silnički^e ve defterdar-i sani Zumofčki^f nam vekiller ile 'akd-i meclis olunub ba'de'l-mükaleme karar-dade olan mevad-i musalahadır ki zikr olunur

madde-i evvel

hala çıkub ordu-i hümayuna dahil olan Lipka^g Tatarlarının ehl ü 'ayal ve mallerine zarar u ziyan götürölmeye ve ta'ife-i mezbureden Dar-i Islama çıkmak murad idenlere mani' olmayub ehl ü 'ayalları ve malleriyle çıkalar kimesne mani' olmaya

madde-i saniye

rikab-i hümayun-i şevket-makrun-i padişahiye be-her sene yigirmi ikişer bin altun pişkeş virilüb işbu bin seksen üç senesinde vakı' ruz-i Kasım ibtida'-i sene tutulub seksen dört senesinde vakı' ruz-i Kasımda ki sene-i ahridir getirüb hazine-i 'amme-i padişahiye bi't-tamam teslim eyleyeler şöl şartla ki 'asker-i Islamdan ve Tatar ve Kazak ta'ifesinden bölük gelüb vilayetlerin urub garet eylemeyeler iderler ise Kamanıçe^h hakimine i'lam eyleyeler def' ü men' eylemez ise asitane-i sa'adete 'arz eyleyeler bundan sonra dahi men' olmayub garet olunur ise ol senenin pişkeş virmeyeler

madde-i salise

Podolyaⁱ memleketi 'umumen hudud-i kadimesiyle şevketlü ve 'azametlü padişah-i 'alem-penah hazretlerinin olub^j Leh 'askeri içinde bulunan kal'elerden çıkub ehl ü 'ayal ve esbabları ve kendü selamlarıyla gidüb top ve cebehanesinden bir şey götürmeyeler ve mükabelesinde Podolyadan haric alınan Urus^k palankaları hala içinde mevcut bulunan adamları ve toplarıyla girü kendülerine virile ve Podolya memleketinin sınır u hududında niza' vakı' olur ise tarafeynden hakimler ma'rifetiyle adamlar ta'yin olunub ve iki serhadd ahalilerinden müsinn ü ihtiyar vilayet erleriyle üzerine varlub cemm-i gafır kangı hudud dahilinde olduğuna şehadet iderler ise anınla 'amal oluna Podolya memleketi tahrir olunub kadimden palanka sahibi olan Leh begzadelerinden her kangısı serhadda kalmak murad iderler ise mukaddema ellerinde olan palankalarının ve köylerinin haracları ve i'şar-i şer'iyeleri ve sa'ir virgüleri hesab olunub maktu'an ol begzadelerin yedilerinden alına ve

^d ولنه حاکمی لپوفسکی.

^e چرنهجو قبودانی سلنچکی.

^f دفتردار ثانی زوموفچکی.

^g لپقه.

^h قمنیچه.

ⁱ پودولیه.

^j C. and D. taraf-i padişahiye teslim olunub.

^k اوروس.

kendülerinin kefaf-i nefslerine yarar şey ta'yin oluna ve kendüleri ve evladları mu'af olub ma damki hıyanetleri zahir olmaya bu hizmetden ref' olunmayalar ve hilaf-i şer' rencide olunmayalar ve devşirme ferman olunur ise bunlardan ve re'ayalarından devşirme alınmaya ve kal'elerde cami' ve mescid olandan ma 'ada ellerinde ibka olunan kiliselerine müdahale olunmayub ayin-i batılların sa'ir serhaddlardaki gibi icra eylediklerinde rencide olunmaya ve Kamaniçeden ve Podolya palankalarından Leh vilayetine gitmek isteyen begzadeler ehl ü evladlarıyla salıman iki aya dek gidüb kimesne mani' olmaya amma bu bahane ile re'ayadan kimesne gitmeye

madde-i rabi'e

Ukrayna¹ memleketi hudud-i kadimesiyle Kazaga virile ve Ukrayna memleketinin hudud u sınırunda niza' vakı' olur ise Podolya memleketi gibi fasl oluna ve Byalu Çerkav^m nam kal'e ve sa'ir Ukraynada olan kal'elerden Leh 'askeri ihrac olub silahlarıyla ve esbab ve 'ayallarıyla iki aya dek kalmayub gideler ve kal'elerde olan toplar ve cebehanesi kalub ancak Byalu Çerkavdan kebir ü sagır ve evsat on beş top götüreler ve yeniden etdikleri binaları hedm itmeyeler ve Hanenkoⁿ nam Kazagın yanında olan Kazaklar Ukraynada olan evlerine gelmek istediklerinde kimesne mani' olmayub ve kendü hallerinde oldukça rencide olunmayalar amma Hanenko gelmeye ve bundan evvel ma'mulün-bih olan 'ahdname balada mezkur olan şurut u kuyuda mugayir olan mevadd tarh u ibtal olunub muvafık olanlar ke-ma fi'l-evvel ibka olunub inşa'a'llahu ta'ala müceddeden 'ahdname-i hümayun virile tahriren fi't-tarihi'l-mezbur

Translation:

[pençe] *The most humble of the servants [of God], Ahmed Pasha*
"correct"

[seal] *Allah is like the seal of the heart of Mehmed's son, Ahmed*
"My hope for prosperity is only with God,
*in Whom I placed my confidence and to Whom I pray"*²

By the grace of God—may He be exalted!—on this [day], the twenty-fifth day of the month of Djumada II of the year 1083, deputies from the side of the Polish king and of the inhabitants of his dominions came to the glorious imperial army encamped on the plain of Bučač with a request to conclude peace and amity; and the matters of reconciliation were discussed; also from the side of the high [Ottoman] state the respected vizier, felicitous and illustrious kaymakam, his excellency Mustafa Pasha was appointed

¹ اوقراینه.

^m بیالو چرقاو.

ⁿ حاننکو.

² A fragment of verse 88 of sura 11 of the *Koran*, see Muhammad F. 'Abd al-Baqi, *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras li-alfaz al-Qur'an al-Karim* (Istanbul, [1979]), p. 762.

deputy; a conference was held with the deputies from the Polish side, the castellan of Volhynia, [Jan Franciszek] Lubowiecki,³ the castellan of Czernihów, [Gabriel] Silnicki, and the second treasurer, [Jan] Szumowski;⁴ the articles of pacification fixed after the negotiations are as follows:

The first article:

One should not bring harm or damage to the people, wives,⁵ and property of the Lipka Tatars who have recently left [Poland] and joined the imperial army; those from among the aforementioned tribe who want to emigrate to the Islamic domain should not be hindered; their people with their wives and property should be allowed to go and nobody should hinder [them].

The second article:

Every year a gift [pişkeş]⁶ of twenty-two thousand gold coins [altun] should be given to the glorious imperial stirrup of the padishah, regarding the day of Kasim⁷ of this year 1083 as the beginning of the year [of account]; they should bring and deliver the whole sum to the imperial public treasury [hazine-i 'amme] on the day of Kasim⁸ of the year [10]84, which is the end of the year [of account], on condition that nobody from among the Muslim soldiers,⁹ or from among the Tatars or Cossacks, arrives in company, strikes or raids their [i.e., Polish] provinces. If such occurs, they [i.e., the Poles] should notify the governor of Kamieniec, and if he does not stop and prevent [these raids], they should apply to the felicitous threshold. Thereafter, if it is still not prevented and if a raid takes place, they should not give the gift for that year.

The third article:

The province of Podolia within its old boundaries becomes [a domain] of his majesty, the refuge of the universe, the majestic and great padishah; the Polish soldiers may safely leave the fortresses situated within [this province] with their people, wives, and property, but they should not take any of the cannons and munitions. In return, the Ruthenian forts¹⁰ conquered outside Podolia should be returned to them [i.e., to the Poles] with men and cannons that are present there now. If a dispute arises concerning the frontiers

³ Abrahamowicz erroneously reads: "the palatine of Vilna (Pol. Wilno), Lipowski;" see *KDT*, p. 358.

⁴ Abrahamowicz erroneously reads: "Zamoyski;" see *KDT*, p. 358. Szumowski's post of the court treasurer (*podskarbi nadworny*) is correctly rendered here as "the second treasurer" (*defterdar-i sani*). Indeed, this post was second in rank after the Crown treasurer (*podskarbi koronny*).

⁵ The word *'ayal* is explained in the Redhouse dictionary as: "a household, including a man's wife."

⁶ The word *pişkeş* is explained in the Redhouse dictionary as: "a gift brought to a superior."

⁷ *Ruz-i Kasım*, i.e., 5 November 1672.

⁸ I.e., 5 November 1673.

⁹ I.e., the Ottoman soldiers.

¹⁰ *Urus palankaları*, i.e., the forts situated in the palatinate of Ruthenia (centered in Lwów) bordering on Podolia.

and borders of the province of Podolia, agents should be appointed from both sides under supervision of the governors; they should arrive at a place [in dispute], accompanied by the aged and experienced men from among the inhabitants of border territories of the two sides; if they testify in a great assembly, within which borders has been situated [this place], one should proceed accordingly. After a survey register [tahrir] of the province of Podolia is executed, if anybody from among the Polish nobles, being the former fort owners, wishes to remain within the [Podolian] borders, the harac, şer'î tithes,¹¹ and other taxes [due] from the forts and villages, being previously in their hands, will be calculated and collected from the hands of these nobles as a lump sum. And the necessary means, sufficient to supply their necessities of life, will be assigned [to them]. They and their children will be exempt [from extraordinary taxes]; as long as they commit no treachery, they will not be dismissed from these services and they will not be molested contrary to the şer'iat. If an order is issued concerning the conscription of boys to the janissary corps [devşirme], none will be taken from among them and their subjects. Except for the [churches converted to] Friday mosques and mosques situated in the fortresses, the churches remaining in their hands will be free from interference, and—as with other border provinces—they will not be molested while performing their false rites. The nobles who want to leave Kamieniec and Podolian forts and go to Poland may depart safely with their people and children within two months, and nobody should hinder them. But nobody from among the [ordinary] subjects [re'aya] should leave under this pretext.

The fourth article:

Ukraine within its old borders will be given to the Cossacks. If a dispute arises concerning the frontiers and borders of the province of Ukraine, they should be separated as in the province of Podolia. Within two months the Polish soldiers should leave without delay the fortress of Bila Cerkva and other fortresses in Ukraine, with their arms, property, and wives. The cannons and munitions should remain in the fortresses; only fifteen—large, small, and middle-sized—cannons can be taken from Bila Cerkva. Recently constructed buildings should not be demolished. If the Cossacks remaining on the side of the Cossack [leader] named Xanenko¹² would like to go to their homes in Ukraine, nobody should hinder them; as long as they leave quietly, they should not be molested. But Xanenko [himself] cannot arrive.

As the articles contained in the previous 'ahdname, which ought to be observed, that are contrary to the conditions and clauses mentioned above, have been thrown away and annulled, those being in accordance will remain as it has been before; God (may He be exalted!) willing, an imperial 'ahdname should be given anew.

Written on the aforementioned date.

¹¹ I.e., the tithes stipulated by Islamic law (şer'iat).

¹² Myxajlo Xanenko, the Cossack leader with proPolish sympathies and the adversary of Dorošenko.

DOCUMENT 52 (23 OCTOBER 1672)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Mehmed IV to King Michał
[Facs XXI]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 467, no. 783 (*KDT*, pp. 360–61).

263.5 × 60.5 cm.

the upper part of the document with the invocation is missing [cut off]
tugra (gold)

text (black sprinkled with gold sand): *divani* script

a sign of correction is placed on the reverse side

Turkish copy:

A. Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Cod.
Ms. Turc. 29, fol. 209a–211b.

Polish translation: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 467, no. 784; b)
AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 25, fol. 476b–480b; c) Bibl. Czart., ms.
612, pp. 491–98 [497–504].

[Hüve]^a

Mehmed-şah bin Ibrahim han muzaffer da’ima

- [1] Nişan-i şerif-i ‘ali-şan-i sami-mekam-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-
arayı giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi’l-‘avni’r-rebbani hükmi oldur ki
- [2] Cenab-i Halik-i la-yüzal ve Hazret-i Kadir-i bi-zeval celle şanehö ve
‘azze sultanuhunun nusret ü ‘inayeti ve server-i enbiya hazret-i Muhammed
el-Mustafa salla’llahu ta’ala ‘aleyhi ve sellemin mu‘cizat-i^b berekatıyla
benki harameyn-i şerifeynin hadimi ve küfr ü dalal bünyanın hadimi
sultanu’s-selatin
- [3] bürhanu’l-havakin zillu’llah fi’l-arazin ferman-ferma-yi memalik-i Rum
ve ‘Arab ve ‘Acem ve hükme-reva-yi vilayet-i ‘İrak ve Tacik ve Türk ve
Dilem şehriyar-i tac-bahş ve memleket-arayı ve tac-dar-i leşker-keş ve
kişvar-küşayı olub Mekkenin ve Medinenin ve Kuds-i şerifin
- [4] ve İstanbulun ve Ak Deniz ve Kara Denizin ve Rum-ili ve Anadolu’nun
ve Rumın ve Karamanın ve Erzurumun ve Diyarbekrin ve Kürdistanın ve
Luristan^c ve Gürcistan ve Erzincanın^d ve Du’l-kadriye ve Mısır ve Şam
ve Sayda ve Beyrut ve Trablus-i Şam ve külliye ‘Arabistan

^a Written by Crutta to replace the original, missing invocation.

^b Written with a long *ya*.

^c Omitted in *KDT*, p. 361.

^d Abrahamowicz reads mistakenly: *Azerbaycanın*; see *KDT*, p. 361.

- [5] ve Bagdad ve Basranın ve Mugarrib zemin ve Cezayir-i Garb ve cezire-i Girid ve Tatar ve Deşt-i Kıpçagın ve Eflak ve Bogdan ve Erdel vilayetinin ve ana tabi' yerlerin ve bunlardan gayri niçe darb-i şemşir-i cihan-girimiz ile feth olunmuş vilayetlerin ve memleketlerin padişahı
- [6] ve sultanı Ebü'l-Feth Sultan Mehmed Han ibn Sultan Ibrahim Han ibn Sultan Ahmed Hanım ve tevfik-i rebbani ile hall ü 'akd-i umur-i mülk ü devlet ve fetk ü retk-i kar-i saltanat yed-i mü'eyyed-i sahib-kıranıma mahsus olmanın 'inan-i 'azimet-i şahanem tarik-i tanzim ü ıslah-i ahval-i
- [7] ra'iyet ü bilada ma'tuf ve cell-i himmet vala-nehmet-i padişahanem taraf-i terfih-i 'ibada masruf kılınmak zimmet-i himmet-i hüsrevaneme ehemm ü elzem olmuştur bina'en 'ala zalik iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fiham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihîye muslihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye
- [8] sahibü ezyali'l-şahmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Lih vilayetinin kralı ve hükümdarı olan Mihayil^e hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr 'atebe-i 'aliye-i sa'adet-destgahımız ki hamîşe buse-gah-i cibah-i erbab-i 'ızz ü cah ve merci'-i havakin-i memleket-penahdır
- [9] güzide ve mu'teber vekiller göndürüb ba'z esbab ile arada vakı' olan ceng ü cidal ve harb u kıtal ref^f olunub kadimden üzere sulh u salaha müceddeden 'akd olunmasın rica eyledügi ecelden mezid-i merahim-i 'aliye-i şahanem ve vüfur-i mekarim-i
- [10] seniye-i padişahanemden rica ve istid'ası huzur-i fa'izü'n-nur mustev-cibü'l-hubur mülukanemden hüsn-i kabula karın olub re'aya ve berayanın emn ü emanı için dört madde ilhakı ile müceddeden uslub-i sabık üzere 'akd-i kalam olunub ulu peygamberimiz iki cihan
- [11] fahri Muhammed el-Mustafa salla'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellem hicreti tarihinin bin seksen üç mah-i Cemaziye'l-ahirin yigirmi beşinci gününde zikr olunacak dört madde ile üzere şurut u kuyud-i mu'tebere bizni'llahi ta'ala ri'ayet olunmak üzere müceddeden işbu 'ahdname-i hümayun-i
- [12] sa'adet-makrunı virdüm ve buyurdum ki şerh ü beyan ve tafsil-i 'ayan kılınur madde-i evvel hala çıkub ordu-i hümayunuma dahil olan Lipka^f Tatarlarının ehl ü 'ayal ve mallerine zarar u ziyan götürülmeye ve ta'ife-i mezbureden Dar-i Islama çıkmak murad idenlere mani' olmayub
- [13] ehl ü 'ayalları ve malleriyle çıkalar kimesne mani' olmaya madde-i saniye rikab-i hümayun-i şevket-makrun-i padişahiye be-her sene yigirmi ikişer bin altun pişkeş virilüb işbu [bin]^g seksen üç senesinde vakı' ruz-i Kasım ibtida'-i sene tutulub seksen dört senesinde
- [14] vakı' ruz-i Kasımda ki sene-i ahridir getürüb hazine-i 'amme-i padişahiye bi't-tamam teslim eyleyeler şöl şartla ki 'asker-i Islamdan ve Tatar ve

^e ميخايل.

^f ليقه.

^g Cf. Document 51.

- Kazak ta'ifesinden bölük gelüb vilayetlerin urub garet eylemeyeler iderler ise Kamanıçe^h hakimine i'lam eyleyeler def' ü men' eylemez ise
- [15] asitane-i sa'adetime 'arz eyleyeler bundan sonra [dahi]ⁱ men' olmayub garet olunur ise ol senenin pişkeş virmeyeler madde-i salise Podolya^j memleketi 'umumen hudud-i kadimesiyle cenab-i hilafet-ma'abımın olub Lih 'askeri içinde olan kal'elerden çıkub ehl ü 'ayal ve esbabları
- [16] ve kendü selamlarıyla gidüb top ve cebehanesinden bir şey götürmeyeler ve mükabelesinde Podolyadan haric alınan Urus^k palankaları hala içinde mevcut bulunan adamları ve toplarıyla girü kendülerine virile ve Podolya memleketinin sınır ve hududunda niza['] vaki['] olur ise
- [17] tarafeynden hakimler ma'rifeti ile adamlar ta'yin olunub ve iki serhadd ahalilerinden müsinn ü ihtiyar vilayet erleriyle üzerine varılıb cemm-i gafır kangı hudud dahilinde olduğuna şehadet iderler ise anınla 'amal oluna Podolya memleketi tahrir olunub kadimden palanka sahibi olan
- [18] Lih begzadelerinden her kangısı serhadda kalmak murad iderler ise mukaddema ellerinde olan palankalarının ve köylerinin haracları ve i'şar-i şer'iyeleri ve sa'ir virgüleri hesab olunub maktu'an ol begzadelerin yedilerinden alına ve kendülerinin kefaf-i nefslere yarar şey
- [19] ta'yin oluna ve kendüleri ve evladları mu'af olub ma damki hiyanetleri zahir olmaya bu hizmetden ref' olunmayalar ve hilaf-i şer' rencide olunmayalar ve devşirme ferman olunur ise bunlardan ve re'ayalarından devşirme alınmaya ve kal'elerde cami['] ve mescid olandan ma 'ada
- [20] ellerinde ibka olunan kiliselerine müdahale olunmayub ayin-i batılların sa'ir serhaddlardaki gibi icra eylediklerinde rencide olunmayalar ve Kamanıçeden ve Podolya palankalarından Lih vilayetine gitmek isteyen begzadeler ehl ü evladlarıyla salıman iki aya dek gidüb
- [21] kimesne mani['] olmaya amma bu bahane ile re'ayadan kimesne gitmeye madde-i rabi'e Ukraynya^l memleketi hudud-i kadimesiyle Kazaga virilüb ve Ukraynya memleketinin hudud u sınırunda niza['] vaki['] olur ise Podolya memleketi gibi fasl oluna ve Byalu Çerkav^m nam kal'e ve sa'ir
- [22] Ukraynyada olan kal'elerden Lih 'askeri ihrac olunub silahlarıyla ve esbab ve 'ayallarıyla iki aya dek kalmayub gideler ve kal'ede olan toplar ve cebehanesi kalub ancak Byalu Çerkavdan kebir ü sagır ve evsat on beş top götüreler ve yeniden
- [23] etdikleri binaları hedm etmeyeler [ve]ⁿ Hanenko^o nam Kazagın yanında

^h قمنیچه.

ⁱ Cf. Document 51.

^j بودولیه.

^k اُوروس.

^l اوقراینه; in Document 51: *Ukrayna* (اوقراینه).

^m بیالو چرقاو.

ⁿ Cf. Document 51.

^o حاننکو.

olan Kazaklar Ukraynyada olan evlerine gelmek istediklerinde kimesne mani^p olmayub ve kendü hallerinde oldukça rencide olunmayalar amma Hanenko gelmeye ve bundan evvel ma'mulün-bih olan 'ahdnamede balada

- [24] mezkur olan şurut u kuyuda mugayir olan mevadd tarh u ibtal olunub muvafik olanlar ke-ma fi'l-evvel ibka oluna ma damki Lih kiralı tarafından ve beglerinden ve kapudanlarından ve tevabi'lerinden ve sa'ir ehl-i fesaddan serhadd-i memalik-i mahrusemde olan kal'elerime
- [25] ve varoşlarına ve sa'ir memalik-i mahmiyeme tabi' olan kasabat ve kura ve araziye be-vech mine'l-vücuha dahl u ta'arruz olunmaya Lih kiralının dahi memleketlerine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına ve sa'ir kasabat ve kuralarına taraf-i hümayunumdan ve vüzera-i 'izam ve mirmiran-i fiham ve ümera-i kiram
- [26] ve 'asker-i zafer-şi'arım^qdan ve Bogdanlu ve Dobruca ve Akkerman ve Bender ve Özide olan Tatardan ve gayriden Lih memleketine zarar olmayub Nister^r ve Turla^q ve sa'ir Tatar geçidlerini ol tarafların hakimleri caniblerinden muhafaza etdüreler eger muhafaza eylemekte ihmal ve müsahele iderler ise
- [27] 'azl olunub cezaları virile ve cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Kırım hanları tarafına hala tecdid-i sulh u salahda virmege ta'ahhüd itdikleri virgüleri sal besal vaktıyla irsal olunub adamlarına teslim ve isal olundukdan sonra Kırım hanı dahi kanun-i kadim üzere 'uhdesine lazım gelen dostluk
- [28] ve muhabbet şartlarını ri'ayet idüb minba'd han tarafından ve kagılgayı sultandan ve gayri mirzalardan Lih memleketlerine bir vechle zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye ve kiral müşarun-ileyhin üzerine düşman-i müstevli oldukda han dahi Tatar 'askeriyle imdad ve i'anet eyleye ve canib-i hümayunumdan
- [29] bir tarafa sefer vakı' olub han müşarun-ileyh veyahud kagılgayı sultan veya mirzalarıyla Tatar 'askeri varmak lazım geldikde Lih memleketinin içine ugramayub kadimden ne mahalden geçe-gelmişler ise girü ol yerden geçe ve bu 'ahdname-i hümayundan sonra Lih kiralı memleketine Tatardan veya Bogdanlu
- [30] ve gayriden kimesne varub garet veya esir ihrac ider ise kiral tarafından i'lam olundukda o makuleler [bulunub hakklarından gelenüb esirler ve esbabları girüye redd etdirile ve Lih esirleri ki]^r bu 'ahdname tarihinden sonra ihrac olunmuş ola memalik-i mahrusemde furuht olunmaya bu tarafa müta'allık olanlardan minba'd Lih memleketinde esir satılmaya ve dahi kefere kırallarından ve gayriden birinin
- [31] üzerine sefer-i zafer-şi'arım vakı' olub bi'z-zat cenab-i celalet-ma'abım varmak iktiza etdikde veyahud bir serdar ta'yin olunub 'asker-i nusret-ma'asirim ile ve Erdel ve Eflak ve Bogdan voyvodalarıyla ol düşmanın

^p نستیر.

^q طورلی.

^r This segment was "traditionally" omitted after Murad's *'ahdname* of 1623. Cf. Document 48, note p.

- üzerine teveccüh olunmağla düşmanım tarafından kendüye adam varub mu'avenet ve müzaheret
- [32] taleb etdiklerinde asitane-i sa'adetime sadakat ve istikamet ve icra-i musafat ve muvafakat için Lih kralı 'askeriyle ve hazinesiyle düşmanıma yardım etmeye ve düşmanım tarafından bir kimesne varub Lih memleketinde 'asker cem' etmek ister ise men' idüb ruhsat virilmeye ve kendünün hersek ve kapudanlarından
- [33] ve gayriden ba'zıları ihtiyarlarıyla düşmanıma yardım için gitmek murad eylediklerinde salı-virmeyüb gizlü ve aşikare icazet virilmeye ve Erdel memleketi ecdad-i 'izamımdan irs ile intikal etmiş memleketim olmağla Erdel hakimleriyle ve bu canibe izhar-i sadakat iden Macar kralı olanlar ile dahi
- [34] kemal-i musafat üzere olub Erdel canibinde dahi düşman zuhur ider ise gizlü ve aşikare düşman tarafına Lih canibinden imdad olunmaya ve dahi Erdel ve Eflak ve Bogdan voyvodaları tarafından ve beglerinden ve gayrilerinden ba'zıları kabahat idüb Lih memleketine firar iderler ise o makuleler
- [35] kabul olunmayub mabeynde dostluk ve aşnalığı ri'ayeten tutub kayd ü bend ile asitane-i sa'adetime göndüre bu vechle dostuma dost düşmanıma düşman ola ve hala mabeynde dostluk ziyade olmak için Lih tevabi'i ve re'ayası Turla suyundan Akkerman iskelesine mata' götürüb
- [36] bey' ü şıra eylemeleri iltimas olunmuş o makule memalik-i mahruseme zarar u ziyan kasdında olmayub kendü halinde ticaret ile gelenlere kimesne mani' olmaya ve Lih kralı südde-i sa'adetimle olan dostluga sabit-kadem oldukça Bogdan voyvodaları dahi kadimden Lih kralı ile ne vechle musafat üzere
- [37] olı-gelmişler ise girü olvechle musafat üzere olalar ve mukaddema barışıklık^s eyyamında Lihlülerden esir olanlar ki küfri üzerine durub islama gelmemiş olalar Lih tarafından adamları gelüb o makuleleri memalik-i mahrusemde buldukları yerde sahiblerine niçeye aldıklarına
- [38] yemin virüb ma'lum olduktan sonra ziyade baha taleb etmeyeler ve bahaların virdikdensonra kendü vilayetlerine alub gitmege kimesne mani' olmaya ve ol esirlerden küfri üzerine durmayub islama gelmiş bulunanlara ta'arruz olunmayub kendü hali üzerine ibka oluna
- [39] ve dahi 'ahdname tahririnden sonra iki taraftan her kim tutulmuş ise bahasız salı-virile ve iki canibin ilçileri ve adamları vere-kagıdına muhtac olmayub varub gelüb kendülerine ve mallerine zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve tarafeynin bazarganları denizden ve karadan
- [40] ve mu'tad olan iskelelerden gelüb gidüb bey' ü şıra eyleyüb bulundukları yerlerde 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsumları ne ise virüb kimesne mallerine ve nefslerine zarar eylemeye ve eger muma-ileyh Lih kralı memleketinden gelen bazarganlardan memalik-i

^s It should read *karışıklık*; cf. Document 48.

- [41] mahrusemde mürd olurlar ise rızkları taraf-i miriden alınmayub karban başlarına teslim oluna ki [vilayetlerine]^t götürüb varislerine teslim eyleyeler ve bu tarafın bazarganlarından dahi Lih memleketinde vefat eyleyenlerin mallerine ve rızklarına vech-i meşruh üzere öte canibden
- [42] müdahale olunmaya bu canibde varislerine göndürile ve iki tarafın giden bazarganlarından ve gayriden bir kimesne bir kimesneden deyn ü karz hususunda veyahud bey' ü şira babında ve sa'ir da'vada hakk taleb eylese her kangı mahalde bulunur ise eger bu tarafın eger ol canibin vilayet
- [43] hakimleri babında müraf'a olub hakk üzere teftiş ve tafahhus olundukdan sonra sabit olan hukuk u deyinleri her ne ise alı-virilüb 'inad u muhalefet itdirilmeye amma borcu ve kefaleti beyan olmadın aharın borcu ve hakkı için da'va ve taleb idüb bi-gayri hakkın
- [44] rencide ve remide itmek isteyenler iki taraftan dahi men' olunub zarar-i mala kefaleti sabit olmadın bi-vech ve bela-sebebe rencide ve remide itdirilmeye o makulelerin ellerinde olan sicil ve hüccetlerine ve ma'mulün-bih temessüklerine nazar olmayınca mücerred şahid-i zur ikamet olunmagla
- [45] tezvîr ü telbislerine 'amal olunmaya ve bi'l-cümle iki canibin hakimleri dahi tamam-i takayyüd gösterüb ma damkı vaki' olan maddenin ve da'valarının aslı ve hakikatı olduğun hakimü'l-vakt ma'lum ve tahkik etmeye bi-vech olan da'vaları istima' olunmaya ve anın gibi
- [46] hırsuz ve haramiler bir kimesnenin maline ve canine zarar u ziyan irişdirdikde hakim olanlar o makuleleri buldurub muhkem vech ile hakklarından gelüb hırsuzlukda aldıkları esbabları ba'de's-sübut sahiblerine teslim oluna ve dostluk için gelen ilçeri
- [47] ve sa'ir adamları men' olunmayub emin ü salim varub gelüb serhaddlara geldikde yanlarına adamlar koşub öte canibden dahi bu minval üzere 'amal olunub ve Silistre ve Akkerman serhaddlarının <adamları> [hakimleri]^u ve iskele eminleri
- [48] ve bac-darları südde-i sa'adetim kullarından ve iki canibin <bac-darlarından> [tacirlerinden]^v gayrisini Turla suyundan Lih vilayetine [kimesneyi]^w salı-virmeyeler ve eger ol taraftan ve berü canibden gelüb giden kimesnelerin yanlarında esir bulunur ise ellerinden alub girü göndüreler ve çoban ta'ifesi
- [49] Lih vilayetine geçdiklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin ve koyunların bildirüb mahfi varmayalar ve otlak hakkını vireler ta'ife-i mezbure kendülerin bildirdikden sonra koyunları zayı' olur ise memleket hakimleri bulub vireler ve gelüb giden kimesnelerin bargirlerin

^t Cf. Document 48, note r, and the earlier documents.

^u Written with the same mistake in the *'ahdname* of 1667; see Document 48, note y.

^v Written with the same mistake in the *'ahdname* of 1667; see Document 48, note z.

^w Evidently omitted, cf. Document 48, note aa.

- [50] ulak tutmaya ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeri ve gayrileri atların almayalar ve iki canibin tacirleri vire-geldükleri virgülerin ve gümrüklerin eda eyledikten sonra virilü-gelenden ziyade nesne taleb olunmaya ve marda yükletmeyüb bu ana degin ne vechle ve ne mikdar vire-gelmişler ise
- [51] girü ol mikdar virüb olı-gelmişe muhalif iş olmaya ve kralın eli altında olan Ermeni ve sa'ir kefere bazarganları Bogdan vilayetine ve andan ma 'ada memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret etmek murad eylediklerinde biyaban ve mahfi yerlerden gelmeyüb kadimden bazarganlar
- [52] mürur eylediği tarik-i 'ammdan geeler anın gibilerin maline ve canine zarar gelür ise ehl-i fesad ele getirilüb hakklarından geline ve istikamet üzere gelüb giden bazarganları rencide olunmayub kanun-i kadim üzere gümrükleri alındıktan sonra İstanbul ve Edirne ve Brusada
- [53] ref akçesi ve kassabiye deyi akçe taleb olunmayub ve getürdükleri guruslarından eger riyal ve eger kara gurus ve eger esedi ve eger Lih gurusıdır gümrük taleb olunmaya ilçi-i merkumun irad itdği 'ahd-name-i hümayunda cümle mestur u mukayyed ve eyman-i gulaz u şidad ile mü'ekked ü müşeyyed
- [54] bulunmagn bendahi 'ibadu'llahunun emn ü istirahatı ve re'aya fukarasının feragat u refahiye için bu minval üzere müşarun-ileyh Lih kralının südde-i seniye-i sa'adet-medarım ile olan barışıklığın ve dostluk ve aşnalgın makbul u mu'teber ve muhakkak u mukarrer tutub müceddeden işbu 'ahdname-i hümayunı
- [55] virdüm [ve buyurdum]* ki fi-ma ba'd eyyam-i devlet-i hümayun ve hengam-i saltanat-i ebed-makrunumda dahi yukaruda tafsıl olunan şurut u kuyud ve mevadd u 'uhud muktazasınca 'amal ve sulh u salah levazımı gereği gibi müretteb ü mükemmel kılma ma damki kral tarafından ve kapudanlarından ve beglerinden ve gayriden muceb-i ihtilal-i
- [56] 'ahd ü peyman ve ba'is-i inhırafi şart u iman ve sulh u salaha mugayir ve muhalif bir vaz' sadır olmayub dostluk ve barışıklık hukukını gereği gibi ri'ayet ideler cenab-i celalet-ma'abım [tarafından dahi]^y eyman-i gulaz ile yemin iderim ki yeri ve göği yokdan var iden Perverdegar celle celalehü hakkıyçün
- [57] ve ulu peygamberimiz iki cihan güneşi Muhammed el-Mustafa sal-la'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellemın mu'cizatı hakkıyçün minval-i meşruh üzere mu'ahede olunan maddelerden cüzvi ve külli ber hususda tahallüf ü tecavüz olunmaya müddet-i baka-yi devlet-i ruz-efzun ve zaman-i sebat-i saltanat-i ebed-makrunumda bu sulh u salah mukarrer ü pay-dar ve bu 'ahd ü eman sabit ü ber-karar olub
- [58] 'umumen ol vilayetlerin re'aya ve berayası saye-i sa'adet ve zill-i himayetimde asude-hal ve müreffehü'l-bal olalar tahriren fi gurreti şehri Recebi'l-mürecceb seneti selasa ve semanin ve elf

* Missing also in the *'ahdname* of 1667; see Document 48, note af.

^y Cf. Document 48.

bi-yurt-i
sahra-i
kal'e-i Izvançe^z

Translation:

[*He*]

[*tugra*] *Mehmed-shah, son of Ibrahim, the ever victorious khan*

This is the command of the noble, illustrious, lofty sultanic sign and of the illustrious, world-adorning, world-conquering imperial tugra (may it be effective through divine aid!):

*I who,
by the help and grace of His Majesty, the everlasting Creator and the imperishable Almighty (may His glory be exalted and His magnificence be glorified!), and by the miracles of blessings of His Excellency Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), the chief of the prophets,*

am the servant of the two holy sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina], the destroyer of the building of infidelity and error, the sultan of sultans, the proof of emperors, the shadow of God on earth, the one, who issues orders to the Roman, Arab, and Persian countries, and is fit to command over the land of Iraq, the Tadhiks, Turks, and [the people of] Dilem, the sovereign, who distributes the crowns and adorns the kingdom, the possessor of the crown, who leads troops and conquers countries, the padishah and the sultan of Mecca and Medina, of the noble Jerusalem, of Istanbul, of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea, of Rumelia, Anatolia, Rum, Karaman, Erzurum, Diyarbakır, Kurdistan, Luristan, Georgia, Erzincan, Zulkadir, Egypt, Damascus, Saida, Beirut, the Syrian Tripoli, the whole of Arabia, Baghdad, Basra, of the western lands [i.e., Maghreb], of Algiers, of the island of Crete, of the Tatar [lands], of the Kipchak steppe, of the countries of Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and their dependent places, and of many other countries and provinces conquered with a stroke of our imperial sword, the Conqueror, Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Ibrahim Khan, son of Sultan Ahmed Khan.

Since—with the divine guidance—the binding and the loosing of the matters of the state and the rending and the mending of the acts of the sultanate have been appropriated to my imperial, divinely supported hand, it is my most important and indispensable royal incumbency that the rein of my royal disposition be directed to the path of arrangement and improvement of the conditions of the subjects and of the country and that the high endeavor of my exalted imperial desire be expended in bringing prosperity to the faithful.

Therefore, the king and commander of Poland, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp

^z ایزوانچه.

and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, Michael (may his days end with good!), sent his chosen and esteemed deputies to our exalted felicitous court, which is always the place of kiss [and prostration] for the foreheads of the possessors of power and rank, and the goal of the emperors, protectors of countries; as the fight and combat, war and battle existing for certain reasons between [the two sides] have been removed, and as [he] has asked that peace and amity be concluded anew, as it had been previously, his request and petition from my numerous high royal acts of kindness and from my abundant sublime imperial generosity has been associated with the happy acceptance of my royal presence which pours out light abundantly and causes happiness;

and in order to provide safety and security to the subjects, negotiations were resumed according to the previous conditions, with the addition of four articles; in order to respect, by the permission of God (may He be exalted!), the valid conditions and clauses along with the four articles [negotiated] on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Djumada II [of the year] 1083 since the emigration [Hegira] of the pride of the two worlds, our great prophet Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), which are stated below, I have given anew this felicitous, imperial 'ahd-name, and I have ordered, as is explained, declared, and clearly detailed [below]:

The first article: One should not bring harm or damage to the people, wives,¹ and property of the Lipka Tatars who have recently left [Poland] and joined my imperial army; those from among the aforementioned tribe who want to emigrate to the Islamic domain should not be hindered; their people with their wives and property should be allowed to go and nobody should hinder [them].

The second article: Every year a gift [piškeš]² of twenty-two thousand gold coins [altun] should be given to the glorious imperial stirrup of the padishah, regarding the day of Kasim³ of this year 1083 as the beginning of the year [of account]; they should bring and deliver the whole sum to the imperial public treasury [hazine-i 'amme] on the day of Kasim⁴ of the year [10]84, which is the end of the year [of account], on condition that nobody from among the Muslim soldiers,⁵ or from among the Tatars or Cossacks, arrives in company, strikes or raids their [i.e., Polish] provinces. If such occurs, they [i.e., the Poles] should notify the governor of Kamieniec, and if he does not stop and prevent [these raids], they should apply to my felicitous threshold. Thereafter, if it is still not prevented and if a raid takes place, they should not give the gift for that year.

The third article: The province of Podolia within its old boundaries becomes [a domain] of my majesty, the abode of caliphate; the Polish soldiers may safely leave the fortresses situated within [this province] with their people, wives, and property, but they should not take any of the cannons and munitions. In return, the Ruthenian forts⁶ conquered outside Podolia should be returned to them [i.e., to the Poles] with men and cannons that are present there now. If a dispute arises concerning the frontiers and borders of the province of Podolia, agents should be appointed from both sides under supervision of the governors; they should arrive at a place [in dispute], accompanied by the

¹ See Document 51, note 5.

² See Document 51, note 6.

³ Ruz-i Kasim, i.e., 5 November 1672.

⁴ I.e., 5 November 1673.

⁵ I.e., the Ottoman soldiers.

⁶ See Document 51, note 10.

aged and experienced men from among the inhabitants of border territories of the two sides; if they testify in a great assembly, within which borders has been situated [this place], one should proceed accordingly. After a survey register [tahrir] of the province of Podolia is executed, if anybody from among the Polish nobles, being the former fort owners, wishes to remain within the [Podolian] borders, the harac, şer'i tithes, and other taxes [due] from the forts and villages, being previously in their hands, will be calculated and collected from the hands of these nobles as a lump sum. And the necessary means, sufficient to supply their necessities of life, will be assigned [to them]. They and their children will be exempt [from extraordinary taxes]; as long as they commit no treachery, they will not be dismissed from these services and they will not be molested contrary to the şer'iat. If an order is issued concerning the conscription of boys to the janissary corps [devşirme], none will be taken from among them and their subjects. Except for the [churches converted to] Friday mosques and mosques situated in the fortresses, the churches remaining in their hands will be free from interference, and—as in other border provinces—they will not be molested while performing their false rites. The nobles who want to leave Kamieniec and Podolian forts and go to Poland may depart safely with their people and children within two months, and nobody should hinder them. But nobody from among the [ordinary] subjects [re'aya] should leave under this pretext.

The fourth article: Ukraine within its old borders will be given to the Cossacks; if a dispute arises concerning the frontiers and borders of the province of Ukraine, they should be separated as in the province of Podolia. Within two months the Polish soldiers should leave without delay the fortress of Bila Cerkva and other fortresses in Ukraine, with their arms, property, and wives. The cannons and munitions should remain in the fortresses; only fifteen—large, small, and middle-sized—cannons can be taken from Bila Cerkva. Recently constructed buildings should not be demolished. If the Cossacks remaining on the side of the Cossack [leader] named Xanenko⁷ would like to go to their homes in Ukraine, nobody should hinder them; as long as they leave quietly, they should not be molested. But Xanenko [himself] cannot arrive.

As the articles contained in the previous 'ahdname, which ought to be observed, that are contrary to the conditions and clauses mentioned above have been discarded and annulled, those being in accordance will remain as they were before:

As from the side of the Polish king, his governors, commanders, dependents, and other mischief-makers no meddling or interference should touch my fortresses and my towns situated within the borders of my well protected-dominions, and other boroughs, villages, and lands belonging to my well-guarded dominions, also from the side of my imperial majesty, and from the side of my great viziers, illustrious mirmirans, noble emirs, and victorious soldiers, the Moldavians and the Tatars dwelling in Dobruđja, Akkerman, Bender, and Oçakiv, and others, no damage should touch the country, fortresses, towns, and other boroughs and villages of the Polish king, or the Polish country; the governors of both sides should guard the Tatar crossings on the Dniester, Turla,⁸ and others, and if they, while guarding, show negligence and carelessness, they should be dismissed and punished.

⁷ See Document 51, note 12.

⁸ Turla is the Turkish name of the Dniester.

After the payments [virgüler] are sent every year on time to His Majesty, the abode of leadership, the Crimean khan and are delivered and brought to his agents, as has been mutually agreed during the recent renewal of peace and amity, the Crimean khan should also respect the conditions of friendship and affection, as required by his duty, according to the old law; henceforth the khan, his kalga, and other mirzas should not bring any damage or harm to the Polish country. If an enemy invades [the lands of] the aforementioned king, the khan with the Tatar army should bring rescue and help; and if from the side of my imperial majesty a campaign is ordered in any direction and it is necessary that the aforementioned khan, his kalga sultan or his mirzas set out with the Tatar army, they should not enter Poland but they should pass through the same places through which they have been accustomed to pass since olden times.

If after [the date of] this imperial 'ahdname the Tatars, Moldavians, or others raid the countries of the Polish king or take captives, on receipt of a notification from the king, this sort [of mischief-maker] [will be found and punished, and the captives and the stolen goods will be sent back. Polish slaves]⁹ captured after the date of this 'ahdname are not to be sold in my well-protected dominions. Henceforth the subjects of this side should not be sold as slaves in Poland.

If my victorious campaign is declared against any from among the infidel kings or others, whether the presence of my glorious majesty is necessary or a serdar is appointed to attack this enemy with my victorious army along with the rulers [voyvodalar] of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, if an envoy from the side of my enemy reaches him [i.e., the Polish king] asking for help and aid, the Polish king should not help my enemy with his army or treasury so as to prove the loyalty and honesty toward my felicitous threshold and to realize the amity and agreement. If anybody from the side of my enemy comes and wants to recruit soldiers in Poland, it should be forbidden and permission should not be granted. And one should not permit anybody from among his [i.e., the king's] magnates [hersek], commanders, and others who voluntarily want to bring help to my enemy, and permission should not be given [to them], either secretly or openly. As Transylvania belongs to my domain by the inheritance and transfer from my magnificent grandfathers, [royal relations] with the rulers of Transylvania, and with the Hungarian kings, who display loyalty toward this side, should also be based on sincere amity; and if an enemy appears in Transylvania, no help should be given to this enemy, either secretly or openly. And if anybody from among the Transylvanian, Wallachian, and Moldavian rulers, governors, or others commits an offence and escapes to Poland, this sort [of mischief-maker] should not be accepted but, in respect to the mutual friendship and intimacy, should be captured and sent to my felicitous threshold in bonds and chains. In this manner [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy.

And now, in order to strengthen the friendship between [us], as it was requested that the Polish dependents and subjects may bring merchandise to the seaport town of Akkerman by the river Dniester, and buy and sell, nobody will hinder those who come harmless for the purpose of trade and who have no intention of bringing damage or harm to my well-protected dominions.

And as long as the friendship between the Polish king and my felicitous threshold is firm, [the relationships] between the Moldavian hospodars and the Polish kings should

⁹ The portion beginning "will be found and punished . . ." is missing; see note r and Document 48, note 8.

also be kept in the same friendly way as they have been since olden times.

When [royal] agents come from Poland and find in [various] sites of my well-protected dominions prisoners from among the Poles captured previously in the days of enmity, who have persisted in infidelity and not become Muslim, their owners should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath and, after it is known, they should not demand more. After they pay their price [the agents] may take [these prisoners] to their country and nobody should hinder them from leaving. [But,] they should not interfere in [the matters of] those from among the prisoners, who have not persisted in infidelity and have become Muslim; they should preserve their status. And if anybody from either side is captured after [the date of] the writing of the 'ahdname, one should let him go without ransom.

When the envoys and agents of both sides enter and come, they do not need a safe-conduct [vere-kagıdı] and no harm or damage should be done to them or to their belongings.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land through the seaports of their customary preference, and sell and buy; according to tradition and law, they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places; [but] nobody should inflict damage on their property and lives.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from the country of the aforementioned Polish king dies in my well-protected dominions, his effects will not be seized by the state treasury [miri] but handed over to the heads of the caravan, so that they may take them [to their country]¹⁰ and hand them over to his heirs. Likewise, from the other side no interference should be done to the goods and effects of the merchants of this side, who die in Poland, but [their goods] should be sent to their heirs [living] on this side.

If a demand for [the repayment of] a debt arises from a conflict between the merchants and others coming from the two sides concerning debt and loan, trade, or other matters, in whichever place it happens, the petition should be heard by a local judge, either on this side or the other; after it is justly investigated and examined, whichever debt is proved, it should be handed over [to the claimant]; and nobody should oppose or act in a contrary manner.

But, both sides should hinder those who want to injure and disturb unjustly a person who has neither debt nor has declared to stand bail for the reason of a suit and claim concerning the debt or guilt of somebody else; unless it is registered that [this person] has stood as surety for a loss of goods, nobody should be injured and disturbed without a reason and cause. Until one looks at the kadi record [sicil], kadi's certificates [hüccetler], or bills, which ought to be observed, being in the hands of such [claimant] individuals, no single false witness should be brought and one should not proceed according to his impostures and lies. In sum, the judges of both sides should display an utmost care, and if the origin and authenticity of a case and suit is not known and verified by the judge of the time, one should not hear [such] a groundless claim.

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm to the goods and life of anybody from among such [merchants], the judicial authorities should find this sort [of evildoer] and severely punish them; after it is proved, the stolen goods should be handed over to their owners.

¹⁰ Missing; cf. Document 48, note 9.

The envoys and other agents coming by reason of friendship should not be hindered and should enter and come secure and safe; upon reaching the borders an escort should be given to their side; one should proceed likewise on the other side;

the border commanders of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland across the river Dniester except the servants [kullar] of my felicitous threshold and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should take [them] away from their hands and send [them] back.

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret; after they have made their presence known, if their sheep are lost, the land authorities should find them and give them [back to them].

The baggage horses of the individuals [i.e., the Polish merchants] who come and depart should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janissaries on campaign.

When the merchants of both sides pay their taxes and customs duties, as they used to pay, one should not demand that they pay more than they used to pay and one should not impose excessive duties; they should pay in the same manner and amount as they used to pay; one should not do anything contrary to established custom. When Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand [i.e., the royal subjects] want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted areas or hidden places, but they should come by the public road, which has been customarily traveled by merchants. If an injury is done to the property or soul [i.e., life] of any of such [merchants], the evildoers should be captured and punished. Merchants, who come and go in sincerity, should not be molested; after their customs duties are collected according to the old law, one should not demand that they pay taxes called departure money [reft akçesi] or the tax on animals [kasabiye] in Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa;

and one should not impose customs duties on the cash [guruşlar] which they bring, whether it is reals [riyal], black thalers [kara guruş], lion [thalers] [esedi], or Polish thalers [Lih guruş].

As it was altogether written and registered in the imperial 'ahdname brought by the said ambassador,¹¹ and corroborated and reinforced by hard and strong oaths, for the sake of the safety and rest of the servants of God and of the tranquillity and ease of the poor subjects, I have also accepted, respected, recognized, and fixed the peace, friendship, and intimacy between the aforementioned Polish king and my felicitous sublime threshold in the same manner, and I have given anew this imperial 'ahdname, [and I have ordered]¹² that:

Henceforth, for the [remaining] days of my imperial rule and for the time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, one will proceed according to the conditions, clauses, articles,

¹¹ The following section is almost literally rewritten from the 'ahdname of 1667; cf. Document 48. Along with the *temessük* containing four articles of the treaty of Buczacz, this document served as a basis for issuing the new 'ahdname.

¹² Missing; cf. Document 48, note 11.

and agreements detailed above, and one will arrange and complete the requirements of peace and amity, as necessary. As on the part of the king, his commanders, governors, and others nothing should occur contrary and adverse to the peace and amity that may cause a disturbance of the agreement and treaty or provoke any deviation from the [peace] terms and faith, and as they should respect the rules of amity and peace, as necessary, [also by]¹³ my glorious majesty I swear with a strong oath by the sake of God, the Creator of earth and heaven (may His glory be exalted!), and by the sake of the miracles of our great prophet, the sun of the two worlds, Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), that no minor or major variation or violation will occur in the clauses concluded in the above described manner. For the remaining period of my long-lived rule and for the fixed time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, this peace and amity will be fixed and firm, and this treaty and peace will be permanent and stable, so that all the subjects of these countries may live under the felicitous shadow and shade of my protection in a state of tranquillity and in a prosperous condition.

Written on the first of the venerated month of Redjeb of the year 1083, in the tent on the plain before the fortress of Žvanec’.

¹³ Cf. Document 48.

DOCUMENT 53 (15 OCTOBER 1676)
The Polish document of the agreement of Żurawno

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich [AZ], sign. 3037 (old sign. BOZ 1808), fol. 253a–254a.

B. Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. 6639, fol. 169a–169b.

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 174 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 539–42.

During the negotiations in Constantinople in March 1678, the Latin text was reconfirmed by Ambassador Gninski and submitted to the grand vizier. This version is published in a) J. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 6 (Pest, 1830), pp. 726–29; b) Pułaski, *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego*, pp. 88–90 (published after the original manuscript of Gniński's diary under the date of 8 Mart 1678).

Causa scripti huius haec est: Magni, Potentissimi, Fortissimi, Terribilis Imperatoris nostri et domini terrae [marisque],^a cuius usque ad consumationem mundi conservetur imperium, cuius iussu ad oppidum Żurawno cum praesente illustrissimo et excelsissimo Selim Gierey Hano, cum tribus^b suae excellentiae, qui ad praesens [sic] assistebant lateri et consiliariis, qui cum felicissimo exercitu venerunt, passis assidentibus, gubernatoribus excellentibus Anatoliae Hussein Pasza, Rumeliae Ali Pasza, Bosnae Mechmet Pasza, Sevassii Achmet Pasza, Halepi Bekier Pasza, Adanae Mechmet Pasza, Caramaniae Achmet Pasza, Silistriae Achmet Pasza, Emir Pasza, Osman Pasza, tum Achmet Pasza et totius exercitus felicissimi supremi iudicis Szaban Effendi, tum et tenentis locum janczar aga exercitus felicissimi excellentis zagardzi bassi¹ Hasan Aga et quatuor praefectibus legionum et universi exercitus praesentibus dominis et praefectis et alaybei² hoc est centurionibus in praesentia illorum. Ex parte vero Serenissimi et Invictissimi Regis Poloniarum in praesentia illustrissimorum et generalium exercituum ducum et senatorum et totius Reipublicae Polonae et exercitus ad tractatum deputatorum, de pace concludendum commissariorum ex religione Messiae fidei Iesu excellentioribus: illustrissimi principis Constantini Korybut Wiśniowiecki palatini Bracłaviensis, magnificorum Georgii Wielohorski sucamerarii Volodimiriensis, Thomae Karczowski pocilliatoris terrae Sanocensis, Francisci

^a Evidently omitted; B. *terrarum marisque*.

^b In A. spelled erroneously: *tribubus*.

¹ Tur. *zagarci bays*, commander of the sixty-fourth janissary regiment (*cema'at*).

² Tur. *alaybeyi*, officer of the *sipahis*.

Kobyłecki pocillatoris Melnicensis, Stanislai^c Dąbrowski pi[n]cernae Vilmensis, Petri Telephus pocilliatoris Halicensis, Ioannis Karwowski pi[n]cernae Podolensis, septem commissariorum, post colloquia de conditionibus pacis praesentibus praedictis et varias controversias his conditionibus ad concordiam ventum est ab utrinque contenta, cuius punctatim his exprimitur verbis et literis:

Primum punctum: Tartari, Lipce^d nuncupati, habebunt facultatem habitandi in Polonia et migrandi inde sub dominium caesariae maiestatis in spatio unius anni a data praesenti cum uxoribus, liberis et tota suppellectili.

Secundum: Podolia secundum antiqua confinia dominio Porthae Ottomanicae subiacebit. Bar, Międzybóž evacuabuntur praesidiis et tormentis, incolae vero civitatum cum uxoribus, liberis, tota familia et suppellectili sine omni impedimento exeundi inde habent facultatem. Tum et habitandi liberum est incolis ut et nobilibus Podoliae, iuxta tractatum ad oppidum Buczac constitutum.

Tertium: Ukraina relinquetur Cosacis, iuxta antiquos limites, exceptis Białocerkiew et Pawołocz, quae cum suis ut ante erant et sunt districtibus et attinentiis, oppidis et pagis Regno Poloniae applicantur, una ex parte ad Boristenem vulgo Dnieprum, ex alia vero parte ad dignoscendos limites et describendos per lineam ad granices et fines Polonos. Commissarii ab utrisque monarchiis post regressum magni legati a Serenissima Porta destinabuntur.

Quartum: Finitimos Regno Poloniae Tartaros universaliter omnes Turcas, Cosacos, Ungaros aliosque populos Portae subiacentes Serenissimus Imperator arcebit ab incursionibus, ne ab illis ullum damnum illatum fuerit dominiis Regni Poloniae. Et si contigerit, Serenissimus Rex Poloniae requirit per literas satisfactionem, quam passa limitaneus, confinium praeses, curare et facere tenebitur.

Quintum: Conventus et loca sancta in ecclesia Hierozolimitana,^e simul cum ecclesia Bethleemica^f patribus regulae Sanc[t]i^g Francisci, dictis Franki,^h restituetur, et prout ex antiquitate his locis praeerant, circa eandem praecedentiam et mansionem, cum libero fidei et devotionis exercitio, conservabuntur.

Sextum: Commercia ex iure et usu gentium libera erunt sine omni impedimento et dapactatione, reddito practicato telonio.

Septimum: Legatus ad praesens missus cum exercitu Caesariae Maiestatis manebit ad Portam, donec magnus legatus iuxta antiquum morem veniet.

Octavum: Tractatus ad Buczac in omnibus punctis constitutus servetur, excepta Białocerkiew et Pawołocz cum sui districtibus et puncto de viginti

^c Changed to *Casimiri* by Pułaski.

^d B. *Lipka*.

^e B. *Ierozolimitana*.

^f B. *Bethleemica*.

^g In B. spelled correctly.

^h B. *Francki*.

duobus millibus aureorum in donum Caesareae Maiestatis promissis. Tum et antiquiora pacta ad Chocin [*sic*] constituta, ut et praesentia autorisantur et abhinc inter dominia et monarchias Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Imperatoris, tum et Serenissimi Regis Poloniae Dei adminiculo pax et tranquillitas publica florescat, vigeat et perennet.

DOCUMENT 53A (14 OCTOBER 1676)
Another version of the Polish document of the
agreement of Żurawno

This version, more favorable for the Polish side, was never ratified. Instead, it was replaced with an almost literal translation of the Turkish document (see Documents 52 and 53). Nevertheless, it was often erroneously regarded as the valid document of the treaty.¹

Published in a) *Theatrum Pacis*, vol. 2 (Nuremberg, 1685), pp. 580–83 (provided with a German translation); b) Dumont, *Corps Universel diplomatique*, vol. 7, pt. 1, p. 325 (republished in Pułaski, *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego*, pp. 468–69); c) *Treaties, etc. between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, pp. 384–85.

Polish translation: Bibl. Ossol., ms. 337, fol. 44b.

A contemporary German translation was published in *Theatrum Europaeum*, vol. 11 (Frankfurt am Main, 1682), p. 1065.

1. Tractatus cum praecedente Rege Michaelae initus, abolitus censeatur, sic, ut in posterum nullius tributi, sive nullarum conditionum dicti tractatus mentio iniicietur.
2. Turcae in Podolia Cameneciam, certis cum limitibus a rege designatis, retineant. Ad quam propositionem bassa² animi sui sensa sic declaravit, etiamsi quoad hoc ad tractandum plenipotentia instructus non sit, se tamen expromissorem nihilominus constituere et in scriptis cavere velle, Portam in id consensuram, quando rex legatum quempiam executionis horum tractatum ad eam missurus fiet. Ukrainam quod concernit, maneat rex in possessione potioris eiusdem partis, nempe Bialocerquae, Pavolociae, Chaliceae, Mohiloviae etc. Turcis quae cesserunt, parvi esse momenti, et pertinere ea ad Dorosenkium.
3. Omnes durante hoc anno a Turcis in servitutem redacti, et capti liberi dimittuntur, in posterumque omnes excursions praedatoriae et actiones hostiles intermittuntur.
4. Exercitium christianae religionis omnibus iis in locis, quae Turcae vi horum tractatum obtinebunt, liberum esto.
5. Porta a Republica, vigore tractatum Leopoltanorum promissis centum mille imperialibus renuntiat; proptereaquae eo nomine datis obsidibus, ut et illis, qui tempore Casimiri regis, vi tractatus cuiuspiam conclusi, dati sunt, iterum libertas sua restituetur.

¹ For the discussion of this matter, see Pułaski, *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego*, pp. 463–64, 468–69.

² I.e., Ibrahim Pasha.

6. Pollicemur Turcae Tartarique, quod arctissimam unionem cum Rege et Republica Poloniae pangent, et quod ipsi, si id ab iis exigetur, contra omnes Coronae Poloniae hostes eidem assistere velint, semet offerentes ipso facto transire cum universi suo exercitu Boristhenem, eundem illic in hybernis collocare, et vice Coronae Poloniae amplas illas provincias, quas mosci eidem eripuerunt, iterum extorquere. Quibus tamen Rex sine Reipublicae suffragio assentiri renuit.

7. Stipulantur Turcae, vigore praesentis tractatus, Franciscanis Sanctum Sepulchrum se reddituros, eoque ipso schismatibus omnibus exinde ortis, finem imposituros.

8. Mittetur a Corona Poloniae solennis quaedam legatio ad Portam; ad quam obeundam Turcae Principum Constantinum, aut sub-mareschallum regni, aut equitem auratum Lubomirskium destinare intenderunt. Quod ipsum tamen rex maturiori deliberationi reservavit.

DOCUMENT 54 (17 OCTOBER 1676)¹
The Ottoman document of the agreement of Żurawno
[Facs. XXII]

Original document in Turkish: Bibl. Czart., ms. 609, fol. 52a–52b = pp. 101–102.

59 × 36 cm.

pençe (gold)

text (black with gold insertions and *zerefşan*, sprinkled with gold sand): *divani kırması*

oval seal (*mühür*) is affixed next to the pençe

Turkish copy:

A. BA, Kamil Kepeci 52, pp. 2–4.

Polish contemporary translation with the notes concerning the differences between Turkish and Latin versions: AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyских [AZ], sign. 3037 (old sign. 1808), fol. 251a–252a.

Published in J. Woliński, “Materiały do rokowań polsko-tureckich r. 1676,” *Przegląd Historyczny* (1930–1931): 382–413, esp. pp. 412–13.

French translation by Crutta: Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 150a–153b.

efkarü'l-‘ibad Ibrahim Paşa^a
sahh

‘abdühü Ibrahim^b

ey Bar-Hüda bi-Hakk hasti
‘ilm ü ‘amal ü ferah-desti

şeş çiz ma ra meded feresti
iman u aman u ten-dürüsti

Hüve

[1] sebeb-i tahrir-i kitab-i sıhhat-nisab oldur ki

[2] şevketlü ve kudretlü ve ‘azametlü ve mahabetlü **padişahımız**^c halife-i ru-i zemin hallada hilafetühü ila yevme’d-din hazretlerinin ferman-i

¹ Erroneously dated the second decade of Shaban (19–28 October). According to the Polish relation, the documents were exchanged on 17 October; see Janusz Woliński, “Materiały do rokowań polsko-tureckich r. 1676,” *Przegląd Historyczny* (1930–1931): 382–413, esp. p. 406. In the *‘ahdname* of 1678 the Turkish document of the armistice of Żurawno is referred to under the correct date, the first decade of Shaban; see Document 55.

^a Text of the *pençe*.

^b Text of the seal, (*mühür*). The versified outer inscription is identical with that of the *mühürs* of Redjeb Pasha and Murtaza Pasha; see Documents 41 and 44.

^c Elevated above the first line, omitted in A.

- hümayunlarıyla^d me'mur olduğumuz üzere haliya^e Kırım hanı olan sa'adetlü ve devletlü ve celadetlü
- [3] Selim Giray Han 'ali-nebbar hazretlerinin huzur-i 'alilerinde Juravna^f nam palanka sahrasında 'akd-i meclis olunub sefer-i hümayunda mevcud Anatoli eyaletine mutasarrıf olan 'izzetlü Hüseyin Paşa ve Rum-ili eyaletine mutasarrıf
- [4] 'izzetlü 'Ali Paşa ve Bosna eyaletine mutasarrıf 'izzetlü Mehmed Paşa ve Sivas eyaletine mutasarrıf 'izzetlü Ahmed Paşa ve Haleb eyaletine mutasarrıf 'izzetlü [Ebu]bekr^g Paşa ve Adana eyaletine mutasarrıf 'izzetlü Mehmed Paşa ve Karaman eyaletine mutasarrıf 'izzetlü
- [5] Ahmed Paşa ve Silistre^h eyaletine mutasarrıf 'izzetlü Ahmed Paşa ve 'izzetlü Seyyid Mehmed Paşa ve 'izzetlü 'Osman Paşa ve 'izzetlü diğer Mehmed Paşa ve ordu-i hümayun kadısı Mevlana Şa'ban Efendi ve sefer-i hümayunda yeniçeri ağası ka'im-makamı olan
- [6] zagarcı başı 'izzetlü Hasan Aga ve dört bölük ağaları ve bi'l-cümle sefer-i hümayunda mevcud olan sancakbegleri ve alay begleri muvacehelerinde bi'l-fi'l Leh kralı tarafından ve hetmanları ve söz sahibleri ve bi'l-cümle ahali-i memleket ve 'askerleri
- [7] caniblerinden 'akd-i sulh için vekil idüb göndürdikleri mefahirü a'yani'l-milleti'l-mesihîyeⁱ Şonce^j Konstantı Vişneveçki voyveda braslavski^k ve Yiri Velihoriçki podkomori loçimorski^l ve Tomaş
- [8] Karçevski podçaşı sanoski^m ve Françişek Kobiliski podçaşı meleniskiⁿ ve İstanişlav Domoroski çeşnik voninski^o ve Yan Telefus podçaşı hal-içki^p ve Yan
- [9] Karvovoski çeşnik podolski^q nam yedi nefer komisarlarıyla bi'd-defa'at umur-i sulh u salah mükaleme ve müzakere olunduktan sonra meclis-i mezkurda ke-ma yenbağı feysal virilüb karar-dade olmagla
- [10] tarafeynin rızalarıyla 'ahd ü şart olunan maddelerdir ki temessük olmak için kaleme getirilüb başka başka zikr olunur evvelki madde^r Leh^s

^d A. *hümayunları ile*.

^e A. *hala*.

^f ژورونه.

^g In A. written correctly.

^h A. *Özü*.

ⁱ A. *a'yan-i milleti'l-mesihîye*.

^j A. *Sonce*.

^k شونجه قنسطانت وشنوچکی وودہ براصلوسکی.

^l ییری وکھورچکی پودقموری لو چمرسکی.

^m توماش قارچوسکی پودچاش صانوسکی.

ⁿ فرانچیشک قوبلسکی پودچاش ملنسکی.

^o استانسلیو دومروسکی چشنک ونسکی; in A. written erroneously: *çeşnik podolski* ("the cup-bearer of Podolia").

^p بیان تلّفوس پودچاش حالپچکی.

^q بیان قارووسکی چشنک پودولسکی.

^r A. *madde-i evvel*.

^s A. *Lih*.

- vilayetinde olan Lipka^t Tatarı^u bir seneye dek hüsn-i rızalarıyla
- [11] Dar-i Islama çıkmak murad idenlere taraflarından kimesne mani^v olmayub ehl ü 'ayallarıyla ve malleriyle çıkalar ve bir dürlü rencide ve remide olunmayalar ikinci madde^w Podolya^x memleketi 'umumen hudud-i kadimesiyle
- [12] devlet-i 'aliyenin olub el-ana Bar^x ve Mejibuji^y kal'elerinde Leh 'askeri olmagla bu iki kal'eden Leh 'askeri ihrac eyleyeler^z ve Podolya memleketi için Buçaş^{aa} kal'esi altında^{ab} şevketlü ve kudretlü
- [13] ve 'azametlü **padişahımızın** ihsan buyurdıkları 'ahdname-i hümayun muktazasınca 'amal olunub^{ac} zerre mikdarı hilafına cevaz gösterilmeye üçüncü madde^{ad} Ukrayna^{ae} memleketine ke-zalik hudud-i kadimesiyle 'ahdname-i
- [14] hümayunda tasrih buyurulduğu vech üzere taraflarından kat'a dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub ancak Ukraynanın hududu dahilinde vakı' Özi suyuna karib Bila Çerkov^{af} ve Pavoliç^{ag} nam iki palanka ila'l-an
- [15] ellerinde olmagla ancak bu iki palanka hudud-i kadime-i mu'ayyeneleriyle^{ah} devlet-i 'aliye tarafından kendülere ihsan buyurulmak üzere zabt u tasarruflarında kala lakin bu bahane ile zikr olunan iki palankanın
- [16] hudud-i kadimesinden haric bir karış yere dahl u ta'arruz eylemeyeler ve bundan sonra büyük ilçileri çıkub der-i devlet-medara vardıkda devlet-i 'aliye tarafından müstakil adam ta'yin buyurilub
- [17] Podolya memleketin hudud-i kadimesi üzere hudud u sınurun ve Ukraynada kendü tasarruflarında kalacak Bila Çerkov ve Pavoliç palankalarının dahi hudud-i kadimleri üzere hudud u sınırların tahdid
- [18] ü ta'yin eyleyeler^{ai} dördüncü madde^{aj} kendü vilayetlerindeki mata' ile^{ak} bazarganları kar u kesb için memalik-i mahruseye çıkub kanun-i kadim üzere mata'larının gümrüğü virdikden sonra hilaf-i şer' ü kanun rencide

^t لپقه.

^u A. *Tatarıdan*.

^v A. *madde-i sani*.

^w بودولیه.

^x بار.

^y می‌بویزی.

^z A. *Lih 'askeri ehl ü 'ayal ve esvab [ü] eskalların ihrac eyleyeler ve bi'l-cümle top ve cebe-haneyeye müta'alih neleri var ise götüreler*.

^{aa} بوچاش.

^{ab} A. *Buçaş (بوچاچ) altında*.

^{ac} A. *'ahdname-i hümayunda her nice tasrih ü beyan buyurulmuş ise ol minval üzere 'amal olunub*.

^{ad} A. *madde-i salis*.

^{ae} اوقراینه; in A. *اوقراینه*.

^{af} بلا چرقو.

^{ag} پاولیچ.

^{ah} A. *mu'ayyenesiyle*.

^{ai} The portion following "ve bundan sonra" is missing in A.

^{aj} A. *madde-i rabi*'.

^{ak} A. *mata'la*.

- [19] olunmayalar beşinci madde^{al} mukaddema sulh esnası^{am} Kuds-i şerifde^{an} taraflarından rühbanları meks idüb kalmak mu'tad olmagla uslub-i sabık üzere ferman-i 'ali ihsan buyurla^{ao} altıncı madde^{ap} ba'de'l-yevm
- [20] izn-i hümayun olmadıkça 'asakir-i mansureden ve Kırım ve Bucak ve Nogay Tatar-i 'aduvv-şikarından ve Kazak ve Erdel tarafından Leh vilayetine bölük gelüb vilayetlerin urub garet ü hasaret
- [21] eylemeyeler yedinci madde^{aq} Podolya memleketinde gelüb^{ar} tevattın itmek murad eyleyen Leh re'ayasına kimesne mani' olmayub i'şar-i şer'iyelerin ve kanun üzere sa'ir virgülerin virmek şartıyla zira'at
- [22] u hiraset idüb geçinmelerine ruhsat virile sekizinci madde^{as} kanun-i kadim üzere der 'akb büyük ilçilerin çıkarub der-i devlet-medar tarafına yollayalar^{at} ve hala bizimle ta'yin eyledükleri^{au} küçük ilçileri
- [23] der-i devletde^{av} büyük ilçileri gelince dek alı-koyıla ve mukaddema rikab-i hümayun-i şehriyariye be-her sene pişkeş virecekleri yigirmi iki bin altun ki sa'adetlü han 'ali-şan hazretlerinin rica ve niyazıyla 'afv
- [24] ü ihsan buyurulmuşdur ol altun pişkeşi maddesinden ma 'ada sa'ir mevadd-i^{aw} sulh u salah mukaddema Buçaş altında şevketlü ve kudretlü ve 'azametlü^{ax} efendimiz **padişah 'ali-şan** hazretlerinin ihsan buyurdıkları
- [25] 'ahdname-i hümayunda mestur u muharrer olduğu vech üzere düstürü'l-'amal olub 'ahdname-i hümayunun şurut u kuyudı tarafeynden ke-ma yenbagi ri'ayet olunmaga bezl-i ihtimam oluna tahriren fi evasiti şehri Şa'bani'l-mu'azzam
- [26] seneti seb'a ve semanin ve elf^{ay}

bi-yurd-i
sahra-i
palanka-i
Juravna

^{al} A. *madde-i hamis*.

^{am} A. *esnasında*.

^{an} A. *Kuds-i şerif*.

^{ao} A. *izn-i hümayunu müş'ir ferman-i celilü'l-'unvan ihsan buyurla*.

^{ap} This paragraph is registered in A. as article 8 and reads: "*madde-i samın islam 'askerinden ve Kırım Tatarından Novay [sic] ve Bucak ve Erdel ve Orta Macardan sulha mugayir bela-izn-i hümayun gelüb garet ü hasaret etmeyeler*."

^{aq} This paragraph is registered in A. as article 6 (*madde-i sadis*).

^{ar} A. *içerüden gelüb*.

^{as} This paragraph is registered in A. as article 7 (*madde-i sabi'*).

^{at} Here begins article 8 in A.; see note ap.

^{au} A. *eyledikleri*.

^{av} In A. written erroneously: *der-i devletden*.

^{aw} Missing in A.

^{ax} A. *şevketlü ve 'azametlü ve kudretlü*.

^{ay} A. *tahriren [fi] evayili şehri Şa'bani'l-mu'azzam seneti seman [sic] ve semanin ve elf*.

Translation:

[pençe] *The most humble of the servants [of God], Ibrahim Pasha*
 “correct”

[seal] *His [i.e., God's] servant Ibrahim*
 O God the Lord, You are the Rightful You sent me six reinforcements
 knowledge, practice, and generosity, faith, mercy, and health

He

The reason for the writing of these truthful letters is as follows:

As we have been appointed deputies with the imperial order of our mighty, powerful, great, and majestic padishah, the caliph on earth² (may God make his caliphate perpetual until the Day of Judgment!), now a peace conference has been held on the plain of the fort named Żuravno, in the high presence of his excellency of high eloquence, the Crimean khan—the felicitous, illustrious, and brave Selim Gray Khan—of the governor of Anatolia, the honorable Huseyn Pasha; the governor of Rumelia, the honorable Ali Pasha; the governor of Bosnia, the honorable Mehmed Pasha; the governor of Sivas, the honorable Ahmed Pasha; the governor of Aleppo, the honorable Ebubekr Pasha; the governor of Adana, the honorable Mehmed Pasha; the governor of Karaman, the honorable Ahmed Pasha; the governor of Silistra,³ the honorable Ahmed Pasha; the honorable Seyyid Mehmed Pasha; honorable Osman Pasha, and the other honorable Mehmed Pasha; the kadi of the imperial troops, Mevlana⁴ Shaban Efendi; the zagarcı başı,⁵ the honorable Hasan Agha, being the deputy of the agha of janissaries on imperial campaign; and the aghas of four bölüks,⁶ [all being] present on the imperial campaign; and all the sancakbeys and alaybeys present on the imperial campaign; [also] from the side of the present Polish king and from the side of his hetmans, spokesmen, all the inhabitants of the country, and soldiers, deputies were appointed in order to conclude the peace; after the repeated negotiations and disputes over the matters of peace and amity with seven commissioners sent from their [i.e., Polish] side—the pride of the notables of the nation of the Messiah, namely: the palatine of Bractaw,⁷ Prince⁸ Konstanty Wiśniowiecki; the chamberlain of Włodzimierz,⁹ Jerzy Wielhorski; the cup-bearer of Sanok,¹⁰ Tomasz Karczewski; the cup-bearer of Mielnik,¹¹ Franciszek Kobylecki; the cup-bearer of Volhymia,¹²

² I.e., “the deputy of Prophet Muhammad on earth.”

³ In A.: “of Očakiv;” this province was alternatively called after Silistra or Očakiv.

⁴ Lit. “our lord;” a title of respect referring to kadis.

⁵ Lit. “the commander of houndsmen;” the official title of the commander of the sixty-fourth janissary regiment.

⁶ “Bölük” is a janissary unit or regiment.

⁷ Ukr. Braclav; the Polish title reads *wojewoda bractawski*.

⁸ Pol. *książę* is rendered in the Turkish text as *şonce*.

⁹ Ukr. Volodymyr; the Polish title reads *podkomorzy włodzimierski*.

¹⁰ The Polish title reads *podczaszy sanocki*.

¹¹ The Polish title reads *podczaszy mielnicki*.

¹² The Polish title reads *częśnik wotyński*; the rank of *częśnik* was higher than that of *podczaszy*. Both terms are rendered in English as “cup-bearer.”

Stanisław Dąbrowski; the cup-bearer of Halicz,¹³ Jan Telefus; and the cup-bearer of Podolia,¹⁴ Jan Karwowski¹⁵—the most proper decisions were made at the aforementioned conference;

these are the sworn and promised articles, fixed by the consent of both sides, which were put on paper in order to compose a *temessük* and are stated [below] one by one:

The first article:

The Lipka Tatars living in Poland, who want to depart within one year to the Islamic domain on their own free will should not be hindered by anybody from their [i.e., Polish] side; they may leave with their people, wives, and property, and they should not be molested or disturbed in any way.

The second article:

The province of Podolia within its old boundaries belongs to the high [Ottoman] state; as the Polish soldiers have stayed until the present-day in Bar and Medżybiż, the Polish soldiers should leave these two fortresses.¹⁶ As to Podolia, one should act in accordance with the imperial *‘ahdname*, granted by our majestic, mighty, and great *padishah* at the fortress of Bučac; the least violation will not be permitted.

The third article:

Likewise, as it is specified in the imperial *‘ahdname*, no sort of meddling or interference should be engaged by their [i.e., Polish] side in the province of Ukraine within its old borders;¹⁷ as only two forts situated within the borders of Ukraine near the Dnieper river, named Bila Cerkva and Pavoloč, have been in their [i.e., Polish] hands until the present-day, only these two forts within their well-defined old borders may be granted to them from the side of the high state and may remain under their hold and in their possession. But under this pretext they should not meddle or interfere [even] by one inch outside the old borders of the said forts.

Thereafter, when their great ambassador departs and arrives at the prosperous gate

¹³ Ukr. Halyč; the Polish title reads *podczaszy halicki*.

¹⁴ The Polish title reads *częśnik podolski*.

¹⁵ Jan Karwowski was sent in March 1676 as an envoy to the Moldavian hospodar. He spent the whole campaign with the Ottoman army and joined the Polish commissioners in October.

¹⁶ In A.: “the Polish soldiers should leave with their people, wives, property, and luggages; and they may take all the cannons and any sort of articles related to munitions.” According to the Polish relation this initially agreed on provision was erased from the treaty by Ibrahim Pasha. On the margin of the contemporary Polish translation of the Turkish document a note is written: *tu nulla mentio o sprowadzeniu dział i pospolstwa* (“no mention here of the evacuation of cannons and common people”); see Woliński, “Materiały do rokowań polsko-tureckich r. 1676,” *Przegląd Historyczny* (1930–1931), pp. 406, 412–413. Though differently formulated, this provision was finally included in the subsequent *‘ahdname*.

¹⁷ In the Polish translation a marginal note is added: *i tu tego nie dotożono: Ukraina Cozacis cedat* (“again it is not mentioned that Ukraine was ceded to the Cossacks”). This provision was included in the subsequent *‘ahdname*.

[i.e., *Porte*], authorized commissioners will be appointed from the side of the high state in order to set and fix the limits and borders of Podolia according to its old borders and the limits and borders of the forts in Ukraine, Bila Cerkva and Pavoloč, which will remain in their possession, according to their old borders.

The fourth article:

Merchants who travel with the goods of their country to the well-protected dominions for the purpose of gain¹⁸ should not be molested contrary to the *ser'iat* and law after they pay customs duties on their goods according to the old law.

The fifth article:

As the monks from their side [i.e., Catholic monks] used to reside in the noble Jerusalem in the previous period of peace, a high order will be issued that they can remain under the former customary conditions.¹⁹

The sixth article:

Henceforth, nobody from the side of the victorious [Ottoman] army, of the enemy-hunting Crimean, Budjak, and Nogay Tatars, and of the Cossacks and Transylvanians, should enter Poland in company and strike, raid, and ruin their country without imperial permission.

The seventh article:

Nobody should hinder Polish subjects who want to come²⁰ and settle in Podolia; they can practise cultivation and husbandry on condition they give *ser'ci* tithes²¹ and other taxes according to the law; and one should provide them with conditions for living.

The eighth article:

In accordance with old custom, they [i.e., the Poles] should instantly send and dispatch a great ambassador to the prosperous gate. Their small envoy appointed at the present time [after consulting] with us²² will be detained at the prosperous gate until the arrival of their great ambassador. The yearly *pişkeş* of twenty-two thousand gold coins which they had formerly to give to the imperial stirrup is remitted and forgiven on the request and supplication of his excellency, the felicitous and illustrious [Crimean] khan.

Apart from this article concerning the *pişkeş* in gold, the other articles of peace and amity remain in force in the manner written and explained in the imperial *'ahdname* granted previously at Bučač by his excellency, our majestic, mighty, and great lord, the

¹⁸ *Kar u kesb* means literally: "work and earn," but also: "ordinary business."

¹⁹ In A.: "a noble order will be granted making known the imperial permission that they can remain under the former customary conditions."

²⁰ In A. "who want to come from within [Poland]." This article refers to the Podolian refugees in Poland, but also to the local inhabitants removed by the Ottoman army in 1674 and settled in central Ottoman provinces.

²¹ I.e., the tithes stipulated by Islamic law (*ser'iat*).

²² The whole fragment reads: "*ve hala bizimle ta'yin eyledükleri küçük ilçileri.*" The word *bizimle* is thusly interpreted as "[after consulting] with us."

illustrious padishah; one should pay the utmost attention on both sides, so that the clauses and articles of the imperial 'ahdname may be properly respected.

Written in the second decade²³ of the respected month of Shaban of the year 1087, in the tent on the plain before the fort of Żurawno.

²³ It should read "in the first decade," see note 1. The date of the A. copy bears the correct decade but the wrong year (1088 instead of 1087 A.H.).

DOCUMENT 55 (4–13 APRIL 1678)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Mehmed IV to King John III
[Facs XXIII]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 465, no. 780.¹

229 × 63 cm.

the upper part of the document with the invocation is missing [cut off]
tugra (gold)

text (black): *divani* script²

a sign of correction, resembling the word *sahh*, is placed on the reverse side

Turkish copies:

A. BA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye [Ecnebi Defterleri], 55/1, pp. 16–20.

B. An unidentified copy published in Feridun Bey, *Münşe’atü’s-Selatin*, vol. 2., pp. 510–15.

C. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D. 7018/1, fol. 41a–42b.

D. Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Cod. Ms. Turc. 30, fol. 6b–9b.

Latin translation of the articles: a) AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich [AZ], sign. 3037 (old sign. BOZ 1808), fol. 310a–318b (Alexander Maurocordato’s hand); b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 421, fol. 279a–283a (the same version, contained in Gniński’s relation; its lost original from the Krasiński Library is published in Pułaski, *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego*, pp. 147–52); c) Bibl. Czart., ms. 1176, pp. 629–46; d) AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich [AZ], sign. 3037, fol. 319a–323b (translation prepared in the French embassy in Constantinople, published in Pułaski, *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego*, pp. 311–23); e) Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. 6639, fol. 170b–173a; f) Bibl. Kórn., ms. 206, pp. 86–91.

Published also in a) *Theatrum Pacis*, vol. 2 (Nuremberg, 1685), pp. 584–98 (provided with a German translation); b) J. Dumont, *Corps Universel diplomatique*, vol. 7, pt. 1, p. 435; c) *Treaties, etc. between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, pp. 386–93.

Polish translation by Crutta: Bibl. Czart., ms. 175 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 723–45.

Published in Pułaski, *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego*, pp. 311–23.

¹ An old erroneous signature reads: k. 77, t. 472, no. 794.

² Each line of the text ends with an ornamental “tail” (Tur. *zeneb*). If such a “tail” could not be formed from the last Arabic letter in a given line, an additional ornamental letter *he* was added; see Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı belgelerinin dili (diplomatik)* (Istanbul, 1994), pp. 62–63.

French translation by Crutta: a) Bibl. Czart., ms. 612, pp. 505–524 [511–30]; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 154a–167b.

French translation of the articles was also published in *Mémoires du Sieur de la Croix, cy-devant secrétaire de l'Ambassade de Constantinople*, pt. 2 (Paris, 1684), pp. 216–33.

English translation of the articles was published in Demetrius Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1734–1735), pp. 284–86.

Mehmed-şah bin İbrahim han muzaffer da'ima

- [1] Nişan-i şerif-i 'ali-şan-i sami-mekam-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan giti-arayı hakani nüffize bi'l-'avni'r-rebbani ve'l-menni'l-mennani hükmi oldur ki
- [2] Cenab-i Halik-i la-yüzal ve Hazret-i Kadir-i bi-zeval celle şane hü ve 'azze sultanuhunun nusret ü 'inayeti ve server-i enbiya Muhammed Mustafa salla'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellemün mu'cizat-i berekatıyla benki hameyn-i şerifeynin hadimi ve küfr ü dalal bünyanın hadimi sultanu's-selatin
- [3] bürhanu'l-havakin zillu'llah fi'l-arazin ferman-ferma-yi memalik-i Rum ve 'Arab ve 'Acem ve hükm-reva-yi vilayet-i 'İrak ve Tacik ve Türk ve Dilem şehriyar-i tac-bahş ve memleket-ara ve tac-dar-i leşker-keş ve kışvar-küşa olub Mekkenin ve Medinenin ve Kuds-i şerifin
- [4] ve İstanbulun ve Ak Deniz ve Kara Denizin ve Rum-ili ve Anadolu'nun ve Rumın ve Karamanın ve Erzurum ve Diyarbekrin ve Kürdistan ve Luristan ve Gürcistan ve Erzincanın ve Du'l-kadriye ve Mısır ve Şam ve Sayda ve Beyrut ve Trablus-i Şam
- [5] ve Haleb ve külliye'n 'Arabistan ve Bağdad ve Basranın ve Mugarrib zemin ve Cezayir-i Garb ve cezire-i Girid ve Tatar ve Deşt-i Kıpçagın ve Eflak ve Bogdan ve Erdel vilayetinin ve ana tabi' yerlerin ve bunlardan gayri niçe darb-i şemşir-i cihan-girimiz ile feth olunmuş
- [6] vilayetlerin ve memleketlerin padişahı Ebü'l-Feth Sultan Mehmed Han bin Sultan İbrahim Han bin Sultan Ahmed Hanım tevfik-i reb-bani ile hall ü 'akd-i umur-i mülk ü devlet ve fetk ü retk-i kar-i saltanat yed-i mü'eyyed-i sahib-kıranıma mahsus olmanın 'inan-i
- [7] 'azimet-i şahanem tarik-i tanzim ü ıslah-i ahval-i ra'iyet ü bilada ma'tuf ve cell-i himmet vala-nehmet-i padişahanem taraf-i terfih-i 'ibada mas-ruf kılınmak zimmet-i himmet-i hüsvaneme ehem ü elzem olmuşdur bina'en 'ala zalik şime-i kerime-i aba ve ecdad-i şeca'at-nihad
- [8] ve nasfet-mu'tadımızın avatıf-i kadimesi üzere zabt u hirasat-i memalik ü sugur-i bilad ve himayet-i re'aya ve fukera-i 'ibad zimmet-i himmet-i şahaneme lazım ve re'fet ü şefkat-i mülukaneme sezavar u mühimm olmanın 'asakir-i encüm-şümar nusret-şi'arım ile
- [9] Lih seferine bundan akdem ser-'asker-i zafer-iştimal nasb ve irsal kılınan dasturu mukarram müşiru mufahham nizamı'l-'alam vezirim İbrahim Paşa edame'llahu iclale hü ve mirmiran-i fiham ve ümera-i kiram ve sa'ir 'asakir-i mansurem ve cenab-i imaret-ma'ab iyalet-nisab

- [10] sabıka Kırım hanı Selim Giray Han damet me'alihü ile hidemat-i hümayunum itmamına takayyüd üzere iken iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fiham fi'l-milleti'l-mesihie muslihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar
- [11] sahibü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-iftihar Lih^a vilayetinin kralı ve hükümdarı olan Ivan-i Salis^b hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr tarafından ve hetmanları ve söz sahibleri ve bi'l-cümle ahali-i memleket ve 'askerleri cumhuri caniblerinden seneti seb'a ve semanin ve elf Şa'banu'l-mu'azzamının evayilinde Juravna^c nam
- [12] palanka sahrasına göndürdikleri yedi nefer vekiller ile 'akd-i meclis olunub mebani-i sulh u salah ba'z vekayi' ve ihtilal sebebi ile munkatı' ve za'il olub mabeynde harb u kıtal ve ceng ü cidal suret-nüma olmagla mucib-i asayiş-i ahali-i bilad ve muris-i
- [13] aramiş-i ra'iyet ve fukara-i 'ibad olan sulh u salahı müceddeden vaz' ü tahdid ve hukuk-i dosti ve civar-i kadimi kava'idin teşyid ve temhid olunmasın irade itdiklerin bildirmegin ordu-i hümayunumda bi'd-defa'at umur-i sulh u salah mükaleme ve müzakereden sonra
- [14] bir kaç mevadd üzerine karar virilüb vükela-i tarafeyn rızalarıyla 'ahd ü şart ve sulh u salah bağlanub canibeynden ma'mulün-bih olmak üzere temessük virilmek lazım geldikde müşarun-ileyh ser-'askerim dahi taraf-i bahirü'ş-şeref-i hüsevanımdan vekilim olduğu
- [15] hasbıyla karar-dade olan mevadd üzerine temessük virmekle virilen temessük mazmununu mü'eyyed ü mü'ekked kral-i ba-vakar tarafından hala rikab-i hümayunuma büyük ilçilik hizmetiyle gelen kıdvetü ümera'i'l-milleti'l-mesihie Ivan İvniçki^d hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr ile gelen namesi tercüme
- [16] ve paye-i serir-i a'lama 'arz ü telhis olundukda taraf-i hümayunumdan dahi sulh u salaha müsa'ade olunub müceddeden 'ahdname-i şevket-makrunum virilmesin tazarru' ve niyaz itmekle refahiyet-i fukara-i tarafeyn ve rahat-i 'aceze-i canibeyn için rica ve niyazı huzur-i fa'izü'n-nur-i
- [17] mülukanemizde makbul tutulub zikr olunan temessükde mestur olan mevadd mu'teber ü makbul tutuldugun muhbir ü müştemil hatt-i hümayun-i sa'adet-makrunumuz ile ferman-i 'ali-şanımız sadır olub ve yine ilçi muma-ileyh 'ahdname-i hümayuna bir kaç mevadd dahi idhal olunmasın
- [18] rica ve iltimas etmegin ricası hayiz-i kabula-karın kılınub müceddeden işbu 'ahdname-i hümayun-i 'izzet-makrunı virdüm ve buyurdum ki şerh ü beyan ve tafsil ü 'ayan kılınur Lih vilayetinde olan Lipka^e Tatari bir seneye dek hüsn-i rızaları ile Dar-i Islama

^a The texts of A. and C. copies start here.

^b ایوان ثالث.

^c ژورونه.

^d ایوان ایونیچکی.

^e لیپکه.

- [19] çıkmak murad idenlere taraflarından kimesne mani' olmayub ehl ü 'ayalları ile ve malleri ile çıkalar bir dürlü rencide ve remide olunmayalar ve Podolya^f memleketi 'umumen hudud-i kadimesiyle cenab-i hilafet-ma'abımın olub el-ana Bar^g ve Mejibuj^h kal'elerinde Lih
- [20] 'askeri olmagla bu iki kal'eden Lih 'askeri ihrac ve mukaddema zikr olunan kal'eler ehl-i islam eline girdikde içinde ne mikdar top bulunmuş ise alı-konulub sonradan kendü vilayetlerinden gettirdikleri var ise alalar ve yine mezburan kal'elerin re'ayasından
- [21] hüsn ihtiyarlarıyla gitmek isteyenler gidüb kalmak isteyenler kalub götürilmege cebr olunmaya ve Podolya memleketi için mukaddema virilen 'ahdname-i hümayunda tasrih ü beyan olundugı üzere Podolya memleketinin hudud ve sınırunda niza' vakı' olur ise
- [22] tarafeynden hakimler ma'rifetiyle adamlar ta'yin olunub ve iki serhadd ahalilerinden müsinn ü ihtiyar vilayet erleri ile üzerine varlub cemm-i gafır kangı hudud dahilinde olduguna şahadet iderler ise anınla 'amal oluna Podolya
- [23] memleketi tahrir olunub kadimden palanka sahibi olan Lih begzadelelerinden papas olurlar ise de her kangısı Podolyada kalmak murad iderlerse mukaddema ellerinde olan palankalarının ve köylerinin haracları ve i'şar-i şer'iyeleri ve sa'ir virgüleri
- [24] hesap olunub maktu'an ol begzadelerin yedilerinden alına ve kendülerinin kefaf-i nefslerine yarar şey ta'yin oluna kendüleri ve evladları mu'af olub ma damki hıyanetleri zahir olmaya bu hizmetden ref' olunmayalar ve hilaf-i şer' rencide olunmayalar
- [25] ve devşirme ferman olunur ise bunlardan ve re'ayalarından devşirme alınmaya ve kal'elerde cami' ve mescid olandan ma 'ada ellerinde ibka olunan kiliselerine müdahale olunmayub ayin-i batılların sa'ir serhaddlardaki gibi icra eylediklerinde
- [26] rencide olunmayalar ve Ukraynaⁱ memleketi ke-zalik hudud-i kadimesiyle 'ahdname-i hümayunda tasrih olundugı üzere devlet-i 'aliyeme tabi' olan Kazak tayifesine virilüb memleket-i mezbureye taraflarından kat'a dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub ancak Ukrayna hududı
- [27] dahilinde vakı' Özi suyuna karib Byalu Çerkov^j ve Pavoliç^k nam iki palanka ila'l-an ellerinde olmagla ancak bu iki palanka ve palankaya tabi' olan yerleri ile devlet-i 'aliyem tarafından kendülerine ihsan olunmagın ke-ma kan zabt u tasarruflarında kala lakin bu bahane ile
- [28] zikr olunan iki palankanın ve palankalara tabi' olan yerlerden haric bir karış yere dahl u ta'arruz eylemeyeler ve bundan sonra devlet-i 'aliyem tarafından müstakıl adamlar ta'yin olunub buyurulub Podolya memleketin hudud-i kadimesi üzere hudud u sınırın ve Ukraynada

^f .پودولیه

^g .بار

^h .مژیבוژی

ⁱ .اقراینه

^j .بیالو چرقو

^k .پاولیچ

- [29] kendü tasarruflarında kalacak balada zikr olunan Byalu Çerkov ve Pavoliç iki palankalarının dahi hudud-i kadimleri üzere hudud u sınırları tahdid ü ta'yin eyleyeler ve kendü vilayetlerindeki mata' ile bazarganları kar u kesb içün memalik-i mahruseme
- [30] çıkub kanun-i kadim üzere mata'larının gümrüklerin bi-kusur virdiklerinden sonra hilaf-i şer' ü kanun rencide olunmayub sa'ir müste'min tüccarından harac alınmadığı gibi Lih tüccarından dahi harac talep olunmaya ve mukaddema sulh esnasında Kuds-i şerifde
- [31] taraflarından rühbanları oturmak mu'tad olmagla uslub-i sabık üzere kadimden otura-geldikleri mahallerde oturub kimesne mani' olmaya ve ba'de'l-yevm ferman-i şerifim olmadıkça 'asakir-i mansuremden ve Kırım ve Bucak ve Nogay Tatarından ve Kazak
- [32] ve Erdel taraflarından Lih vilayetine bölük gelüb vilayetlerin urub garet ü hasaret eylemeyeler ve garet olunmuş eşyaları var ise isbat olundukda 'ayniyle tarafından redd oluna ve Podolya memleketinde gelüb tevattun itmek murad eyleyen Lih re'ayasına
- [33] kimesne mani' olmayub i'şar-i şer'iyelerin [ve] kanun üzere sa'ir virgülerin virmek şartıyla zira'at u hirasat idüb geçinmelerine kimesne mani' olmaya ve mukaddema rikab-i hümayunuma be-her sene pişkeş namıyla virmege ta'ahhüd itdikleri yigirmi iki bin altun
- [34] cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Kırım hanının ricasıyla 'afv ü ihsan olunmagla ol altun pişkeş maddesinden ve Ukraynada kendülere ihsanım olan Byala Çerkov¹ ve Pavoliç^m palankaları maddesinden ma 'ada mukaddema Bučačⁿ altında virilen 'ahdname-i hümayunumda
- [35] mestur olan mevaddin cümlesi düstürü'l-'amal tutulub ke-ma yenbagi ri'ayet olunmaga bezl-i ihtimam oluna ve tarafeynden mu'temed ve mu'teber adamlar ta'yin olunub ahali-i vilayetin müsinn ü ihtiyarları şهادetleri üzere Podolya ve Ukraynanın hududları Lihe tabi' olan
- [36] sa'ir vilayetlerden ayrılıb tahdid^o oluna intiha-i serhadda tarafeynden olan hakimler tarafeyn re'ayasının emlak da'vasından gayri cüz'i olan niza'ların fasl ideler Kamanıçede hin-i fethde kalub sonra nefi ve icla' olunan re'ayadan
- [37] isteyenler Podolya memleketlerinde sakin olalar ve Kamanıçede hin-i fethde kalan re'aya sonra nefi ve icla' olunmagla kiliseleri battal olmagın hin-i fethde kalan Latin^p milleti re'ayasından ba'de'l-yevm Kamanıçede sakin olanlara mukaddema virilüb battal olan
- [38] bir munaseb kilise virile ve Bar kal'esinde olan kiliselerden cami-i şerif ta'yin olundukdan sonra anda kalan Latin re'ayasına ancak bir kilise virile eger virilen kilise harabe ise vaz'-i kadimi üzere ta'mir itdiklerinde mani' olmaya

¹ بیا له چرقو.

^m پا ولیچ.

ⁿ بوچاچ.

^o A., B., and C. *teddid*.

^p لاتین; A. and D. لا تین.

- [39] ke-zalik Mejibuji^q kal'esinde ve Yazlopça^r kal'esinde cami'-i şerif ta'yin olundukdan sonra anda kalan Latin re'ayasına ancak bir kilise virilüb eger harabe ise vaz'-i kadimi üzere ta'mir itdiklerinde mani' olmayalar ve Dañçik^s gemileri Ak Denizde
- [40] emn ü eman ile mürur u 'ubur idüb 'adet [ü] kanun üzere gümrüklerin eda eylediklerinden sonra hilaf-i şer'-i şerif ve mugayir-i sulh u salah kimesne ahz u rencide eylemeye ve ceng ü harb esnasında tara-feynden ahz olunan esirler tarafeynden mübadele oluna ve Podolyada
- [41] vali bir olub Podolya begleri zabıtları Lipka ve sa'ir Tatar tayifesinden olmaya Lipka Tatari Podolyada ve sınura karib yerde iskan olunmayub sinurdan ba'id yerde iskan olunalar ve tecdid-i sulh u salahda evvel ma'mulün-bih olan 'ahdnamede
- [42] balada mestur olan şurut u kuyuda mugayir olan mevadd tarh u ibtal olunub muvafik olanlar ke-ma fi'l-evvel ibka oluna ma damki Lih kralı tarafından ve beglerinden ve kapudanlarından ve tevabi'inden ve sa'ir ehl-i fesaddan serhadd-i memalik-i mahrusemde
- [43] olan kal'elerime ve varoşlarıma ve sa'ir memalik-i mahmiyeme tabi' olan kasabat ve kura ve araziye be-vech mine'l-vücuah dahl u ta'arruz olunmaya Lih kralının dahi memleketlerine ve kal'elerine ve varoşlarına ve sa'ir kasabat ve kuralarına taraf-i hümayunundan ve vüzera-i 'izam
- [44] ve mirmiran-i fiham ve ümera-i kiram ve 'asakir-i zafer-şi'arından ve Bogdanlu ve Dobruca ve Akkirman^t ve Bender ve Özide olan Tatardan ve gayriden Lih memleketine zarar olmayub Turla^u ve sa'ir Tatar geçidlerini ol tarafların hakimleri caniblerinden
- [45] muhafaza itdüreler eger muhafaza eylemekde ihmal ve müsahele iderler ise 'azl olunub cezaları virile ve cenab-i imaret-ma'ab Kırım hanları tarafına hala tecdid-i sulh u salahda virmege ta'ahhüd itdikleri virgüleri sal be-sal vaktıyla irsal olunub adamlarına
- [46] teslim ve isal olundukdan sonra Kırım hanı dahi kanun-i kadim üzere 'uhdesine lazım gelen dostluk ve muhabbet şartlarını ri'ayet idüb minba'd han tarafından ve kağılgayı sultandan ve gayri mirzalardan Lih memleketlerine zarar u ziyan irişdirilmeye ve kral müşarun-ileyhin
- [47] üzerine düşman-i müstevli oldukda han dahi Tatar 'askeriyle imdad [ve] i'anet eyleye ve canib-i hümayunundan bir tarafa sefer vaki' oldukda han müşarun-ileyh veyahud kağılgayı sultan veya mirzalarıyla Tatar 'askeri varmak lazım geldikde Lih memleketinin içine ugramayub
- [48] kadimden ne mahalden geçe-gelmişler ise girü ol yerden geçeler ve bu 'ahdname-i hümayundan sonra Lih kralı memleketine Tatardan veya Bogdanlu ve gayriden kimesne varub garet veya esir ihrac iderler ise kral tarafından i'lam olundukda ol makuleler [bulunub hakklarından

^q A. *Mujibuj* (موژیوژی).

^r (يازلوفچه) A. and C. *Yazlofça*.

^s دانچيک A., B. and D. *Dançika* (دانهچقه).

^t اقکیرمان.

^u طورلی.

- gelenüb esirler ve esbabları girüye redd etdirile ve Lih esirleri]" ki bu 'ahdname tarihinden sonra ihrac
- [49] olunmuş ola memalik-i mahrusemde furuht olunmaya bu tarafa müta'allık olanlardan minba'd Lih memleketinde esir satılmaya ve dahi kefare kırallarından ve gayriden birinin üzer<ler>ine^w sefer-i zafer-şi'arım vaki' olub bi'z-zat cenab-i hilafet-ma'abım varmak iktiza etdikde veya bir serdar ta'yin
- [50] olunub 'asakir-i nusret-ma'asirim ile ve Erdel ve Eflak ve Bogdan voyvodalarıyla ol düşmanın üzerine teveccüh olunmagla düşmanım tarafından kendüye adam varub mu'avenet ve müzaheret talep etdiklerinde asitane-i sa'adetime sadakat ve istikamet ve icra-i musafat ve muvafakat
- [51] için Lih kralı 'askeriyle ve hazinesiyle düşmanıma yardım itmeye ve düşmanım tarafından bir kimesne varub Lih memleketinde 'asker cem' itmek ister ise men' idüb ruhsat vermeye ve kendünün hersek ve kapudanlarından ve gayriden ba'zıları ihtiyarlarıyla düşmanıma yardım için
- [52] gitmek murad eylediklerinde salı-virmeyüb gizlü ve aşikare icazet virilmeye Erdel memleketi ecdad-i 'izamımdan irs ile intikal itmiş memleketim olmagla Erdel hakimleri ile ve bu canibe izhar-i sadakat iden Macar kralı olanlar ile dahi kemal-i musafat üzere
- [53] olub Erdel canibinde dahi düşman zuhur ider ise gizlü ve aşikare düşman tarafına Lih canibinden imdad olunmaya ve dahi Erdel ve Eflak ve Bogdan voyvodaları tarafından ve beglerinden ve gayriden ba'zıları kabahat idüb Lih memleketine firar iderler ise ol makuleler
- [54] kabul olunmayub mabeynde dostluk ve aşnalığı ri'ayeten tutub kayd ü bend ile asitane-i sa'adetime göndüre bu vech ile dostuma dost düşmanıma düşman ola ve hala mabeynde dostluk ziyade olmak için Lih tevabi'i ve re'ayası Turla suyundan Akkerman iskelesine
- [55] mata' götürüb bey' ü şıra eylemeleri iltimas olunmuş o makule memalik-i mahruseme zarar u ziyan kasdında olmayub kendü halinde ticaret ile gelenlere kimesne mani' olmaya ve Lih kralı südde-i sa'adetimle olan dostlugunda sabit-kadem oldukça Bogdan voyvodaları dahi
- [56] kadimden Lih kralı ile ne vechle musafat üzere olı-gelmişler ise girü olvechle musafat ile olalar ve mukaddema barışıklık* eyyaminde Lihlülerden esir olanlar ki küfri üzerine durub islama gelmemiş olalar Lih tarafından adamları gelüb o makuleleri
- [57] memalik-i mahrusemde buldukları yerde sahiblerine niçeye aldıklarına yemin virüb ma'lum olduktan sonra ziyade baha talep itmeyeler ve bahaların virdikdensonra kendü vilayetlerine alub gitmege kimesne mani' olmaya ve ol esirlerden küfri üzerine durmayub islama gelmiş bulunanlara

^v This segment was "traditionally" omitted after Murad's *'ahdname* of 1623. Cf. Document 52, note r.

^w Written correctly in A., B., C., and in the previous documents.

^x It should read *karışıklık*; cf. Document 52, note s, and the earlier documents. In A. this portion reads *ceng eyyaminde*.

- [58] ta'arruz olunmayub kendü hali üzere ibka oluna ve dahi 'ahdname tahririnden sonra iki taraftan her kim tutulmuş ise bahasız salı-virile ve iki canibin ilçileri ve adamları vire-kagıdına muhtac olmayub varub gelüb kendülerine ve mallerine zarar u ziyan irişmeye ve tarafeynin
- [59] bazarganları denizden ve karadan ve mu'tad olan iskelelerden gelüb gidüb bey' ü şıra eyleyüb bulundukları yerlerde 'adet ü kanun üzere rüsumları her ne ise virüb kimesne mallerine ve nefslerine zarar eylemeye ve eger muma-ileyh Lih kiralı memleketinden gelen bazarganlardan
- [60] memalik-i mahrusemde mürd olurlar ise rızkları taraf-i miriden alınmayub karban başlarına teslim oluna ki [vilayetlerine]^y götürüb varislerine teslim eyleyeler ve bu tarafın bazarganlarından dahi Lih memleketinde vefat eyleyenlerin mallerine ve rızklarına vech-i meşruh üzere öte canibden müdahale olunmayub
- [61] bu canibde varislerine göndürile ve iki tarafın giden bazarganlarından ve gayriden bir kimesne bir kimesneden deyn ü karz hususunda veyahud bey' ü şıra babında ve sa'ir da'vada hakk taleb eylese her kangı mahalde bulunur ise eger bu tarafın eger ol canibin vilayet hakimleri babında
- [62] müraf'a olub hakk üzere teftiş ve tefahhus olundukdan sonra sabit olan hukuk u deynleri her ne ise alı-virilüb 'inad u muhalefet itdirilmeye amma borcu ve kefaleti beyan olmadın aharın borcu ve hakkı için da'va ve taleb idüb bi-gayri hakkın rencide ve remide itmek isteyenler
- [63] iki taraftan dahi men' olunub zarar-i mala kefaleti sabit olmadın bi-vech ve bela-sebeb rencide ve remide itdirilmeye o makulelerin ellelerinde olan sicil ve hüccetlerine ve ma'mulün-bih temessüklerine nazar olmayınca mücerred şahid-i zur ikamet olunmagla tezvır ü telbislerine 'amal olunmayub
- [64] ve bi'l-cümle iki canibin hakimleri dahi tamam-i takayyüd gösterüb ma damki ta'yin olunan^z maddenin ve da'valarının aslı ve hakikatı olduğın hakimü'l-vakt ma'lum ve tahkik itmeye bi-vech olan da'vaları istima' olunmaya ve anın gibi hırsuz ve haramiler bir kimesnenin maline ve canine zarar u ziyan
- [65] irişdirdikde hakim olanlar o makuleleri buldurub muhkem vech ile hakklarından gelüb hırsuzlukda aldıkları eşyaları ba'de's-sübut sahiblerine teslim oluna ve dostluk için gelen ilçileri ve sa'ir adamları men' olunmayub emin ü salim varub ve gelüb^{aa} serhaddlara
- [66] geldikde yanlarına adamlar koşub öte canibden dahi bu minval üzere 'amal olunub ve Silistre ve Akkerman serhaddlarının <adamları> [hakimleri]^{ab} ve iskele eminleri ve bac-darları südde-i sa'adetim

^y Cf. Document 52, note t, and the earlier documents.

^z A., B., C., D., and the previous documents: *vaka' olan*.

^{aa} A., B., C., D., and the previous documents: *varub gelüb*.

^{ab} Written with the same mistake in the 'ahdnames of 1667 and 1672; cf. Document 52, note u.

- kullarından ve iki canibin <bac-darlarından> [tacirlerinden]^{ac} gayrisini Turla suyundan Lih vilayetine [kimesneyi]^{ad} salı-virmeyeler ve eger ol
- [67] tarafdā ve berü canibden gelüb giden kimesnelerin yanlarında esir bulunur ise ellerinden alub girü göndüreler ve çoban tayifesi Lih vilayetine geçdiklerinde memleket hakimlerine kendülerin ve koyunların bildirüb mahfi varmayalar ve otlak hakkını vireler tayife-i mezbure kendülerin bildirdiklerinden sonra
- [68] koyunları zayı' olur ise memleket hakimleri bulub vireler ve gelüb giden kimesnelerin bargirlerin ulak tutmaya ve sefer üzerinde yeniçeri ve gayrileri atların almayalar ve iki canibin tacirleri vire-geldikleri virgülerin ve gümrüklerin eda eyledikden sonra
- [69] virilü-gelenden ziyade nesne taleb olunmaya ve marda yükletmeyüb bu ana degin ne vechle ve ne mikdar vire-gelmişler ise girü ol mikdar virüb olı-gelmişe muhalif iş olmaya ve kıralın eli altında olan Ermeni ve sa'ir kefere bazarganları Bogdan vilayetine ve andan ma 'ada
- [70] memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret itmek murad eylediklerinde biyaban ve mahfi yerlerden gelmeyüb kadimden bazarganlar mürur eylediği tarik-i 'ammdan geleler anın gibilerin maline ve canine zarar gelür ise ehl-i fesad ele getirilüb hakklarından geline ve istikamet üzere gelüb giden bazarganları
- [71] rencide olunmayub gümrükleri kanun-i kadim üzere alındıktan sonra İstanbul ve Edirne ve Brusada reft akçesi ve kassabiye deyü akçe taleb olunmayub ve getürdükleri guruslarından eger riyal ve eger kara gurusu ve eger esedi ve eger Lih gurusıdır gümrük taleb olunmaya fi-ma ba'd eyyam-i
- [72] devlet-i hümayun ve hengam-i saltanat-i ebed-makrunumda yukarıda tafsıl olunan şurut u kuyud ve mevadd u 'uhud muktazasınca 'amal ve sulh u salah levazımı geregi gibi müretteb ü mükemmel kılına ma damki kiral tarafından ve kapudanlarından ve beglerinden ve gayriden muceb-i ihtilal-i 'ahd ü peyman
- [73] ve ba'is-i inhiraf-i şart u iman ve sulh u salaha mugayir ve muhalif bir vaz' sadır olmayub dostluk ve barışıklık hukukını geregi gibi ri'ayet ideler cenab-i celalet-ma'abım tarafından eyman-i gulaz ile yemin iderim ki yeri ve gögi yokdan var iden Perverdegar celle celalehü
- [74] hakkıyçün ve ulu peygamberimiz iki cihan güneşi Muhammed el-Mustafa salla'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellemin mu'cizatı hakkıyçün minval-i meşruh üzere mu'ahede olunan maddelerden cüzvi ve külli ber hususda tahallüf ü tecavüz olunmaya müddet-i baka-yi devlet-i ruz-efzun ve zaman-i sebat-i saltanat-i
- [75] ebed-makrunumda bu sulh u salah mukarrer ü pay-dar ve bu 'ahd ü aman sabit ü ber-karar olub 'umumen ol vilayetlerin re'aya ve berayası

^{ac} Written with the same mistake in the *'ahdnames* of 1667 and 1672; cf. Document 52, note v.

^{ad} Evidently omitted, cf. Document 52, note w.

saye-i sa'adet ve zill-i himayetimde asude-hal ve müreffehü'l-bal olalar
 şöyle bileler 'alamet-i şerife i'timad kılalar^{ae} tahriren fi evasiti
 [76] Seferi'l-hayr seneti tis'a ve semanin ve elf

bi-yurt-i
 sahra-i
 Davud
 Paşa

Translation:

[tugra] *Mehmed-shah, son of Ibrahim, the ever victorious khan*

This is the command of the noble, illustrious, lofty sultanic sign and of the illustrious, world-conquering, world-adorning, imperial tugra (may it be effective through divine aid and munificent favor!):

*I who,
 by the help and grace of His Majesty, the everlasting Creator and the imperishable Almighty (may His glory be exalted and His magnificence be glorified!), and by the miracles of blessings of Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), the chief of the prophets,*

am the servant of the two holy sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina], the destroyer of the building of infidelity and error, the sultan of sultans, the proof of emperors, the shadow of God on earth, the one, who issues orders to the Roman, Arab, and Persian countries, and is fit to command over the land of Iraq, the Tadjiks, Turks, and [the people of] Dilem, the sovereign, who distributes the crowns and adorns the kingdom, the possessor of the crown, who leads troops and conquers countries, the padishah of Mecca and Medina, of the noble Jerusalem, of Istanbul, of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea, of Rumelia, Anatolia, Rum, Karaman, Erzurum, Diyarbakar, Kurdistan, Luristan, Georgia, Erzincan, Zulkadir, Egypt, Damascus, Saida, Beirut, the Syrian Tripoli, Haleb [i.e., Aleppo], the whole of Arabia, Baghdad, Basra, of the western lands [i.e., Maghreb], of Algiers, of the island of Crete, of the Tatar [lands], of the Kipchak steppe, of the countries of Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and their dependent places, and of many other countries and provinces conquered with a stroke of our imperial sword, the Conqueror, Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Ibrahim Khan, son of Sultan Ahmed Khan.

Since—with the divine guidance—the binding and the loosing of the matters of the state and the rending and the mending of the acts of the sultanate have been appropriated to my imperial, divinely supported hand, it is my most important and indispensable royal incumbency that the rein of my royal disposition be directed to the path of arrangement and improvement of the conditions of the subjects and of the country and

^{ae} In A., B., C. and D. the *sanctio-corroboratio* formula is missing.

that the high endeavor of my exalted imperial desire be expended in bringing prosperity to the faithful.

Therefore, as—according to the old favors of our bravely disposed and accustomed to justice fathers and grandfathers of noble qualities—the keeping and guarding of the provinces and frontiers of the country and the protecting of the subjects and poor servants is necessary for the duty of my royal favor and is worthy and important for my royal benignity and compassion, the victorious serasker, appointed previously to the Polish campaign with my victorious troops, numerous as stars, the honored vizier, illustrious müşir,³ the basis of the world order, my vizier Ibrahim Pasha (may God make his glory eternal!), along with my illustrious mirmirans, noble emirs, and other victorious soldiers, and with his majesty, the abode of leadership, fit for governing, the former Crimean khan, Selim Giray Khan (may his high qualities endure!), being assiduous in perfecting [his duties] in my imperial service, held a conference with seven deputies sent to the plain of the fort of Żurawno by the king and commander of Poland, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and pride, John the Third (may his days end with good!), and by his hetmans, spokesmen, all the inhabitants of the country and soldiers, in the first decade of the respected Shaban of the year 1087,⁴

while the foundation of peace and amity was broken and vanished because of certain events and disturbances and war and battle, fight and combat were apparent between [the two sides], as their wish was communicated that peace and amity, bringing respite to the inhabitants of the country and repose to the subjects and poor servants, be established and set anew, and that friendly relationships and the rules of ancient neighborliness be strengthened and arranged, after conferences and negotiations held repeatedly in the [camp of the] imperial army, the matters of peace and amity were arranged in a few clauses; a treaty and agreement, peace and amity were concluded with the consent of the deputies of both sides; in order that it be observed from both sides it was necessary that temessüks be given;

and as my aforementioned serasker was a deputy from my noble, imperial side, a temessük was issued according to the fixed clauses, and the contents of the temessük were corroborated and confirmed; now, as the letter issued by the dignified [Polish] king and brought by the model of the Christian commanders, Jan Gniński (may his latter moments end with good!), who has arrived at my imperial stirrup with a great embassy, has been translated, submitted, and made known to the foot of my highest throne, also from my imperial side, peace and amity have been granted;

[and] as [the king] supplicated and asked that my imperial 'ahdname be given anew, for the sake of the ease of the poor on both sides, and of the rest of the humble in both directions, his request and supplication was accepted in our royal presence, which pours out light abundantly; and our illustrious firman provided with our felicitous imperial writing [i.e., tugra] was sent, reporting and containing the articles written in the aforementioned temessük, which are valid and accepted;

³ Müşir, Tur. "who makes a sign," an honorary title for a vizier.

⁴ I.e., 9-18 October 1676. The original Turkish document of the armistice of Żurawno is erroneously dated the second decade of Shaban; see Document 54, note 1.

again, as the said ambassador asked and requested that a few more articles be inserted into the imperial 'ahdname, his request reached the area of acceptance;

I have given anew this glorious imperial 'ahdname, and I have ordered, as it is explained, declared, and clearly detailed [below]:

The Lipka Tatars living in Poland who want to depart within one year to the Islamic domain on their own free will should not be hindered by anybody from their [i.e., Polish] side; they may leave with their people, wives, and property, and they should not be molested or disturbed in any way.

The province of Podolia within its old boundaries belongs to my majesty, the abode of the caliphate; as the Polish soldiers have stayed until the present-day in Bar and Medžybiż, the Polish soldiers should leave these two fortresses; as many cannons should be left as there were previously in the aforementioned fortresses when they passed to the hands of the people of Islam; if they [i.e., the Poles] later brought any [cannons] from their provinces, they may take [them back]. Again, those from among the subjects in the aforementioned fortresses who wish to go on their own free will may leave; and those who wish to stay may stay; [but] they should not be taken by force.

As to Podolia, as it was explained and specified in the imperial 'ahdname given previously, if a dispute arises concerning the frontiers and borders of the province of Podolia, agents should be appointed under supervision of the governors of both sides; and they should arrive at a place [in dispute], accompanied by the aged and experienced men from among the inhabitants of border territories of the two sides; if they testify in a great assembly, within which borders has been situated [this place], one should proceed accordingly.

After a survey register [tahrir] of the province of Podolia is executed, if anybody from among the Polish nobles, being the former fort owners, also if they are priests wish to remain in Podolia, the harac, şer'i tithes,⁵ and other taxes [due] from the forts and villages, being previously in their hands, will be calculated and collected from the hands of these nobles as a lump sum. And the necessary means, sufficient to supply their necessities of life, will be assigned [to them]. They and their children will be exempt [from extraordinary taxes]; as long as they commit no treachery, they will not be dismissed from these services and they will not be molested contrary to the şer'iat. If an order is issued concerning the conscription of boys to the janissary corps [devşirme], none will be taken from among them and their subjects. Except for the [churches converted to] Friday mosques and mosques in the fortresses, the churches remaining in their hands will be free from interference, and—as in other border provinces—they will not be molested while performing their false rites.

Likewise, as it is specified in the imperial 'ahdname, Ukraine within its old borders has been given to the Cossacks, dependents of my exalted state; no sort of meddling or interference should be engaged by their [i.e., Polish] side in the said country; as only two forts situated within the borders of Ukraine near the Dnieper river, named Bila Cerkva and Pavoloč, have been in their [i.e., Polish] hands until the present-day, only these two forts with their dependent places have been granted to them from the side of my high state; and they may remain under their hold and in their possession, as it used

⁵ I.e., the tithes stipulated by Islamic law (şer'iat).

to be. But under this pretext they should not meddle or interfere [even] by one inch outside the said forts and their dependencies.

Thereafter, authorized commissioners will be appointed from the side of my high state in order to set and fix the limits and borders of Podolia according to its old borders and the limits and borders of the two aforementioned forts in Ukraine, Bila Cerkva and Pavoloč, which will remain in their possession, according to their old borders.

Merchants who travel with the goods of their country to my well-protected dominions for the purpose of gain⁶ should not be molested contrary to the *şer'iat* and law after they pay in full customs duties on their goods according to the old law; and one should not demand harac from the Polish merchants as one does not collect harac from other foreign⁷ merchants.

As the monks from their side [i.e., Catholic monks] used to reside in the noble Jerusalem in the previous period of peace, they can dwell in their customary places under the former conditions, and nobody should hinder them.

Henceforth, nobody from the side of my victorious [Ottoman] army, of the Crimean, Budjak, and Nogay Tatars, and of the Cossacks and Transylvanians, should enter Poland in company and strike, raid, and ruin their country without my noble order [*firman*]. If any goods are taken in a raid, after registered, they should be returned exactly to the same amount.

Nobody should hinder Polish subjects who want to come and settle in Podolia; they can practise cultivation and husbandry on condition they give *şer'i* tithes and other taxes according to the law, and nobody should disturb them in their living.

The yearly sum of twenty-two thousand gold coins which they formerly engaged to give to my imperial stirrup under the name of *pişkeş* has been remitted and forgiven on the request of his majesty, the abode of leadership, the Crimean khan.

Apart from this article concerning the *pişkeş* in gold, and the article concerning the forts of Bila Cerkva and Pavoloč, situated in Ukraine and granted to them by myself, all the articles written in my imperial 'ahdname, given previously at Bučač, remain in force; one should pay the utmost attention, so that [they] may be properly respected.

Reliable and esteemed deputies should be appointed from both sides in order to set the border separating Podolia and Ukraine from other provinces belonging to the Poles, according to testimonies of the aged and experienced ones from among the inhabitants of the province. When reaching the border, the commissioners of both sides should resolve all the particular disputes, apart from the quarrels concerning private lands [*emlak*] of the subjects.

From among the subjects who remained in Kamieniec during the conquest and then were banished and exiled, those who wish may settle [again] in Podolia.

As the churches of the subjects who remained in Kamieniec during the conquest and then were banished and exiled are vacant, henceforth an appropriate, vacant church given previously to those from among the subjects of the Latin [i.e., Catholic] community, who had remained in Kamieniec during the conquest will be given [anew] to those who dwell in Kamieniec.

⁶ *Kar u kesb* means literally: "work and earn," but also: "ordinary business."

⁷ *Müste'min* means literally: "who applies for safety;" this term referred to aliens in the Ottoman dominions.

After a noble mosque is established from among the churches of the fortress of Bar, only one church will be given to the Latin subjects remaining there. If the given church is ruined, they will not be hindered in restoring it to its former condition.

Likewise, after noble mosques are established in the fortresses of Medżybiż and Jazłowiec, only one church [in each fortress] will be given to the Latin subjects remaining there; if it is ruined, they will not be hindered in restoring it to its former condition.

*The ships from Danzig [i.e., Gdańsk] may pass and traffic in the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea in safety and security; after they pay their customs duties according to the custom and law, nobody should capture and molest them contrary to the noble *ser'iat* and in violation of the peace and amity.*

Prisoners captured from both sides during the combat and war will be mutually exchanged.

[Only] one governor [vali] will be in Podolia, and beys and officers in Podolia will not be [appointed] from among the Lipka and other Tatars.

The Lipka Tatars should not settle in Podolia and the places situated close to the border, but they should settle in places distant from the border.

In the renewing of the peace and amity, the articles contained in the previous 'ahd-name, which ought to be observed, that are contrary to the conditions and clauses written above have been discarded and annulled; those being in accordance will remain as they were before:

As from the side of the Polish king, his governors, commanders, dependents, and other mischief-makers no meddling or interference should touch my fortresses and my towns situated within the borders of my well protected-dominions, and other boroughs, villages, and lands belonging to my well-guarded dominions, also from the side of my imperial majesty, and from the side of my great viziers, illustrious mirmirans, noble emirs, and victorious soldiers, the Moldavians and the Tatars dwelling in Dobruđja, Akkerman, Bender, and Očakiv, and others, no damage should touch the country, fortresses, towns, and other boroughs and villages of the Polish king, or the Polish country; the governors of both sides should guard the Tatar crossings on the Dniester and others, and if they, while guarding, show negligence and carelessness, they should be dismissed and punished.

After the payments [virgüler] are sent every year on time to his majesty, the abode of leadership, the Crimean khan and are delivered and brought to his agents, as has been mutually agreed during the recent renewal of peace and amity, the Crimean khan should also respect the conditions of friendship and affection, as required by his duty, according to the old law; henceforth the khan, his kalga, and other mirzas should not bring damage or harm to the Polish country. If an enemy invades [the lands of] the aforementioned king, the khan with the Tatar army should bring rescue and help; and if from the side of my imperial majesty a campaign is ordered in any direction and it is necessary that the aforementioned khan, his kalga sultan or his mirzas set out with the Tatar army, they should not enter Poland but they should pass through the same places through which they have been accustomed to pass since olden times.

If after [the date of] this imperial 'ahdname the Tatars, Moldavians, or others raid the countries of the Polish king or take captives, on receipt of a notification from the king, this sort [of mischief-maker] [will be found and punished, and the captives and the stolen goods will be sent back. Polish slaves]⁸ captured after the date of this 'ahdname

⁸ The portion beginning "will be found and punished . . ." is missing, see note v.

are not to be sold in my well-protected dominions. Henceforth the subjects of this side should not be sold as slaves in Poland.

If my victorious campaign is declared against any from among the infidel kings or others, whether the presence of my majesty, the abode of the caliphate, is necessary or a serdar is appointed to attack this enemy with my victorious troops along with the rulers [voyvodalar] of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, if an envoy from the side of my enemy reaches him [i.e., the Polish king] asking for help and aid, the Polish king should not help my enemy with his army or treasury so as to prove the loyalty and honesty toward my felicitous threshold and to realize the amity and agreement. If anybody from the side of my enemy comes and wants to recruit soldiers in Poland, it should be forbidden and permission should not be granted. And one should not permit anybody from among his [i.e., the king's] magnates [hersek], commanders, and others who voluntarily want to bring help to my enemy, and permission should not be given [to them], either secretly or openly. As Transylvania belongs to my domain by the inheritance and transfer from my magnificent grandfathers, [royal relations] with the rulers of Transylvania, and with the Hungarian kings, who display loyalty toward this side, should also be based on sincere amity; and if an enemy appears in Transylvania, no help should be given to this enemy, either secretly or openly. And if anybody from among the Transylvanian, Wallachian, and Moldavian rulers, governors, or others commits an offence and escapes to Poland, this sort [of mischief-maker] should not be accepted but, in respect to the mutual friendship and intimacy, should be captured and sent to my felicitous threshold in bonds and chains. In this manner [the king] should be a friend of my friend and an enemy of my enemy.

And now, in order to strengthen the friendship between [us], as it was requested that the Polish dependents and subjects may bring merchandise to the seaport town of Akkerman by the river Dniester, and buy and sell, nobody will hinder those who come harmless for the purpose of trade and who have no intention of bringing damage or harm to my well-protected dominions.

And as long as the friendship between the Polish king and my felicitous threshold is firm, [the relationships] between the Moldavian hospodars and the Polish kings should also be kept in the same friendly way as they have been since olden times.

When [royal] agents come from Poland and find in [various] sites of my well-protected dominions prisoners from among the Poles captured previously in the days of enmity, who have persisted in infidelity and not become Muslim, their owners should confirm the price of their purchase by an oath and, after it is known, they should not demand more. After they pay their price [the agents] may take [these prisoners] to their country and nobody should hinder them from leaving. [But,] they should not interfere in [the matters of] those from among the prisoners, who have not persisted in infidelity and have become Muslim; they should preserve their status. And if anybody from either side is captured after [the date of] the writing of the 'ahdname, one should let him go without ransom.

When the envoys and agents of both sides enter and come, they do not need a safe-conduct [vire-kagıdı] and no harm or damage should be done to them or to their belongings.

Merchants of the two sides may come and depart by sea and by land through the seaports of their customary preference, and sell and buy; according to tradition and law,

they should pay the required taxes in the appropriate places; [but] nobody should inflict damage on their property and lives.

If anybody among the merchants arriving from the country of the aforementioned Polish king dies in my well-protected dominions, his effects will not be seized by the state treasury [miri] but handed over to the heads of the caravan, so that they may take them [to their country]⁹ and hand them over to his heirs. Likewise, from the other side no interference should be done to the goods and effects of the merchants of this side, who die in Poland, but [their goods] should be sent to their heirs [living] on this side.

If a demand for [the repayment of] a debt arises from a conflict between the merchants and others coming from the two sides concerning debt and loan, trade, or other matters, in whichever place it happens, the petition should be heard by a local judge, either on this side or the other; after it is justly investigated and examined, whichever debt is proved, it should be handed over [to the claimant]; and nobody should oppose or act in a contrary manner.

But, both sides should hinder those who want to injure and disturb unjustly a person who has neither debt nor has declared to stand bail for the reason of a suit and claim concerning the debt or guilt of somebody else; unless it is registered that [this person] has stood as surety for a loss of goods, nobody should be injured and disturbed without a reason and cause. Until one looks at the kadi record [sicil], kadi's certificates [hüccetler], or bills, which ought to be observed, being in the hands of such [claimant] individuals, no single false witness should be brought and one should not proceed according to his impostures and lies; in sum, the judges of both sides should display an utmost care, and if the origin and authenticity of a case and suit is not known and verified by the judge of the time, one should not hear [such] a groundless claim.

Whenever thieves and robbers commit harm to the goods and life of anybody from among such [merchants], the judicial authorities should find this sort [of evildoer] and severely punish them; after it is proved, the stolen goods should be handed over to their owners.

The envoys and other agents coming by reason of friendship should not be hindered and should enter and come secure and safe; upon reaching the borders an escort should be given to their side; one should proceed likewise on the other side;

the border commanders of Silistra and Akkerman, the harbor masters and tax collectors, should not let anybody go to Poland across the river Dniester except the servants [kullar] of my felicitous threshold and the merchants of the two sides. And if those going [across the border] from here and from there carry captives with them, they should take [them] away from their hands and send [them] back.

Herdsmen while moving to Poland should notify the land authorities of their presence and of their sheep and pay pasture taxes, and should not arrive in secret; after they have made their presence known, if their sheep are lost, the land authorities should find them and give them [back to them].

The baggage horses of the individuals [i.e., the Polish merchants] who come and depart should not be taken by couriers [ulak]; nor should their horses be taken by janisaries on campaign.

⁹ Missing, cf. Document 52, note 10.

When the merchants of both sides pay their taxes and customs duties, as they used to pay, one should not demand that they pay more than they used to pay and one should not impose excessive duties; they should pay in the same manner and amount as they used to pay; one should not do anything contrary to established custom. When Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand [i.e., the royal subjects] want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted areas or hidden places, but they should come by the public road, which has been customarily traveled by merchants. If an injury is done to the property or soul [i.e., life] of any of such [merchants], the evildoers should be captured and punished. Merchants, who come and go in sincerity, should not be molested; after their customs duties are collected according to the old law, one should not demand that they pay taxes called departure money [reft akçesi] or the tax on animals [kasabiye] in Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa;

and one should not impose customs duties on the cash [guruşlar] which they bring, whether it is reals [riyal], black thalers [kara guruş], lion [thalers] [esedi], or Polish thalers [Lih guruş].

Henceforth, for the [remaining] days of my imperial rule and for the time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, one will proceed according to the conditions, clauses, articles, and agreements detailed above, and one will arrange and complete the requirements of peace and amity, as necessary. As on the part of the king, his commanders, governors, and others nothing should occur contrary and adverse to the peace and amity that may cause a disturbance of the agreement and treaty or provoke any deviation from the [peace] terms and faith, and as they should respect the rules of amity and peace, as necessary, [also] by my glorious majesty I swear with a strong oath by the sake of God, the Creator of earth and heaven (may His glory be exalted!), and by the sake of the miracles of our great prophet, the sun of the two worlds, Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), that no minor or major variation or violation will occur in the clauses concluded in the above described manner. For the remaining period of my long-lived rule and for the fixed time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, this peace and amity will be fixed and firm, and this treaty and peace will be permanent and stable, so that all the subjects of these countries may live under the felicitous shadow and shade of my protection in a state of tranquillity and in a prosperous condition. Thus they must know. They should trust to the noble sign [i.e., tугра].

Written in the second decade of the prosperous Safer of the year 1089, in the tent on the plain of Davud Paşa.

DOCUMENT 56 (14 OCTOBER 1680)
The Polish protocol of demarcation

The original document is missing.

Polish copies:

A. Kiev, Central'nyj deržavnyj istoryčnyj arxiv, fond 2227, opys 1, no. 98.

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 178 (*Teki Naruszewicza*), pp. 187–96.

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 426, pp. 500–502.

Rozgraniczenie województwa podolskiego od województwa ruskiego i wołyńskiego przez jaśnie wielmożnych ichmościów panów kommisarzów od najjaśniejszych monarchów—Cesarza Jego Mości tureckiego i Króla Jego Mości polskiego—do rozgraniczenia województw tych naznaczonych, to jest Achmet wezera i thewterdara^a paszę jegomości kamienieckiego, Huseim paszę jegomości sylistryjskiego, bekter begieży^b Halil Sewas paszę jegomości, Daliwer^c Kayzer paszę jegomości, Imbraim Mentasze^d paszę jegomości, także z strony Króla Jego Mości polskiego, jaśnie wielmożnych ichmość panów Jerzego Wielohurskiego kasztelana braclawskiego, pułkownika Jego Królewskiej Mości, jegomości pana Tomasza Karczewskiego chorążego sanockiego, oboźnego i pułkownika Jego Królewskiej Mości, odprawione i dokonane die 14 Octobris na miejscu specyfikowanych niżej granic:

Strypa wpada w Dniestr, przy której wpadaniu wysypany kopiec na polach beremiańskich do Podola należących in partem Państwa Tureckiego. Rzeki obiedwie od granic swoich należeć mają wpół, tak in partem Podola, jako i in partem województwa ruskiego a Ziemi Halickiej; ostrów na Dniestrze wpół należeć ma. Przewóz przeciwko Horodence^e na Dniestrze jest, tedy mieć mają obiedwie strony promy.

Dzieli tedy rzeka Strypa granice z jednej strony rzeki Duliby do Podola, z drugiej strony wieś Rusiłów do Ziemi Halickiej; Znieborody wieś do Podola, przeciwko niej za Strypą wieś Skomorochy do Ziemi Halickiej; Jazłowiec miasto do Podola, z drugiej strony rzeki Leszczańce wieś do Ziemi Halickiej; Zaleszczyki wieś do Podola, z drugiej strony rzeki Soroki wieś do Ziemi Halickiej.

prima Septembris:

Rzepińce, Pomorce do Podola, za rzeką Strypą Żyznomierz do Ziemi Halickiej; tu się kończy na rzece Strypie granica, to jest na brodzie wsi

^a B. and C. *newterdara*.

^b B. and C. *bekter beggi*.

^c B. and C. *Dylawer*.

^d B. and C. *Memuszę*.

^e B. and C. *Horodnicy*.

Soroków. Przy tym brodzie wysypany kopiec przy drodze ze wsi Żyznomirza;^f drugi kopiec wysypany na polach między wsią Rzepnicami a Trybuchowcami na drodze; trzeci wysypany między gruntami wsiów Cwitowej a Trybuchowcem, z tamtej rzeki Olchowca strony; kopiec czwarty wysypany między temiż gruntami, z drugiej strony rzeki Olchowca.

secunda Septembris:

Kopiec wysypany między temiż gruntami, po koniec lasu cwitowskiego, w którym wkopany dąb do góry korzeniem; Trybuchowce wieś do Ziemi Halickiej, Cwitowa do Podola; drugi kopiec wysypany między gruntami jazłowieckimi a dziurzyńskimi; czwarty kopiec wysypany w polu przy grobli dziurzyńskiej między gruntami połowieckimi a dziurzyńskimi; piąty kopiec wysypany z drugiej strony rzeki między temiż gruntami; Połowce in partem Podola, Dziurzyn do Ziemi Halickiej; szósty kopiec wysypany między gruntami wsiów Połowiec, Dziurzyna i Białobożnice.

tertia Octobris:

Pierwszy kopiec wysypany wedle drogi buczackiej na polach białobożnickich, przeciwko wsi Rydodub do Ziemi Halickiej należącej, a Białobożnica do Czortkowa; drugi kopiec wysypany między tychże wsiów gruntami; trzeci kopiec wysypany między Białopotokiem a Rydodubami; czwarty kopiec wysypany na polach białopotockich, przeciwko lasu byczkowskiemu; wsi Biłe i Skomorodyńce^g do Czortkowa należą.

quarta Octobris:

Pierwszy kopiec wysypany między gruntami byczkowskimi a zwiniaczkami; i drugi wysypany między tychże wsi gruntami. Dolina przykra dzieli grunta byczkowskie do Czortkowa należące, a Zwiniaczem do Trembowli należącym, ku rzece nazwanej Seret; kopiec trzeci nad samą rzeką Seretem pod górą Łysą; kopiec czwarty na dolinie Krasów nazwanej; kopiec piąty na polu Tudorów nazwanym, między gruntami wsiów Biłego i Jabłonowa; kopiec szósty na Czarnołożu, między gruntami bileckimi, jabłonowskimi, kopyczyńskimi, oryszkowskimi, do powiatu trembowelskiego należącymi.

quinta Octobris:

Pierwszy kopiec wysypany między Czortkowem a Oryszkowcami wsią; kopiec wysypany pod mogiłą między gruntami wsiów Szwałkowiec do Podola należącej, a Hadynkowiec do powiatu trembowelskiego; kopiec wysypany między gruntami wsiów Probużnego do Podola należącego, a Żabiniec do powiatu trembowelskiego; kopiec wysypany między gruntami wsi Tolsteńkiego nazwanej, do Podola należącej, ^ha Kowzubieniec do powiatu trembowelskiego; kopiec wysypany między gruntami wsi Wasilkowiec do Podola należącej, ⁱa Krohulcem do powiatu trembowelskiego.

^f B. and C. *Żyznomierza*.

^g B. and C. *Skoworodyńcy*.

^{h-i} Missing in B. and C.

sexta Octobris:

Pierwszy kopiec wysypyany między gruntami wsiów Wasilkowiec a Nieborkiem, pod lasem; kopiec wysypyany z drugiej strony lasu między gruntami wsiów Czabarówki do Podola należącej, a Nieborkiem do Trembowli; kopiec wysypyany między Liczkowcami a Czabarówką; kopiec wysypyany nad rzeką Zbruczą, między gruntami wsiów Olchowca Starego, należącego do Podola, a Trybuchowcami do powiatu trembowelskiego.

Tu graniczy Zbrucz rzeka.

Ex parte rzeki Zbrucz do Podola należącej, Holeniszczów wieś; z drugiej strony wieś Trybuchowce do Trembowli; Dziwicz wieś do Podola; z drugiej strony rzeki Zbruczy lasy miasta Tołstaho do Trembowli.

octava Octobris:

Ex parte Podola Satanów miasto. Z drugiej strony Zbrucz wieś Karolówka do powiatu trembowelskiego; Martynkowce wieś do Podola, Kozin wieś do Trembowli. Na wsisku Zainice^j nazwanej do Podola należącej, kopiec wysypyany; Luka do Trembowli; mila od kopca zaińskiego Tarnoruda do Podola; z drugiej strony Zbrucz Turówka do powiatu trembowelskiego; kopiec wysypyany nad brzegiem rzeki Zbrucz, nazwanym Krucza po jaz na rzece, i tak się kończy granica po rzekę. Reszta rzeki idzie do Polski, granica zaś podolska obraca się w pola ku Czarnoostrowi. Ten kopiec wysypyany między gruntami tarnorudzkimi a kaniowskimi, których gruntów wsi należą Tarnoruda do Podola, Kaniówka do powiatu krzemienieckiego województwa wołyńskiego.

nona Octobris:

Kopiec wysypyany w polu pod wierzbą między polami tarnorudzkimi do Podola, a hołystyńskimi, Fedorkami, do powiatu krzemienieckiego. Kopiec wysypyany między gruntami kumanowskimi do Podola, a zawalijkowskimi do powiatu krzemienieckiego, nad błotem nazwanym Mszaniec; kopiec wysypyany nad tymże błotem w mili na gruntach miasta Felsztyna i wsi Żukówki do Podola, przeciwko któremu błotu na drugiej stronie wieś Widawa do powiatu krzemienieckiego; kopiec wysypyany nad tymże błotem, na wsisku nazwanym Siakówka do Podola należącym; z drugiej strony błota wieś Bryniówka do powiatu krzemienieckiego należąca; kopiec wysypyany nad tymże błotem na wsisku wyżej Siakówki; i tu się kończy granica na tym błocie, od Polski idzie w Podole; kopiec wysypyany na drugiej stronie błota nazwanego Mszaniec, między granicami pawlikowskimi do Podola należącymi, a Bokijowiec wsi do powiatu krzemienieckiego należącej; kopiec wysypyany między granicami wsi Chomikowiec do Podola, a Tretynnikami do powiatu krzemienieckiego.

decima Octobris:

Kopiec wysypyany nad błotem, skąd idzie błoto do rzeki Buhu, między

^j B. and C. *Żaince*.

gruntami jachymowskimi do Podola, a wsi Bałtajków do Krzemieńca; kopiec wysypyany przeszed[ł]szy błoto między tychże wsiów granicami; kopiec wysypyany między gruntami wsiów Zachorowiec do Podola, a Łozowej do powiatu krzemienieckiego należącej; kopiec wysypyany między granicami miasta Czarnoostrowa^k do Podola należącego, a wsi Zezuleniec do powiatu krzemienieckiego; kopiec wysypyany nad rzeką Bużkiem na wsisku pustym na gruntach czarnoostrowskich; i tu dzieli rzeka Bużek granice, przeciwko którym za rzeką Bużkiem wieś Markowce do powiatu krzemienieckiego; kopiec wysypyany na gruntach czarnoostrowskich; na drugiej stronie rzeki grunta markowskie.

undecima Octobris:

Kopiec wysypyany nad rzeką Bużkiem na wsisku pustym nazwanym Mikołajowce, do Podola należącej; na drugiej stronie rzeki wieś Kociużyńce, do której należy staw na Bużku, do powiatu krzemienieckiego należy; kopiec wysypyany nad tąż rzeką Bużkiem na polach wsiów Ojtownce, Wezdenki, do Podola należących, przeciwko którym wsiom za rzeką pola krasilowskie do Krzemieńca należącej; kopiec wysypyany nad tąż rzeką Bużkiem na polach orłowskich; za rzeką wieś Matyczyn^l z groblą całą i z stawem całym, do powiatu krzemienieckiego należy; Chodkowce wieś z groblą i z stawem na Bużku do Podola należy; kopiec wysypyany nad tąż rzeką Bużkiem, na polach wsi Klimaszkowiec, do Podola należącej, przeciwko któremu kopcowi wieś Jeremiowce na drugiej stronie rzeki do Krzemieńca należy; kopiec wysypyany nad tąż rzeką Bużkiem niżej wsi Pecyzysz^m do Podola należącej; z drugiej strony wieś Zapadyńce do Krzemieńca należy; tu się kończy granica na rzeczce Bużku, idzie w Podole.

duodecima Octobris:

Przeszed[ł]szy rzekę Bużek na drugą stronę, kopiec wysypyany między gruntami wsi Junaczyniec "klucza międzyboskiego do Podola należącego, przy samej grobli wsi Paszutyniec,^o do której należy staw i grobla na dolinie nazwanej Paskuwaczyna,^p do powiatu krzemienieckiego należącej; kopiec wysypyany między gruntami w chaszczu [jurczyńskimi],^q na starych kopcach, do Podola należącymi, a kobyłańskimi, bergelińskimi, powiatu krzemienieckiego; kopiec wysypyany przy gościńcu między granicami wsiów Mołomoliniec i z stawem do Podola, a Skoworodki do powiatu krzemienieckiego należą; kopiec wysypyany między gruntami wsiów Ihnatowiec do Podola, Skoworodek do powiatu krzemienieckiego należących; kopiec wysypyany na granicach ihnatowskich, skoworodyńskich, semeryńskich; kopiec wysypyany na granicach gruntów ihnatowskich, Wołosów do Podola należących, a Semeryn do powiatu krzemienieckiego.

^k B. and C. *Czarnego Ostrowa*.

^l B. and C. *Mytyńce*.

^m B. and C. *Peczyś*.

^o Missing in B. and C.

^p B. and C. *Paszkwasz*.

^q Only in B. and C.

tredecima Octobris:

Kopiec wysypany przy gościńcu Starego Konstantynowa do Międzyboża, między gruntami wsiów Wołosowiec do Podola należących, a Samczyńce do powiatu krzemienieckiego należą; kopiec wysypany między gruntami Wołosowiec, Pilawy Starej, a Samczyńcami; kopiec wysypany w polu między granicami wsiów Illaszkowiec do Podola należące, a Derkacze, do powiatu krzemienieckiego, ^{r-s}a wieś Powerborodyńce do powiatu krzemienieckiego^s należy; kopiec wysypany przy gościńcu Czarny Szlak nazwany[m], między gruntami Babina, Sieniawy Starej do Podola należące, a miasta Konstantynowa Starego, do powiatu krzemienieckiego należące; kopiec wysypany na mogiłach nazwanych Babine—mogiły między gruntami Sieniawy Starej, do Podola należące, a Ostropolem, do powiatu krzemienieckiego.

quattuordecima Octobris:

Kopiec wysypany między wsią Paplińcami do Podola, a Ostropolem do Krzemieńca; stamtąd graniczy Podole od województwa wołyńskiego a powiatu krzemienieckiego gościniec nazwany Czarny Szlak, na wsi Junki, Maszaruszkę, na uroczyska nazwane ^{t-u}Kolodziasz Nalewajków, na dwie mogiły przy gościńcu nazwane^u Jańczycha,^v między gruntami Sieniawy Nowej, do Podola należące, a Lubarem, miastem do powiatu krzemienieckiego [należącym];^w stamtąd idzie dalej granica w pole Czarnym Szlakiem.

Ostatni kopiec wysypany przy gościńcu nazwanym Czarny Szlak, na Onczarysie, między gruntami miasta Chmielnika, do województwa podolskiego należące, z drugiej strony Czarne Szlaku Onczarychy^x grunty krasnopolskie, januszpolskie, cudnowskie,^y berdyczowski, aż do samej granicy Ukrainy.

Datum pod Międzybożem 14 mensis Octobris 1680.

Jerzy Wielohorski, kasztelan braclawski, pułkownik i kommisarz Najjaśniejszego Króla Jego Mości polskiego

Tomasz Karczewski, chorąży sanocki, oboźny, pułkownik, i kommisarz Najjaśniejszego Króla Jego Mości polskiego
(locus sigillorum)

Translation:

The demarcation of the palatinate of Podolia from the palatinates of Ruthenia and Volhynia, conducted by their excellencies, the commissioners from the side of the illustrious monarchs—His Imperial Turkish Majesty and His Royal Polish Majesty—

^{r-s} Missing in B. and C.

^{t-u} Missing in B. and C.

^v B. and C. *Jańczyka*.

^w Only in B. and C.

^x B. and C. *Hońcarychi*.

^y B. and C. *cudnowskie*.

appointed to the [task of] demarcation of these palatinates, who are: the vizier and the defterdar Ahmed Pasha of Kamieniec; Huseyn Pasha of Silistra; the beylerbeyi Halil Pasha of Sivas; Dilaver Pasha of Kayseri; Ibrahim Pasha of Mentese; and from the side of His Royal Polish Majesty: Jerzy Wielhorski, the castellan [kasztelan] of Bractaw and the colonel of His Royal Majesty and Tomasz Karczewski, the standard-bearer [chorąży] of Sanok, the quartermaster [oboźny] and the colonel of His Royal Majesty, effected and completed on 14 October near the borders described below:

The [river] Strypa flows to the Dniester; a mound was raised at its mouth on the lands of [the village] Berem'jany, belonging to Podolia, on the side of the Turkish state. Both rivers should be divided in two, to belong in part to Podolia and in part to the palatinate of Ruthenia, namely to the district of Halyč,¹ [also] the island on the Dniester should be divided in two. As there is a boat passage across the Dniester opposite [the village] Horodenka, both sides would have ferries there.

The river Strypa separates the borders of [the village] Duliby [belonging] to Podolia, on the one hand, from the village Rusyliv [belonging] to the district of Halyč, on the other hand; the village Žnyborody [belongs] to Podolia, vis-à-vis, beyond the Strypa, there is the village Skomoroxy [belonging] to the district of Halyč; the town of Jazłivec' [belongs] to Podolia, on the other side of the river there is the village Liščanci [belonging] to the district of Halyč; the village Žališcyki [belongs] to Podolia, on the other side of the river there is the village Soroky [belonging] to the district of Halyč.

1 September:

Ripynci and Pomirci [belong] to Podolia, beyond the river Strypa there is Žyznomyr [belonging] to the district of Halyč; the border on the river Strypa ends in this place, namely on the ford of the village Soroky. A mound was raised on this ford near the road [leading] from Žyznomyr, the second mound was raised in the fields between the villages Ripynci and Trybuxivci, on the road; the third mound was raised between the lands of the villages Cvitova and Trybuxivci, on the other side of the river Vil'xovec'; the fourth mound was raised between the aforementioned lands, on the other side of the river Vil'xovec'.

2 September:

A mound was raised between the aforementioned lands, at the end of the forest of Cvitova, where an oak-tree was embedded upside down; the village Trybuxivci [belongs] to the district of Halyč, Cvitova [belongs] to Podolia; the second mound was raised between the lands of Jazłivec' and of Džuryn;² the fourth³ mound was raised in the field near the dam of Džuryn, between the lands of Polivci and Džuryn; the fifth mound was raised on the other side of the river, between the aforementioned lands; [the village]

¹ The "district of Halyč" (Pol. Ziemia Halicka) belonged to the palatinate of Ruthenia as a subunit, having its own dietine.

² Though in the Polish protocol of demarcation the village of Džuryn was regarded as belonging to the district of Halyč, in the Ottoman survey register it was registered in Ottoman Podolia; see Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia* (ca. 1681): *Defter-i Mufasssal-i Eyalet-i Kamaniçe* (in press), [338].

³ Sic, no mention of the third mound.

Poliwci is on the side of Podolia, Džuryn [belongs] to the district of Halyč; the sixth mound was raised between the lands of the villages Poliwcı, Džuryn, and Bilobožnycja.

3 October:⁴

The first mound was raised near the road of Bučač in the fields of Bilobožnycja, vis-à-vis the village Rydoduby belonging to the district of Halyč; Bilobožnycja [belongs] to Čortkiw; the second mound was raised between the lands of the aforementioned villages; the third mound was raised between Bilyj Potik and Rydoduby; the fourth mound was raised in the fields of Bilyj Potik, opposite the forest of Byčkiwci; the villages Bila and Skorodynci belong to Čortkiw.

4 October:

The first mound was raised between the lands of Byčkiwci and Žynjač, and the second one was raised between the lands of the said villages. A precipitous valley⁵ leading toward the river called Seret separates the lands of Byčkiwci, belonging to Čortkiw, from Žynjač, belonging to Terebovlja; the third mound was raised on the river Seret at the foot of the mountain called Lysa; the fourth mound was raised in the valley called Krasiv; the fifth mound was raised in the field called Tudoriv, between the lands of the villages Bila and Jabluniv; the sixth mound was raised in [the meadow called] Čorni Lozy,⁶ between the lands of Bila, Jabluniv, Kopyčynci, and Oryškiwci, belonging to the district [powiat]⁷ of Terebovlja.

5 October:

The first mound was raised between Čortkiw and the village Oryškiwci; the [next] mound was raised at the foot of a tomb, between the lands of the villages Švajkiwci belonging to Podolia, and Hadynkiwci [belonging] to the district of Terebovlja; the [next] mound was raised between the lands of the villages Probižna belonging to Podolia, and Žabynci [belonging] to the district of Terebovlja; the [next] mound was raised between the lands of the village called Tovsten'ke, belonging to Podolia, and Kocjubynci [belonging] to the district of Terebovlja; the [next] mound was raised between the lands of the villages Vasyłkiwci, belonging to Podolia, and Krohulec' [belonging] to the district of Terebovlja.

6 October:

The first mound was raised between the lands of the villages Vasyłkiwci and Nyžbirok, near the forest; on the other side of the forest the [next] mound was raised between the lands of the villages Čabariwka belonging to Podolia, and Nyžbirok [belonging] to Terebovlja; the [next] mound was raised between Lyčkiwci and Čabariwka; the [next] mound was raised on the river Žbruč, between the lands of the villages Staryj Vil'xovec' belonging to Podolia, and Trybuxiwci [belonging] to the district of Terebovlja.

⁴ A delay of one month was caused by the Polish-Ottoman dispute over Čortkiw; see Part I (chapter 5).

⁵ Pol. *dolina przykra*; for the archaic meaning of the word *przykry/przykra* see Samuel Bogumił Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 4 (Lwów, 1858), p. 648.

⁶ Pol. *łozy* and Ukr. *lozy* means "osiers."

⁷ The two different Polish terms *ziemia* (see note 1) and *powiat* are translated here as "district."

Here, the river Zbruč is the border.

On the side of the Zbruč river belonging to Podolia, there is the village Holenyščeve; on the other side is the village Trybuxivci [belonging] to Terebovlja; the village Divyče [belongs] to Podolia; on the other side of the river Zbruč are the forests of the town of Tovste,⁸ [belonging] to Terebovlja.

8 October:

On the side of Podolia is the town of Sataniv. On the other side of the Zbruč is the village Kalahariwka [belonging] to the district of Terebovlja; the village Martynkiwci [belongs] to Podolia, the village Kozyna [belongs] to Terebovlja. A mound was raised in the place of the [ruined] village called Zajčyky, belonging to Podolia; [the village] Luka [belongs] to Terebovlja; one mile from the mound of Zajčyky is [the village] Tarnoruda, [belonging] to Podolia; on the other side of the Zbruč is [the village] Turivka, [belonging] to the district of Terebovlja; a mound was raised on the shore of the river Zbruč, called Kruča, up to the dam on the river, and thusly ends the border on the river. The rest of the river runs to Poland, while the Podolian border turns to the fields in the direction of Čornyj Ostriv. This [last] mound was raised between the lands of Tarnoruda and Kanivka, the villages belonging as follows: Tarnoruda to Podolia and Kanivka to the district of Kremenec' of the palatinate of Volhynia.

9 October:

A mound was raised in the field at the foot of a willow, between the fields of Tarnoruda [belonging] to Podolia, and [the fields] of Holoxvasty and Fedirky, [belonging] to the district of Kremenec'. The [next] mound was raised between the lands of Kumaniv [belonging] to Podolia, and of Zavalijki [belonging] to the district of Kremenec', on the swamp⁹ called Mšanec'; the [next] mound was raised on the said swamp, after a mile, in the lands of the town of Fel'styn and of the village Žučkiwci, [belonging] to Podolia; opposite, on the other side of this swamp is the village Vydava [belonging] to the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised on the said swamp in the place of the [ruined] village called Sjakliwci, belonging to Podolia; on the other side of the swamp is the village Broniwka, belonging to the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised on the said swamp in the place of a [ruined] village [situated] above Sjakliwci; here ends the border on this swamp, which runs from Poland to Podolia; the [next] mound was raised on the other side of [this] swamp called Mšanec', between the borders of Pavlykiwci, belonging to Podolia, and the village Bokyjwka belonging to the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised between the borders of the villages Humenci, [belonging] to Podolia, and Trytel'nyky, [belonging] to the district of Kremenec'.

10 October:

A mound was raised on a swamp flowing to the river Boh, between the lands of Juxymivci, [belonging] to Podolia, and the village Bahlajky, [belonging] to Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised after having crossed the [said] swamp between the borders of the said villages; the [next] mound was raised between the lands of the villages

⁸ Not to be confused with the village Tovsten'ke registered on 5 October.

⁹ I.e., swampy valley; cf. Document 57.

Żaxariwci, [belonging] to Podolia, and Lozova, belonging to the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised between the borders of the town Čornyj Ostriv, belonging to Podolia, and the village Żozulyni, [belonging] to the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised on the river Bużok, in the place of a ruined village in the lands of Čornyj Ostriv; here the borders are separated by the river Bużok; vis-à-vis, beyond the river Bużok is the village Markiwci [belonging] to the district of Kremenec'; a mound was raised in the lands of Čornyj Ostriv, while on the other side of the river are the lands of Markiwci.

11 October:

A mound was raised on the river Bużok, in the place of the ruined village called Mykolajiw, belonging to Podolia; on the other side of the river is the village Kołurżyni, to which belongs a pond on the Bużok, and which belongs [itself] to the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised on the said river Bużok, in the fields of the villages Orlynci¹⁰ and Vezden'ky, belonging to Podolia; opposite these villages, beyond the river, there are the fields of Krasyliv, belonging to Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised on the said river Bużok, in the fields of Orlynci; beyond the river there is the village Mytyni with an intact dam and pond, belonging to the district of Kremenec'; the village Xodkiwci, along with a dam and pond on the Bożek, belongs to Podolia; the [next] mound was raised on the said river Bużok, in the fields of the village Klymašiwka belonging to Podolia; opposite the aforementioned mound, on the other side of the river is the village Veremijiwka, which belongs to Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised on the said river Bużok downstream from the village Pečes'ky, belonging to Podolia; on the other side is the village Żapadyni, belonging to Kremenec'; here ends the border on the river Bużok, which runs into Podolia.

12 October:

Having crossed the river Bużok to the other side, a mound was raised between the lands of the village Żunačyni of the Medżybiż estate,¹¹ belonging to Podolia, and the village Pašutyni, belonging to the district of Kremenec', near the dam of this village, to which belongs a pond and a dam in the valley called Paškuwaš; the [next] mound was raised on the old mounds in the brushwood between the lands of Żunačyni,¹² belonging to Podolia, and of Kobylje and Bereheli of the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised near a road, between the borders of the villages Molomolyni, [belonging] with its pond to Podolia, and Skovorodky, which belongs to the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised between the lands of the villages Hnatiwci [belonging] to Podolia, and Skovorodky belonging to the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised on the borders of Hnatiwci, Skovorodky, and Semyren'ky; the [next] mound was raised on the border between the lands of Hnatiwci and Voloswici, belonging to Podolia, and of Semyren'ky, [belonging] to the district of Kremenec'.

¹⁰ Erroneously registered as *Ojtowce*; cf. Document 57.

¹¹ The Medżybiż estate (*klucz międzyboski*), consisting of numerous villages centered in the town of Medżybiż, belonged to the Sieniawski family.

¹² Erroneously registered as *Jurčyni* (*między gruntami jurczyńskimi*); cf. Document 57.

13 October:

A mound was raised near the road from Starokostjantyniv to Medžybiž, between the lands of the villages Volosivci, belonging to Podolia, and Samčynci, which belongs to the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised between the lands of Volosivci, Pyļavci, and Samčynci; the [next] mound was raised in the field between the borders of the villages Iljašivka, belonging to Podolia, and Derkači, [belonging] to the district of Kremenec'; and the village Verborodynci belongs to the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised near the trail called Čornyj šljax,¹³ between the lands of Babyne and Stara Synjava, belonging to Podolia, and of the town Starokostjantyniv, belonging to the district of Kremenec'; the [next] mound was raised on the tombs called Babyne—the tombs situated between the lands of Stara Synjava, belonging to Podolia, and Ostropil', [belonging] to the district of Kremenec'.

14 October:

A mound was raised between the village Papynci [belonging] to Podolia, and Ostropil' [belonging] to Kremenec'; from there the trail called Čornyj šljax separates Podolia from the palatinate of Volhynia, namely from the district of Kremenec', heading toward the villages Ivky and Mysjuriivka, toward the spot called "the well of Nalivajko,"¹⁴ and toward the two tombs, situated near the trail, called Jančyxa,¹⁵ between the lands of Nova Synjava, belonging to Podolia, and Lubar, the town belonging to the district of Kremenec'; from there the border runs through the fields along with the Čornyj šljax.

The last mound was raised near the trail called Čornyj šljax, on Hončaryxa,¹⁶ between the lands of the town Xmil'nyk, belonging to the palatinate of Podolia, [and]—on the other side of the Čornyj šljax [and] Hončaryxa—the lands of Krasnopil', Ivanopil',¹⁷ Čudniv and Berdyčiv, [extending] up to the border of Ukraine.

Issued in the vicinity of Medžybiž on 14 October 1680.

Jerzy Wielhorski, the castellan of Bractaw, the colonel and the commissioner of His Illustrious Polish Royal Majesty

Tomasz Karczewski, the standard-bearer of Sanok, the quartermaster, the colonel and the commissioner of His Illustrious Polish Royal Majesty
(locus sigillorum)

¹³ Pol. Czarny Szlak, lit. "Black Trail."

¹⁴ See Document 57, note 32.

¹⁵ From the Polish text it is not clear whether this name refers to the tombs or the trail.

¹⁶ In various sources Hončaryxa is referred to as a tomb (Pol. *mogiła*), a hill, or even a trail (Pol. *gościniec*); see Mykola Krykun, *Administrativno-territorial'noe ustroystvo pravoberežnoj Ukrainy v XV-XVIII vv. Granicy voevodstv v svete istočnikov* (Kiev, 1992), p. 52, and Document 57, note 33. Today a village called Hončaryxa is situated near Papynci; see *Istoriya Mist i Sil Ukrajins'koji RSR. Xmel'nyč'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1973), p. 526.

¹⁷ Pol. Januszpol.

DOCUMENT 57 (15–24 OCTOBER 1680)

The Ottoman protocol of demarcation

[Facs. XXIV]

Original document in Turkish: Bibl. Czart., ms. 609, fol. 80a–85b = pp. 157–68.

Three sheets of paper are sewn together and folded, thereby making 12 pages (3 pages are blank).

sheet format: 44 × 32 cm; page format: 44 × 16 cm.

pençe and Huseyn Pasha's signature (black, sprinkled with gold sand)

text (black): *rik'a* script with some features of *nesih*

two oval seals (*mühürs*) are affixed next to the pençe and the signature, respectively

Turkish copy:

A. BA, Tapu Tahrir, 805, pp. 378–83.¹

[p. 167]²

efkarü'l-'ibad Ahmed Paşa muhafız-i Kamanıçe^a

sahh

'abdu's-samad Ahmed^b

İlahi ente zu fazl u menn

wa zanni fi-ka ya Rabb-i camil

wa 'inni zu hataya wa u'uf 'anni

fa-hakkak ya İlahi hüsn-i zanni

Şüca'atlu ve kudretlü ve mahabetlü ve salabetlü padişahımız padişah-i
kişver-küşa hallada'llahu hilafetehü ila yevme'l-ceza hazretlerinin bi'z-zat

¹ This copy, entered into the Ottoman survey register of Podolia, has been prepared for publication by the present author along with the whole register; see Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681): Defter-i Mufasssal-i Eyalet-i Kamanıçe* (in press). The copy is provided with a preamble, expressing the ideology of the holy war, praising the victories and conquests of the Islamic troops, and referring to the Poles as to "the Giaours, [who] having perverse ideas and hostile to the manifest faith . . . flee consistently and incessantly from their solid castles, fortresses, and forts." This preamble was not included into the official document given to the royal commissioners. The copy differs in details from the document given to the Poles and provides more information on the Ottoman participants in the demarcation. For instance, the governor of Jazlivec', Ibrahim Bey, is referred to as the simultaneous holder of the *sancak* of Alaca Hisar (today Kruševac in Serbia).

² The manuscript contains Latin-script documents as well, thus the pagination in Arabic-script documents is reversed.

^a Text of the *pençe*.

^b Text of the seal, (*mühür*). For a similar type of a versified seal inscription, see Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Devleti zamanında kullanılmış olan bazı mühürler hakkında bir tetkik," *Bellefen* 4 (1940): 495–544, esp. p. 510.

‘azimet-i hümayun-i nusret-makrunları ile bi-‘avni’llahi ta‘ala bundan akdem feth ü teshiri müyesser olan Kamanıçe^c kal‘esi ile zamayim-i memalik-i devlet-i ‘aliye kılınan Podolya^d memleketin mukaddema sadır olan ‘ahd-name-i hümayun-i sa‘det-makrununda tasrih ü mebni olduğu üzere hudud-i kadimesi müceddeden tahdid ü tahrir olunmak babında Kamanıçe muhafızı olan vezir-i ruşen-zamir sa‘adetlü ve devletlü Ahmed paşa hazretlerine hitaben varid olan ferman-i hümayun-i cihan-dari mazmun-i münifinde taraflarından vekaleten mahall-i hududa varılıb tarafeynin rızaları ile Podolyanın hudud u sınırı mu‘ayyen ü mübeyyen ve mu‘tad üzere vaz‘-i ‘alayım kılınmak için bu hakir irsal ve isal olunmak emr olunduguna bina‘en salifü’z-zikr Podolya hududı dahilinde vakı‘ Yazlofça^e sahrasına varılıb nüzul olundukda ‘akd-i meclis olunub

husus-i mezbur için bu hakir ile ma‘an me‘mur olan mirmiran-i duru’l-ihitiramdan Sivas beglerbegisi ‘izzetlü Halil Paşa hazretleri ve ber vech-i arpalık Kayseriye sancagına mutasarrıf olan ‘izzetlü Dilaver Paşa hazretleri ve Mentеше sancagına mutasarrıf olan ‘izzetlü Ibrahim Paşa ve Yazlofça kal‘esi muhafazasına olan Ibrahim Beg ve Kamanıçe kazısı tarafından Mevlana Hüseyin Efendi ve Kamanıçe kal‘esinin yerlü agaları ve Lipka ve bi’l-cümle bu hizmete me‘mur olan Anatoli ve Rum-ili ve Bosna eyaletleri alaybegleri muvacehelerinde hala Lih kralı olan iftiharü’l-ümera’i’l-‘izami’l-‘iseviye muhtarü’l-kübera’i’l-fıham fı milleti’l-mesihkiye^f hutimet avakibühü bi’l-hayr tarafından ve hetmanları ve bütün sahibleri ve bi’l-cümle ahali-i memleket caniblerinden husus-i mezbur için vekil idüb göndürdükleri müfah-harü’l-ümera’i’l-milleti’l-mesihkiye Iri Velhorski kaşdelan praslavski^g ve Tomaş Karçevski horonji sanoski^h nam komisarlar ile zikr olunan hudud maddesi bi’d-defa‘at mükaleme ve müzakereden sonra ‘ahdname-i hümayun-i sa‘adet-makrun mucibince yerlü agaları ve Lipka mirzaları ve Podolyanın müsinn ü ihtiyar olan Rus keferesi re‘ayası ve civar-i kadimi olan Bogdan boyarlarından Podolya hududı su‘al olundukda

ibtida’ Lih diyarından cari olan Istripaⁱ suyu dimekle ma‘ruf nehrin mecrası mezbur Yazlofça kal‘esinin etraf ve havalisi hududını kadimden ‘alamet-i fasla olduğun her birileri ihbar ve merkuman komisarlar dahi minval-i muhar-rer üzere olduğun tasdik ve ikrar etmeleriyle nehr-i mezburun Turla^j nam nehr-i ‘azime karıştığı vadi ki

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nehri-i mezbur içinde Istruha^k dimekle ma‘ruf ada ki söğüt ağaçları nabit-dir salifü’z-zikr Yazlofça kal‘esi tevabi‘inden Beremin^l nam kariyenin arazi

^c қамані́че.

^d بودولیّه.

^e یازلوّفچّه.

^f After *fı milleti’l-mesihkiye* a blank space was left for the name of the king.

^g ایری ولخورسکی قاشدلان پرسلوسکی.

^h توماش قارچوسکی خورنژی سانوسکی.

ⁱ استریپه.

^j طورلی.

^k استروحه.

^l برمین.

ve orman ve korılarının hudud-i kadimesi mahdud ve müntehidir merku-
man komisarlar tarafından kat'-i hudud için vekilleri olan müfahharü'l-
a'yanî'l-milleti'l-mesihîye Belaviski^m ve Sekelinskiⁿ ve Selaviski^o ve Işpendovski^p
nam Lih ta'ifesi'nin ma'rifetleri ve rızaları ile mahall-i mezbura bir toprak
depe 'alamet-i hudud olundu

mezbur Istrıpa suyu üzerinde Lih zamanında dalyanlar olup sayd-i mahi
olunmagla üslub-i sabık üzere tarafeyn re'ayası dalyanlar vaz' ve ihdas-i
asiyab ve sa'ir intifa'ları için nehr-i mezkur ber vech-i münasafa tahdid ü
kayd olundu

ve Turla suyu üzerinde vakı' yine Yazlofça kal'esine tabi' Milyova^q nam
kariye ma'berinde kadimden podlar^r olmakla ma'ber-i mezbur[d]a tarafeyn-
den podlar vaz' olunub Yazlofça tarafından geleni Milyova podları ve öte
canibden geleni Lih re'ayası podları 'ubur itdirüb bir birlerinin intifa'larına
mani' olmamak üzere kayd olundu

ve yine vadi-i mezburda Istrıpa suyu mecrasından nısf sa'at yukaruda
nehr-i mezburdan hark ile öte yakasında Hubin^s degirmeni dimekle ma'ruf
bir bab asiyab ve fevkinde nümayan bir manastır 'alamet-i hududdur.

ve andan iki sa'at yukaruda yine Yazlofça tevabî'inde Izniborodi^t nam
kariyenin ke-zalik orman ve arazi ve korılarının hudud-i kadimesi nehr-i
mezbura müntehi olur öte yakasında buna mukabil Iskomoruf^u nam kariye
Lih tasarrufundadır ve andan bir sa'at yukaruda yine Yazlobça^v tabi' Du-
libi^w nam kariyenin ke-zalik arazi ve orman ve korılarının hudud-i kadimesi
nehr-i mezbura müntehidir ve öte yakasında bu mahalle mukabil Urusilova^x
nam kariye Lih tasarrufundadır

ve andan nısf sa'at yukaruda Yazlofça kal'esine müdani Novasilka^y nam
kariyenin arazisi ke-zalik nehr-i mezbura müntehi olur bu mahallin öte
yakasında Leşinçısy^z nam kariye Lih tasarrufundadır

nefs-i Yazlofçanın ke-zalik arazi ve orman ve korılarının canib-i garbisi
nehr-i mezbur ile mahdud ve müntehidir

ve yine nefsi-i Yazlofçadan iki sa'at ba'id vadi ki yine Istrıpa suyunun
mecrasında vakı' Sorıka^{aa} geçidi dimekle ma'ruf ma'ber ki mezkur olan
hududlara infisali müntehi olduğu mahaldir kible tarafı Podolya dahilinde

^m بکوسکی.

ⁿ سکلنسکی.

^o سلوسکی.

^p اشیپاندوسکی.

^q ملیوه.

^r پودلر; it should read: *botlar*.

^s خوبین.

^t ایزنبوردی.

^u اسقورف.

^v یازلوبچه.

^w دولیبی.

^x ارسلوه.

^y نواسلقه.

^z لشنچسیه.

^{aa} صوریقہ.

vakı‘ Rıpınçese^{ab} ve Pomoriçe^{ac} ve Zaliçe^{ad} nam kariyelerin ittisal üzere arazi ve orman ve korılarının hudud-i kadimeleri nehr-i mezbur müntehidir öte yakasında mezkur kariyelere mukabil Sorika ve Jıznamir^{ac} nam kariyeler Lih tasarrufundadır

mahall-i mezburda vakı‘ Yazlofça[dan]^{af} gelen tarikin kible tarafında olan meyşestan depenin zirvesine bir toprak depe ‘alamet vaz’ olundu

ve yine bu mahalden Yazlofçadan gelen tarik-i mezbur ki Podolya hududını kadimden fasl etmiştir garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan Bučač^{ag} nam palanka toprağıdır ve kible tarafı Podolya dahilidir bu mahalde sınır ile mahlut olan orman içinde vakı‘ meydan ki lede‘l-ahali ma‘lumdur [kible]^{ah} tarafına tarafeyn rızasıyla bir depe ‘alamet olundu

bu mahalden tarik-i mezbur ile şark tarafına doğru bir sa‘at ba‘id kadimden Bučač palankasına tabi‘ Tribuhobçe^{ai} nam kariyenin kible canibinde vakı‘ mürtefi‘ mahal ki altında Olhoveç^{aj} suyu dimekle ma‘ruf ma‘i cari vardır ke-zalık bir toprak depe ‘alamet olundu

buna mukabil şark canibinde kadimden ‘alamet-i hudud için nişande bir büyük taş vardır andan yukarı kible tarafında

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Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ korının tahtında olan mürtefi‘ mahal ki ‘inde‘l-ahali ma‘lumdur bir toprak depe ‘alamet olundu

bu iki depenin kible tarafında vakı‘ Çitova^{ak} nam kariye Podolya dahilindedir bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru hudud-i kadimeden^{al} nısf sa‘at ba‘id sahrada Bilagıtsa^{am} dimekle ma‘ruf gadinir fevki ‘inde‘l-ahali ma‘lumdur bir toprak depe ‘alamet olundu

ve yine bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru bir sa‘at sahranın hudud-i kadimesi üzerinde meyşestan ve bataklı derenin şark canibinde vakı‘ mürtefi‘ mahalle ke-zalık bir toprak depe ‘alamet vaz’ olundu

ve yine bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru sahranın iki sa‘at ba‘id mevzi‘inde ki Curın^{an} suyu dimekle ma‘ruf ma‘i cari ki kible tarafı Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Yahulunıça^{ao} nam palankanın ve Polobçe^{ap} nam kariyenin arazisi hududı mezbur Curın suyına müştemeldir bu mahalde vakı‘ ‘ameli seddin

ab رپنچسه.

ac پومریچه.

ad زالیچه.

ac ژزنامیر.

af Written correctly in A.

ag بوچاچ.

ah In A. only.

ai تربوحوبچه.

aj الحوج.

ak چتوه.

al Perhaps it should read: *hudud-i kadime ile*.

am بیلقرتسه.

an جورین.

ao یهلونچه.

ap پولوبچه.

üzerine tarafeyn rızasıyla bir toprak depe nehr-i mezburun öte yakasında buna mukabil ke-zalik bir toprak depe ‘alamet olundu bu mahalle gelince tahdid olunan sahari ve mevazi‘ Yazlobça kal‘esinin yemin ü yesarıdır

Lih ta‘ifesi ile hudud-i müta‘allık münaza‘a olunub vezir-i müşarun-ileyh Ahmed Paşa hazretleri tarafından der-i devlet-medara ‘arz u i‘lam olundukda Podolya dahilinde tahdid ü tahrir olunmak için müceddeden ferman-i şerif varid olan^{aq} Seret^{ar} suyu demekle ma‘ruf nehrin kenarında vakı‘ Çortkuv^{as} nam palankanın öte yakasında olan varoşundan garb tarafına doğru üç buçuk sa‘at mesafe mahal ki palanka-i mezbura tevabi‘inden Bilabojniça^{at} nam kariyenin arazisinin hudud-i kadimesi müştemel ve mün-tehi olduğun mezbur palankada sakin müsinn ü ihtiyar olan Rus re‘ayası ihbar etmegin mahall-i mezburun garb tarafında vakı‘ Lih tasarrufunda olan salifü’z-zikr Bučač palankası tevabi‘inden Rıdaduba^{au} kariyesinin hudud-i kadimesi dahi bu mahal ile mahduddur tarafeyn rıza ve ittifakıyla bir toprak depe ‘alamet olunub tarafeynin mahlut olan hududları vech-i muharrer üzere imtiyaz olundu

yine bu mahalden nısf sa‘at ba‘id sahrada vakı‘ mahal ki lede’l-ahali ma‘lumdur ke-zalik bir depe ‘alamet olundu

bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru nısf sa‘at hudud-i kadimeden mürtefi‘ mahal ki ‘inde’l-ahali ma‘lumdur ke-zalik bir toprak depe ‘alamet olundu

bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru nısf sa‘at sahrada vakı‘ vadi ki garb canibi Podolya dahilinde mezbur Çortkuv palankasına tabi‘ Bila Potok^{av} nam kariyenin hudud-i kadimesi müntehidir garb tarafı Lih tasarrufunda olan mezbur Rıdaduba kariyesinin arazisi hududı bu mahalle müştemeldir mezbur vadinin fevkine bir toprak depe ‘alamet olundu

ve yine bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru nısf sa‘at sahra Çortkuv palankası tevabi‘inden mezbur Seret suyu deresinde vakı‘ Bila^{aw} nam kariye ki güherçile hasıl olur ve buna karib İskorodınçe^{ax} nam kariyelerin ittisal üzere arazi ve orman ve korılarınin hudud-i kadimleri müştemel ve mün-tehi olduğu mahaldir garb tarafı Lih tasarrufunda olan mezbur Rıdaduba kariyesinin hududı mahall-i mezbura dahi müştemeldir ke-zalik bir toprak depe ‘alamet olundu

bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru bir sa‘at sahrada vakı‘ kadimden bir ‘ameli toprak depe ki ‘inde’l-ahali ma‘lumdur şark tarafı yine Çortkuva^{ay} tabi‘ Bıçkobçe^{az}

^{aq} Perhaps it should read: *olub*.

^{ar} سرت.

^{as} چورتکو.

^{at} بیله بوژنچه.

^{au} ریدهدویه.

^{av} بیله پوتک.

^{aw} بیله.

^{ax} اسکوردنچه.

^{ay} Written in the dative.

^{az} بچکوبچه.

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nam kariyenin ve garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan Trenbovl^{ba} kal'esine tabi' Izvinaçe^{bb} ve Kosuv^{bc} nam kariyelerin dahi hudud-i kadimleri mahall-i mezbur ile mahdud ve mahlutdur mezbur depenin üzerine müceddeden bir depe dahi 'alamet olundu

ve yine mahall-i mezburdan Seret suyına doğru nısf sa'at devr idüb bu mahalde vakı' dere ki Çortkuva tabi' mezbur Bıçkobçe kariyesinin ve Lih tasarrufunda olan mezburenan Izvinaçe ve Kosuv kariyelerinin dahi hudud-i kadimleri vadi-i mezbura müstemel ve müntehidir ke-zalik bir depe 'alamet olundu

bu mahalden yine şark tarafına doğru orman içinde vakı' vadi ki Seret suyına nazil olur Çortkuva tabi' mezbur Bıçkobçe ve Lih tasarrufunda olan Izvinaçe ve Kosuv nam kariyelerinin hududını kadimden bu mahalde fasl etmiştir Seret suyu kenarına müntehi olduğu mahalle bir depe 'alamet olundu

mahall-i mezkurdan mezbur Seret suyun gûzar idüb yine şark tarafına doğru vadiden üç sa'at mesafe mahal ki Kraşov^{bd} suyu demekle ma'ruf ma'-i carinin kible tarafı Çortkuv hudududur garb canibi Lih tasarrufundadır bir depe vaz' olundu

yine bu vadinin şark tarafına doğru bir sa'at ba'id nihayet bulduğu mahal ki Tutoruv Bile^{be} demekle ma'rufdur kible tarafı yine Çortkuv toprağıdır garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan Yablonuv^{bf} nam kariyenin hududu mün-tehi olur mahall-i mezbura bir toprak depe 'alamet olundu

yine mahall-i mezburdan yukarı bir sa'at ba'id meydan ki Čorni Lozi^{bg} suyu demekle ma'ruf ma'-i cari vardır Çortkuv palankası hududu ve Lih tasarrufunda olan Trenbovl kal'esine tabi' Rıškobçe^{bh} ve Yablone^{bi} ve Koçünçe^{bj} nam kariyelerin hudud-i kadimleri bu mahalde mahlut ve müstemeldir ke-zalik bir toprak depe vaz'-i 'alamet olundu

bu mahalden iki sa'at ba'id sahra ki kadimden 'alamet-i hudud için bir 'ameli toprak depe vardır Trenbovl tabi' Hadıncovçe^{bk} nam kariyenin ve nefsi Çortkuv palankasının hududu ki Kolınd'an^{bl} sahrası demekle ma'rufdur bir depe 'alamet olundu Çortkuv palankası hududu bu mahalde tamam olur

mahall-i mezburdan şark tarafına doğru nısf sa'at ba'id mevzi'de vakı' bataklık ve sazlık vadinin şimal tarafı Lih tasarrufunda olan Jabiska^{bm} nam

^{ba} طرانبول.

^{bb} ایزویناچه.

^{bc} قوصو.

^{bd} قراشو.

^{be} توتورو بیلہ.

^{bf} یابلنو.

^{bg} چورنی لوزی.

^{bh} رشقویچه.

^{bi} یابلونہ.

^{bj} قچونچه.

^{bk} حدنقوچه.

^{bl} قولنکان.

^{bm} ژابسقه.

kariyenin ve Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Prebijena^{bn} nam kariyenin hududları mahall-i mezbura mahdud ve müştemeldir bir toprak depe ‘alamet olundu yine mahall-i mezburdan şark tarafına doğru bir sa‘at ba‘id mahal Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Tovcedenkı^{bo} ve Lih tasarrufunda olan Koçubinçe^{bp} nam kariyenin hudud-i kadimleri müntehi ve müştemeldir bir depe ‘alamet olundu

ve yine bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru iki sa‘at ba‘id mahal ki Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Husatın^{bq} palankasına tabi‘ Vasılkoskı^{br} nam kariye ve Lih tasarrufunda olan Korohulçe^{bs} nam kariyelerin hudud-i kadimleri müştemeldir bir toprak depe ‘alamet olundu

mahall-i mezburdan şark tarafına doğru iki sa‘at ba‘id mahalde vakı‘ ormanın kenarı ki garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan Trenbovl kal‘esine tabi‘ Ijborok^{bt} nam kariyenin ve kible tarafı mezbur Husatına Vasılkoskı kariyesinin orman ve arazisinin hududı mahall-i mezbura dahi müştemeldir ke-zalik bir depe ‘alamet olundu

bu mahalden mezkur orman içinden bir sa‘at gûzar idüb yine şark canibine doğru sahrada ki mezbur Vasılkoskı kariyesinin ve Lih tasarrufunda olan Ijborok kariyesinin arazi ve orman hududları bu mahal ile dahi mahdud ve müştemeldir ke-zalik bir depe ‘alamet olundu

ve yine bu mahalden garb canibine doğru devr idüb iki sa‘at mesafe mahal ki ‘inde‘l-ahali ma‘lumdur Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Lıçkobçe^{bu} nam harabe palankanın ve Çabaruvka^{bv} nam kariyenin hudud-i kadimleri mahall-i mezbur ile mahdud[d]ur bir depe ‘alamet olundu

ve yine mahall-i mezburdan garb tarafına doğru iki sa‘at mesafe mahal ki Izbruç^{bw} suyunın kenarıdır Husatın

[p. 163]

ve ana tabi‘ İstarı Olhoveç^{bx} nam kariye arazilerinin hudud-i kadimesi müştemel ve müntehidir mahall-i mezburun garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan Trenbovl^{by} kal‘esine tabi‘ Tribuhobçe^{bz} nam kariyenin dahi hududı mahall-i mezbura mahduddur bir depe ‘alamet olundu

bu mahalden mezbur Izbruç suyunun mecrası Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Satanova^{ca} nam palankasına varınca dör[t] sa‘at mesafe olub nehr-i mezbur

-
- bn. پره بژدنه.
 bo. توجدنقی.
 bp. قوچوبینچه.
 bq. حوساطین.
 br. واصلقوسقی.
 bs. قوروحولجه.
 bt. ایژیروق.
 bu. لیجقویچه.
 bv. چیاروقه.
 bw. ایژیروج.
 bx. استاری الحوچ.
 by. طرنبول.
 bz. تریحویچه.
 ca. صستانوه.

kadimden Podolya hududını bu mahalden fasl itdüğün bu diyarın müsinn ü ihtiyarları ihbar etmekle nehr-i mezbur ke-ma kan ber vech-i münasafa tahdid olundu bu mabeynde Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Holeniçe^{cb} ve Diviçe^{cc} ve Yüvanikovçi^{cd} harabe kariyeler vardır öte canibi ki garbdır Lih tasarrufundadır

nefs-i Satanovadan mezbur Izbruç suyunın yukarusuna doğru bir sa‘at ba‘id mahal ki Kurovka^{ce} suyu demekle ma‘ruf ma’-i carinin nehr-i mezbura karşıduğı mahalde Satanovaya tabi‘ Mardinkobçe^{cf} nam harabe kariye ve öte yakasında mahall-i mezbura mukabil Trenbovla tabi‘ Karaholka^{cg} ve Kozina^{ch} nam kariyeler Lih tasarrufundadır

mahall-i mezburdan garb canibine doğru devr idüb nehr-i mezbur kenarında vakı‘ yine Satanovaya tabi‘ Zainçe^{ci} nam harabe kariye ve öte yakasında buna mukabil manastır ve yine Trenbovla tabi‘ Luka^{cj} nam kariye Lih tasarrufundadır

mahall-i mezburdan yine garb tarafına bir buçuk sa‘at ba‘id yine nehr-i mezbur kenarında vakı‘ Podolya dahilinde Tarnaruda^{ck} nam harabe palanka ve öte yakasında yine Trenbovla tabi‘ buna mukabil Turufka^{cl} nam kariye Lih tasarrufundadır

bu mahalden garb canibine doğru Tarnarudadan yukarı Izbruç kenarında vakı‘ [K]ruça yaza^{cm} demekle ma‘ruf mürtefi‘ mevzi‘ ki nehr-i mezburun Podolya hududını infisali nihayet bulduğı mahaldir mezbur Tarnaruda palankasının hudud-i kadimesi mahall-i mezbur ile mahdud ve müntehidir nehr-i mezburun öte yakasında ve beri canibinde olan sazlu göller kadimden istiklal üzere Podolya dahilinde sayd-i mahi olunmagla zikr olunan göller ve sazlıklar ber vech-i istiklal Podolya dahiline tahdid ü kayd olundu mezbur Izbruç suyunın garb tarafı mecrasının öte yakasında Lih tasarrufunda olan Trenbovl kal‘esine tabi‘ Ojiha^{cn} nam kariyenin ve yine garb canibinde Lih tasarrufunda olan Kremeniçe^{co} kalesine tabi‘ Kaniv^{cp} nam kariyenin hudud-i kadimesi mahall-i mezbura müştemel ve mahlutdur ke-zalik ‘alamet-i hudud için bir depe vaz‘ olundu

ve yine bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru sahrada<n> iki sa‘at ba‘id devr idüb bir söğüt ağacı nabit olan mahal ki mezbur Tarnaruda palankasının

^{cb} حولانیچه.

^{cc} دیوچه.

^{cd} یوانیکوچی.

^{ce} قوروچه.

^{cf} ماردینقوبچه.

^{cg} قرهحولچه.

^{ch} قوزینه.

^{ci} زابینچه.

^{cj} لوقه.

^{ck} طرنه روده.

^{cl} تروفقه.

^{cm} روجه یزه; written correctly in A.; see the translation, note 20.

^{cn} اوژیحه.

^{co} قرامانیچه.

^{cp} قانو.

hudud-i kadimesi bu mevzi'e dahi müstemeldir garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan mezbur Kremenice kal'esine tabi' Holohvaska^{cq} ve Hodorka^{cr} nam kariyelerin dahi hudud-i kadimleri mahall-i mezbur ile mahlut ve müntehidir bir depe 'alamet olundu

ve yine bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru vakı' olan ormanın içinden gúzar idüb bir sa'at mevzi'de vakı' Ruda nam-i diğer Ivşançe^{cs} deresi dimekle ma'ruf sazlık ve bataklık derenin fevki ki 'inde'l-ahali ma'lumdur kible tarafı Podolya dahilinde vakı' Kumanovka^{ct} nam harabe palankanın ve ana tabi' Grika^{cu} nam harabe kariyenin hudud-i kadimleri ittisal üzere mahall-i mezbura mahdud[d]ur garb tarafı yine Lih tasarrufunda olan mezkur Kremenice kal'esine tabi' Zavaleyka^{cv} nam kariyenin hudud-i kadimesi müstemeldir ke-zalık bir toprak depe 'alamet olundu

mahall-i mezburdan şark canibine doğru iki sa'at mesafe mahal ki mezbur Ivşançe deresinin fevkidir kible tarafı Podolya dahilinde vakı' Hveşdika^{cw} nam harabe palankanın ve Juçkobçe^{cx} ve Andreykobçe^{cy} nam harabe kariyelerin orman ve arazilerinin hudud-i kadimleri bu mahal ile

[p. 162]

mahdud ve müntehidir ve garb canibinde yine Lih tasarrufunda olan mezbur Kremeniceye tabi' Vıdava^{cz} nam kariyenin hudud-i kadimesi mezbur derenin öte yakası ile mahduddur bu mahalde dere içinde vakı' olan seddin üzerine bir toprak [depe] tarafeyn rızasıyla vaz' olundu

ve yine bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru bir sa'at ba'id mahal ki mezbur Ivşançe deresinin kible tarafında Podolya dahilinde vakı' Sahlofçe^{da} nam harabe kariyenin ve garb canibinde Lih tasarrufunda olan mezbur Kremeniceye tabi' Bronubka^{db} nam kariyenin hududları mahall-i mezbura mahdud ve müntehidir bir depe olundu

ve yine bu mahalden şark canibine doğru bir sa'at ba'id mahal ki yine mezbur Ivşançe deresinin kible tarafında vakı' Podolya dahilinde <diğer> Sahlofçe^{dc} ve Rakovçe^{dd} ve Lapkobçe^{de} ve Geladınçe^{df} nam harabe kariyelerin ittisal üzere hudud-i kadimleri müstemel ve müntehidir öte yakası garb

^{cq} حول حوسقه.

^{cr} حودركه.

^{cs} زوده نام دیگر اوشنچه; in the Polish protocol "the swamp called Mszaniec" (*bloto nazwane Mszaniec*); see Document 56.

^{ct} قومانونقه.

^{cu} غريقه.

^{cv} زواليقه.

^{cw} حواشديقه.

^{cx} ژچقويچه.

^{cy} اندريقويچه.

^{cz} ود اوه.

^{da} سهلوفچه.

^{db} برنويقه.

^{dc} سهلويچه; see the translation, note 23.

^{dd} رقوجه.

^{de} لايقويچه.

^{df} گلدينچه.

tarafında yine Lih tasarrufunda olan Kremeniceye tabi^{dg} Zelena^{dg} nam kariyenin [hududı] mahall-i mezburda mahduddur ke-zalik bir toprak depe^{dg} 'alamet olundu

bu mahalde mezbur Ivşançe deresinin Podolya hududını fasl itdiği nihayet bulduğu mahaldir mezbur Ivşançe deresinin öte canibine gûzar idüb buna mukabil mürtefi^{dh} mahal ki şark tarafında Podolya dahilinde vaki^{dh} Pavlıkobçe^{dh} nam harabe kariyenin ve garb tarafında Lih tasarrufunda olan mezbur Kremeniceye tabi^{di} Bokobçe^{di} nam kariyenin hudud-i kadimleri mahall-i mezbura mahdud ve müntehidir bir depe^{di} 'alamet olundu

yine mahall-i mezburdan şark tarafına doğru bir sa'at ba'id sahrada vaki^{di} vadinin fevkinde olan 'ameli toprak depe ki kadimden Podolya hududına 'alametdir kible tarafında Podolya dahilinde vaki^{dk} Çornostra^{dk} palankasına tabi^{dk} Homenice^{dk} ve Zerinçe^{dk} nam kariyelerin ve garb canibinde Lih tasarrufunda olan Kremenice[ye] tabi^{dk} Tretenlik^{dk} nam kariyenin hudud-i kadimleri bu mahalle mahdud ve müntehidir mezbur depenin fevkine müceddeden bir depe dahi 'alamet olundu

yine bu mahalden şark canibine doğru bir sa'at ba'id sahrada vaki^{dk} mürtefi^{dk} mahal ki 'inde'l-ahali ma'lumdur şark tarafı Podolya dahilinde olan mezbur Çornostra palankasının ve ona tabi^{dk} Yahuminçe^{dk} ve şimal canibinde vaki^{dk} Lih tasarrufunda olan Kremenice[ye] tabi^{dk} Bahlaykı^{dk} nam kariyenin hudud-i kadimleri mahall-i mezbur ile mahdud ve müstemeldir bir depe 'alamet olundu

yine mahall-i mezburdan şark tarafına doğru nısf sa'at sahrada vaki^{dk} sazlık ve bataklık derenin fevki yine şark canibi Podolya dahilinde Yahuminçe kariyesinin ve garb tarafında Lih tasarrufunda olan mezbur Bahlaykı^{dk} kariyesinin hudud-i kadimleri müstemeldir bir depe 'alamet olundu

bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru iki sa'at ba'id sahrada vaki^{dk} mürtefi^{dk} mahal ki kible tarafı Zahorovçe^{dk} nam kariye ki Podolya dahilindedir ve garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan Uzozulinçe^{dk} nam kariyenin hududı mahduddur ke-zalik 'alamet olundu

mahall-i mezburdan yine şark canibine doğru sahrada<n> bir buçuk sa'at ba'id mahal ki yine şark canibinde Podolya dahilinde vaki^{dk} mezbur Çornostra palankasının hudud-i kadimesi ve garb tarafında Lih tasarrufunda olan Bazaliya^{dk} nam palanka hududı mahall-i mezbur ile mahduddur bir depe 'alamet olundu

-
- dg. زلنه.
 dh. پاووليکوچه.
 di. بوکوچه.
 dj. چورنوستره.
 dk. حومانچه.
 dl. زرينچه.
 dm. تره تنلك.
 dn. يخومينچه.
 do. بحليقي.
 dp. باحليقي.
 dq. زخوروچه.
 dr. اوززلنچه.
 ds. بازاليه.

ve yine bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru bir sa‘at ba‘id mahal ki Bujok^{dt} suyu demekle ma‘ruf sazlık ve bataklık derenin fevki ki yine şark canibi mezbur Çornostra palankasının ve öte yakası ki garb tarafıdır Lih tasarrufunda olan Markobçe^{du} nam kariyenin hududu müştemeldir bir depe ‘alamet olundu

ve yine mahall-i mezburdan iki sa‘at mesafe mezbur Bujok suyunın kenarında vakı‘ mahal ki bir haç-peyker-i nişande taş vardır Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Mikolofçe^{dv} nam harabe kariyenin ve öte yakasında buna mukabil Lih tasarrufunda

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mezbur Kremeniçeye tabi‘ Koküzinçe^{dw} nam kariye hududu dahi mahdud-dur bir toprak depe ‘alamet olundu

bu mahalden yine mezbur Bujok suyu aşağısında nısf sa‘at mahal ki kible tarafı Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Orlika^{dx} [ve] Vezdenka^{dy} nam harabe kariyelerin hududu münteha olduğu mahal ki ana mukabil Lih tasarrufunda Krasilova^{dz} ormanı demekle ma‘ruf ormandır bir depe ‘alamet vaz‘ olundu

ve yine mahall-i mezburdan mezkur Bujok suyunun aşağısı bir sa‘at ba‘id mürtefi‘ mahal ki kible tarafı Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ mezburan Orlovka^{ea} [ve] Vezdenka kariyelerinin hudud-i kadimleri bu mahalle dahi müştemeldir ana mukabil Lih tasarrufunda olan Bitınçe^{eb} nam kariyenin hududu dahi bu mahalle mahduddur bundan aşağıda vakı‘ seddin üzerinde ‘ameli depe vardır ve yine Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Hodkobçe^{ec} nam kariyenin hududu dahi bu mahalle mahduddur bu mahalde olan gadir Podolyanıdır bir depe ‘alamet olundu

yine bu mahalden bir sa‘at aşağı mezbur Bujok suyu kenarında vakı‘ mahal ki kible tarafı Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Kılmaşofçe^{ed} nam kariyenin hudud-i kadimesi mahduddur ana mukabil Lih tasarrufunda olan Beremofçe^{ee} nam kariyenin orman ve arazisi mahall-i mezbura müntehidir bir depe ‘alamet olundu

yine bu mahalden mezbur Bujok suyu aşağısında bir sa‘at ba‘id mürtefi‘ mahal ki kible tarafı Podolya dahilinde Peçısınçe^{ef} nam kariyenin hududu mahduddur buna mukabil Lih tasarrufunda olan Kremeniçeye tabi‘ Zapadınçe^{eg} nam kariyenin hududu dahi mahduddur bir depe ‘alamet olundu bu mahalden mezbur Bujok suyu mecrasında vakı‘ göller ve sazlıklar ki sayd-i

dt. بوژوک.

du. مارقويچہ.

dv. مقلوفچہ.

dw. قوکوزينچہ.

dx. اورليکچہ.

dy. وزدنکچہ.

dz. قرسلوہ.

ea. اورلوقچہ.

eb. بیتنچہ: it should read *Mitinçe* as in A.

ec. حدودقويچہ.

ed. قليماشوفچہ.

ee. بارہموفچہ.

ef. پچسنچہ.

eg. زاپادينچہ.

mahi olunur bundan aşağı nehr-i mezburun öte yakasında vakı‘ Podolya dahilinde Malamanınçe^{eh} nam kariye ve andan Mejibuji^{ei} önüne varınca istiklal üzere Podolyanıdır

ve yine bu mahalden Bujok suyunın öte yakasında vakı‘ Paskuhna^{ej} deresi dimekle ma‘ruf vadi şimal tarafında Lih tasarrufunda olan Kremeniçeye tabi‘ Paşdudınçe^{ek} nam kariyenin hududı ve şark tarafında vakı‘ Podolya dahilinde Yunaçınçe^{el} nam kariyenin orman ve korı ve arazilerinin hudud-i kadimleri bu mahal ile mahduddur bir depe ‘alamet olundu

ve yine vadi-i mezburdan nısf sa‘at yukaruda mürtefi‘ mahal ki kadimden ‘alamet-i hudud için bir ‘ameli toprak depe vardır bu mahalde hududı müstemel olub Lih tasarrufunda olan mezbur Zapadınçe kariyesi için Lih ta‘ifesi ile münaza‘a olunub sadır olan ‘ahdname-i hümayunda [tasrih buyurulduğu üzere bu diyar ahalisinin]^{em} müsinn ü ihtiyar olan Rus re‘ayasından tafahhus olundukda kariye-i mezbure kadimden Lih tasarrufunda olan Kremeniçeye tabi‘ olduğun cemm-i gafır ihbar etmeleriyle ke-ma kan kayd u tahrir olundu mahall-i mezburun şark tarafı Mejibujiye tabi‘ mezbur Yunaçınçe kariyesinin hududı bu mahalle dahi müstemeldir bir depe ‘alamet olundu

yine mahall-i mezburdan şark canibine doğru cengelistan içinde vakı‘ mahal ki garb tarafı Lih tasarrufunda olan Kremeniçeye tabi‘ Iskovorodka^{en} nam kariyenin hududı bu mahalle mahduddur kible tarafı Mejibujiye tabi‘ mezbur Malamanınçenin hududı müstemeldir bir depe ‘alamet olundu

yine mahall-i mezburdan şark tarafına doğru kuhistan içinde mahal ki kible tarafı Mejibujiye tabi‘ Ihnatovçe^{eo} nam kariyenin ve garb tarafında Lih tasarrufunda Kremeniçeye tabi‘ mezbur Iskovorodka^{ep} kariyesinin arazi ve ormanlarının hudud-i kadimleri bu mahalle dahi müstemeldir bir depe ‘alamet olundu

mahall-i mezburdan şark canibine doğru kuhistanda bir sa‘at

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mahal ki Ihnatovçe hendeki dimekle hendek kadimden ‘alamet-i hududdur kible tarafı Mejibujiye tabi‘ mezbur Ihnatovçe kariyesinin hududı bu mahalle müntehidir garb tarafı Lih tasarrufunda Semernıka^{eq} nam kariye hududında Lih ta‘ifesi ile münaza‘a olunub bu diyar ahalisinden ke-zalîk tafahhus olundukda kariye-i mezbure kadimden Podolyadan haric olub Kremeniçeye tabi‘ olduğun ihbar etmeleriyle ke-ma kan tahdid olundu

^{eh} ملامانینچه.

^{ei} میژیبوژی.

^{ej} پاښکوحنه; in the Polish protocol called *dolina Paskuwaczyszna* or *dolina Paszkuwasz* (“the valley called Paškuvaś”); cf. Document 56.

^{ek} پاشدودنچه.

^{el} یوناچنچه.

^{em} Apparently omitted; written correctly in A.

^{en} اسکوروڈکی.

^{eo} اهناتوچه.

^{ep} اسکوردیکه.

^{eq} سمرنقه.

mahall-i mezburdan bir sa‘at ba‘id cebelistan içinde vakı‘ vadi ki kible tarafı Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Mejibujiye tabi‘ Volosofçe^{er} nam kariyenin ve garb canibinde vakı‘ Lih tasarrufunda olan Semerınka kariyesinin arazi ve orman ve korlarının hududı bu mahalle dahi müştemeldir bir depe ‘alamet olundu

ve yine mahall-i mezburdan şark tarafına doğru orman içinde vakı‘ meydan ki iki sa‘at mesafedir ki İstarı Kostantın^{es} dan Mejibujiye giden tarikin üzeridir kible tarafı Mejibujiye tabi‘ mezbur Volosofçe kariyesinin ve garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan mezbur Kremeniçeye tabi‘ Sabsınçe^{et} nam kariyenin orman ve arazisi mahlutdur bir depe ‘alamet olundu

yine bu mahalden nısf sa‘at ba‘id orman içinde vakı‘ mahal ki Mejibujiye tabi‘ Pilaviçe^{eu} nam kariyenin ve Lih tasarrufunda olan mezbur Sabsınçe kariyenin hududları mahlut olduğu mahaldir bir depe ‘alamet olundu

bu mahalden şimal tarafına doğru iki sa‘at ba‘id sahrada vakı‘ mahal ki ‘inde’l-ahali ma‘lumdur kadimden ‘alamet-i hudud için bir toprak depe vardır şark tarafında vakı‘ Mejibujiye tabi‘ Lavişka^{ev} nam kariyenin ve Pilaviçenin ve Lih tasarrufunda olan Derkaç^{ew} nam kariyenin hududları müştemeldir bir depe ‘alamet olundu

mahall-i mezburdan şark tarafına doğru nısf sa‘at mahal ki mezbur Lavişka kariyesinin ve garb tarafı Lih tasarrufunda olan Kostatın^{ex} ve Poveh Borodınçe^{ey} nam kariyelerin hududı müştemeldir bir depe ‘alamet olundu

yine bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru devr olunub bir buçuk sa‘at mahal ki kadimden hududa ‘alamet bir ‘ameli depe vardır kible tarafı Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Babin^{ez} nam harabe kariyenin ve garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan Bahlayı^{fa} nam kariyenin hududları müştemel olduğu mahaldir bir depe ‘alamet olundu

mahall-i mezburdan şark tarafına doğru sahrada vakı‘ kadimden ‘alamet-i hudud için bir ‘ameli toprak depe vardır kible tarafı Podolya dahilinde vakı‘ Eski Şenava^{fb} nam kariye ve Pavlunçe^{fc} nam kariyenin ve garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan Ostropole^{fd} nam kariyenin hududları mahlutdur bir depe ‘alamet olundu

ve bundan yine şark tarafına doğru iki sa‘at ba‘id vadi ki kible canibi

^{er} ولسوفچه.

^{es} استاری قسطنطین.

^{et} صابسنچه.

^{eu} پلاوینچه.

^{ev} لاوشقه.

^{ew} درقاج.

^{ex} قسطنطین.

^{ey} پووح بوردینچه.

^{ez} بابین.

^{fa} باخلیبی.

^{fb} اسکی شناوه; *eski* is the Turkish counterpart of the Ukrainian and Polish adjective *stara*, i.e., “old.”

^{fc} پاولونچه.

^{fd} استروپوله.

Podolya dahilinde Paplinçe^{fe} ve Yüvki^{ff} nam kariyelerin ve garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan mezbur Ostropole kariyesinin hududları müstemeldir bir depe 'alamet olundu

bu mahalden şark tarafına doğru dört sa'at mesafe mahalde Koladniça^{fg} kuyısı demekle ma'ruf çah ki Nalvulika^{fh} nam Kazak 'alamet-i hudud için hafır itdirmişdir bu mahalde yine Hançarık^{fi} demekle ma'ruf depeler kadimden Podolya hududına 'alametdir kible tarafı Podolya

[p. 159]

dahildir garb canibi Lih tasarrufunda olan Lubar^{fj} na[m] kariye hududı muntehidir

mahall-i mezburdan dört sa'at mesafe şark canibine doğru mahalde vakı' bir tell-i kebir ki Podolya vilayetinin hudud-i kadimesi bu mahalde nihayet bulduğun Lih ta'ifesi hudud tahririne komisar tarafından ta'yin olunan Selaviski ve Sekeli[n]ski^{fk} ve Işpendovski ve sa'irleri ihbar ve ikrar etmeleriyle mezbur depenin kible tarafı Podolya ve garb tarafı Lih tasarrufunda olan Loçka^{fi} ve Krasna Pavlova^{fm} ve Berdiçuv^{fn} palankalarının hududı muntehidir Podolyanın hudud-i kadimesi mezbur depede nihayet bulduğu ke-makan kayd u tahdid olundu mahall-i mezburdan kible tarafı Turla suyına varınca Ukrayna^{fo} vilayeti ile mahduddur

cümlelerin ma'lumı bu vech üzeredir deyü canibeynden cemm-i gafır ihbar etmeleri tarafeynin vükelası rızaları ile zikr olunan vech üzere tahdid olunub vaz'-i 'alayım kılındığı der-i devlet-medara 'ayniyle 'arz olunmak üzere silk-i tahrir getürülmegin bir sureti tahrir olunub Lih ta'ifesine bi'l-iltimas virilmiştir

tahriren fi evahiri şehri Ramazani'l-mübarek li-seneti ahada ve tis'in ve elf

harrarahu el-hakir Hüseyin mirmiran-i Özü

wa ma tawfikî illa bi'llah 'abdühü Hüseyin^{fp}

Translation:

[pençe] *The most humble of the servants [of God], Ahmed Pasha*
"correct"

^{fe} پاپلینچه.

^{ff} یوکی.

^{fg} قولادنیچه.

^{fh} نالوولیکا.

^{fi} خانچاریق.

^{fj} لوبار.

^{fk} سکلسکی.

^{fn} لوجقه.

^{fm} قراسنه پولوه; in A. rendered more precisely: *Krasna Pola* (قراسنه پوله).

^{fn} بردیچو.

^{fo} اقراینه.

^{fp} Text of the seal, (*mühür*). The segment *wa ma tawfikî illa bi'llah* is derived from the *Koran*; see Document 51, note b.

[seal] *The servant of the Lord, Ahmed*
 O God, You are the master of *so pardon me, even though I have sins*
 virtue and grace
 the all-gracious Lord, my *so hold me, O God, in good repute*
 thoughts are with You

According to the illustrious contents of the [newly] arrived imperial, monarchic firman, addressed to the governor of Kamieniec, his excellency, the enlightened vizier, the felicitous and prosperous Ahmed Pasha and ordering that the old borders of the province of Podolia—appended to the provinces of the high state along with the fortress of Kamieniec, conquered and subjugated previously with the help of God (may He be exalted!) in the victorious imperial campaign, led in person by his excellency, our brave, powerful, majestic and strong padishah, the conqueror of countries (may God make his caliphate perpetual until the Day of Punishment!)—be established and described anew as it was decided and specified in the felicitous imperial ‘ahdname issued previously, [I] arrived at the border as his deputy; [and] as it was ordered that this humble [servant] be sent and dispatched in order to set and describe the limits and borders of Podolia with the consent of the two sides, and to place boundary markers according to [old] custom, [I] arrived and descended at the plain of Jazlivec, situated within the borders of the aforementioned Podolia, and a conference was held;

in the presence of the respected governors appointed along with this humble [servant] to the aforementioned task—his excellency the honorable Halil Pasha, the beylerbeyi of Sivas; his excellency the honorable Dilaver Pasha, who holds the sancak of Kayseri as a “barley stipend” [arpalık]; the honorable Ibrahim Pasha, who holds the sancak of Menteşe,³ and Ibrahim Bey, appointed as commander of the fortress of Jazlivec; and [in the presence] of Mevlana Huseyn Efendi, [appointed] by the kadi of Kamieniec;⁴ the aghas of the local troops from Kamieniec;⁵ the Lipka Tatars; and all the alaybeyis from the provinces of Anatolia, Rumelia, and Bosnia, appointed to this service, after repeated conferences and negotiations concerning the aforementioned border matters were held with the deputies sent and appointed to the aforementioned task from the side of the present Polish king, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious dignitaries in the nation of the Messiah⁶ (may his days end with good!), and from the side of his hetmans, nobles, and all the inhabitants of the country—the exalted ones from among the commanders of the Christian people, the commissioners named Jerzy Wielhorski, the castellan [kasztelan] of Braclaw and Tomasz Karczewski, the standard-bearer [chorąży] of Sanok, the local aghas and mirzas of the Lipka Tatars, the aged and old infidel Ruthenian subjects from Podolia, and the Moldavian boyars, living in

³ A sancak in southwest Anatolia.

⁴ In A. the kadi’s name is given: *Esseyid Ali Efendi*.

⁵ In A. four aghas are listed by names; these were: Mustafa Agha, an officer (çorbacı) of the 38th regiment (bölük) of janissaries, another Mustafa Agha from a unit of gönüllüs, Ibrahim Agha from a unit of azabs, and Huseyn Agha, the head-gunner (topçubası).

⁶ A blank space was left for the name of the king.

the vicinity since olden times, were interrogated in regard to the matter of the Podolian borders, as was provided in the felicitous, imperial 'ahdname';⁷

first, everyone from among them declared that the watercourse of the river Strypa, flowing from Poland, has marked the boundary line in the surroundings and vicinity of the fortress Jazlivec' since olden times; also the said commissioners confirmed and declared that it was as in the manner described; in the valley, where the said river flows to the great river Dniester, there is the island called Struha, where willows grow. In the said place the old border of the lands, forests and groves of the village Berem'jany, belonging to the abovementioned fortress of Jazlivec', is defined and delimited; an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker with the consent and agreement of the deputies appointed to the demarcation by the said commissioners—the exalted ones from among the notables of the Christian people, the Poles named Bielawski, Siekierzyński, Stawiński, and Spendowski.⁸

As in the Polish period there had been fishing nets on the said river Strypa, [now] it has been defined and registered that the said river would be divided in two, in order to enable the subjects of the two sides to install nets, construct watermills and make other profits.

In the village Xmeleva, also belonging to the fortress of Jazlivec', there has been a boat passage since olden times; [now] it has been registered that the boats of both sides would be [in use] in the said passage; those traveling from Jazlivec' should use the boats from Xmeleva and those traveling from the other side should use the boats of the Polish subjects; they should not hinder each other from profiting.

Then, following the channel of the said river Strypa upstream, after a half-hour walk from the said valley one reaches the watermill called Hubyn, consisting of one building and situated on the opposite shore; the monastery visible above is [considered] a boundary marker.

Then, a two-hour walk upstream, the old border of the forests, lands and groves of the village Żnyborody belonging to Jazlivec' is delimited by the said river. Skomoroxy, the village opposite situated on the other side, is in the possession of the Poles. Then, an hour walk upstream, again the old border of the forests, lands, and groves of the village Duliby belonging to Jazlivec' is delimited by the said river. The village Rusyliw, situated on the other side, is in the possession of the Poles.

Then, a half-hour walk upstream, the lands of the village Novosilka situated near the fortress of Jazlivec' are delimited by the said river. The village Liščanci, situated on the other side, is in the possession of the Poles.

Likewise, the lands, forests and groves of Jazlivec' are separated and delimited from the west by the said river.

⁷ I.e., in the 'ahdname of 1678 obtained by Ambassador Jan Gniński in Istanbul; see Document 55.

⁸ All mentioned in the Polish relation "Relacja komisarzy Rzeczypospolitej do rozgraniczenia Podola," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, p. 8; Spendowski was the interpreter of the embassies of Modrzejowski and Gniński in the years 1676–1679, and Siekierzyński was sent to Istanbul as an *internuntius* in 1674.

Then, a two-hour walk from Jazlivec', one reaches a valley with another passage across the river Strypa, called "the passage of Soroky," which separates and delimits the borders mentioned [below]: in the kable direction [i.e., to southeast] the contiguous old borders of the lands, forests, and groves of the villages Ripynci, Pomirci and Żališcyki, situated in Podolia, are demarcated by the said river, [while] on the other side [of the river], opposite the aforementioned villages, the villages Soroky and Żyznomyr are in the possession of the Poles.

An earth mound was raised as a boundary marker on the top of a hill covered with an oak-grove, situated in the kable direction from the road leading from Jazlivec' and passing at the said place.

Then, from this place the said road leading from Jazlivec' has marked the border of Podolia since olden times. On its western side are situated the lands of the fort of Bučač, being in the possession of the Poles; and in the kable direction is the interior of Podolia. In this place, with the consent of both sides, a mound was raised as a boundary marker in the kable direction of a clearing, known to the [local] inhabitants and situated in the forest, intersecting with the border.

From the said place, while following the said road straight eastward, after an hour walk one reaches an elevated place situated in the kable direction from the village Trybuxivci, belonging to the fort of Bučač since olden times; further down flows the river called Vil'xovec'. Likewise, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Opposite, on the eastern side a big stone had been erected as a boundary marker in olden times. Then, while heading upstream one reaches an elevated place, situated in the kable direction, at the foot of a grove, belonging to Podolia and known to the [local] inhabitants; there, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker

In the kable direction from these two mounds, [one reaches] the village Cvitova, situated in Podolia. Heading straight eastward from this place, on a plain distant a half-hour walk from⁹ the old border one reaches the pond called Bila Hrycja; above it an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker [in a place] known to the [local] inhabitants.

Then, heading straight eastward from this place, after an hour walk one reaches an elevated place, situated on the old border, on the eastern side of an oak grove and of a swampy valley; likewise, an earth mound was raised [there] as a boundary marker.

Then, heading straight eastward from this place, within a two-hour walk one reaches a place on a plain, where flows the river Džuryn; [western] borders of the lands of the fort of Jahil'nycja, and of the village Polivci, [both] situated in the kable direction in Podolia, are marked by the said river Džuryn. In this place, an earth mound was raised with the consent of the two sides at an artificial dam; and opposite, on the other side of the said river, another earth mound was raised as a boundary marker. Until this place is reached, all plains and places on the right and on the left hand, subject to demarcation, belong to the fortress of Jazlivec'.

Then, a border dispute arose with the Poles; after [the matter] was addressed and submitted to the prosperous gate [i.e., Porte] by the aforementioned vizier, his excellency Ahmed Pasha, the noble firman arrived, commanding that [the area in question] be defined and registered anew as situated within Podolia,¹⁰ after a three-and-a-half-hour

⁹ It should rather read "along the old border;" cf. the Turkish text, note al.

¹⁰ The main object of the dispute was the castle of Čortkiv, previously belonging

walk westward from the suburb of the fort of Čortkiv, situated on the river Seret on its opposite side, one reaches the place where the old border of the lands of the village Bilobožnycja, one of the dependencies of the said fort, is bounded and set; as was declared by the aged and old Ruthenian subjects dwelling in the said fort [of Čortkiv], this place also marks the old border of the village Rydoduby, one of the dependencies of the aforementioned fort of Bučač, situated westward from the said place and being in the possession of the Poles. With the consent and agreement of the two sides, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker and the mixed borders were separated in the manner described.

Then, after a half-hour walk from this place, likewise, a mound was raised as a boundary marker in a place known to the [local] inhabitants, situated on a plain.

After a half-hour walk straight eastward, likewise, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker in an elevated place of the old border, known to the [local] inhabitants.

After a half-hour walk straight eastward from this place, one reaches a valley on a plain; on its western side, the old border of the village Bilyj Potik, belonging to the said fort of Čortkiv situated in Podolia, reaches its utmost limit. On the west this place abuts the border of the lands of the said village Rydoduby, being in the possession of the Poles. An earth mound was raised as a boundary marker above the said valley.

Then, after a half-hour walk straight eastward from this place, one reaches a plain with a place, where the contiguous old borders of the lands, forests, and groves of the village Bila, belonging to the fort of Čortkiv and situated in the valley of the said river Seret, where saltpeter is produced, and [the borders] of the nearby village Skorodynci, are set and delimited. On the west, the border of the said village Rydoduby, being in the possession of the Poles, is also marked by this place. Likewise, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker.

After an hour walk straight eastward from this place, one reaches the artificial earth mound situated on the plain since olden times and known to the [local] inhabitants. This place separates and connects the old borders of the village Byčkiwci, belonging also to Čortkiv, to the east, and the old borders of the villages Żywnjač and Kosiv, belonging to the fortress of Terebovlja, being in the possession of the Poles, to the west. On the top of the said [old] mound a new one was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, turning from the said place straight toward the river Seret, after a half-hour walk one reaches a valley; the old borders of the village Byčkiwci, belonging to Čortkiv and the said villages Żywnjač and Kosiv, being in the possession of the Poles, are marked and delimited by the said valley. Likewise a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Heading straight eastward from this place one reaches a forest valley, which descends to the river Seret. Since olden times the borders of the said village Byčkiwci, belonging to Čortkiv, and the villages Żywnjač and Kosiv, being in the possession of the Poles,

to the palatinate of Ruthenia and left on the Polish side after the Treaty of Buczacz (1672). In his answer, addressed to Ahmed Pasha and dated the third decade of Shaban 1091 A.H. (i.e., 16–24 September 1680), the sultan ordered that Čortkiv be unconditionally included in the imperial domain. The copy of the imperial firman, confirmed by the kadi of Kamieniec, Ahmed bin Musa, was delivered to the Polish commissioners and is preserved in the Czartoryski Library (ms. 609, fol. 94a–94b = pp. 185–86).

were separated at this place. A mound was raised as a boundary marker in a place reaching the shore of Seret.

From the aforementioned place, having crossed the said river Seret and heading straight eastward, after a three-hour walk from the valley one reaches the stream called Krasiv;¹¹ the border of Čortkiv is on its kable [i.e. southeastern] side; while its west side is in the possession of the Poles. There, a mound was raised.

Then, after an hour walk straight eastward from this valley one reaches the place where the said valley [of Krasiv] ends called “the field of Tudoriv.”¹² Then, the lands of Čortkiv are situated in the kable direction, while to the west, the border of the village Jabluniv, being in the possession of the Poles, reaches its limit. An earth mound was raised as a boundary marker in the said place.

Then, ascending from the said place, after an hour walk one reaches a field¹³ crossed by the stream called Čorni Lozy.¹⁴ The border of the fort of Čortkiv meets and intersects at this place with the old borders of the villages Oryškiwci, Jabluniv, and Kopyčynci, belonging to the fortress of Terebovlja, being in the possession of the Poles. Likewise, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker.

After a two-hour walk from this place one reaches the plain where an artificial earth mound was raised in olden times as a boundary marker. A [new] mound was raised as a boundary marker on the plain called Kolyndjany,¹⁵ [which is the meeting place] of the borders of the village Hadynkiwci, belonging to Terebovlja, and the fort of Čortkiv. The border of the fort of Čortkiv ends in this place.

After a half-hour walk straight eastward from the said place, one reaches a swampy and marshy valley; in a place on its northern side the borders of the village Žabynci, being in the possession of the Poles, and the borders of the village Probižna, situated in Podolia, are separated and set. There, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, heading straight eastward from the said place, after an hour walk one reaches the place where the old borders of the village Tovsten’ke situated in Podolia and the village Kocjubynci, being in the possession of the Poles, are delimited and set. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, heading straight eastward from this place, after a two-hour walk one reaches the place where the old borders of the village Vasył’kiwci, situated in Podolia and belonging to the fort of Husiatyn, and the village Krohulec’, being in the possession of the Poles, are set. There, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker.

After a two-hour walk straight eastward from the said place one reaches the edge of a forest; in this place are set the borders of the forests and lands of the village Nyžbirok, belonging to the fortress of Terebovlja, being in the possession of the Poles—to the west,

¹¹ Called in the Polish protocol of demarcation “the valley of Krasów” (*dolina Krasów*), see Document 56.

¹² *Tudoriv Bile* < Pol. *pole Tudorów* (“the field of Tudorów”); see Document 56.

¹³ Tur. *meydan* > Ukr. and Pol. *majdan* (“field, open space”), mentioned in the Polish protocol; cf. Document 56. On nineteenth-century maps one finds a nearby village called Majdan.

¹⁴ This name rather applies to a meadow (*lozy* = osiers); cf. Document 56.

¹⁵ Pol. *Kolendziany*; also a village name.

and—in the kable direction—of the village *Vasyl'kivci*, belonging to the said *Husjatyn*. Likewise, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

After an hour walk straight eastward from this place through the aforementioned forest, one reaches a plain with the place where the borders of the lands and forests of the said village *Vasyl'kivci* and the village *Nyžbirok*, being in the possession of the Poles, are separated and set. Likewise a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, having turned from this place straight westward, after a two-hour walk one reaches a place known to the [local] inhabitants. The said place separates the old borders of the ruined fort of *Lyčkivci*, situated in *Podolia*, and the village *Čabariivka*. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, after a two-hour walk straight westward¹⁶ from the said place, one reaches the place on the shore of the river *Zbruč* where the borders of the lands of *Husjatyn* and its dependent village *Staryj Vil'xovec'* are set and delimited. On the west, this place also delimits the border of the village *Trybuxivci*,¹⁷ belonging to the fortress of *Terebovlja*, being in the Polish possession. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

From this place, following the said river *Zbruč* [upstream], after a four-hour walk one reaches the fort of *Sataniv*; as the aged and old inhabitants of this country declared that from this place the said river has marked the *Podolian* border since olden times, the border was set in the middle of the said river, as it used to be. Between [the aforementioned points along the river] are the ruined villages *Holenyščeve*, *Divyčē*¹⁸ and *Ivankivci*, situated in *Podolia*. The opposite, western side is in the possession of the Poles.

From *Sataniv*, following the said river *Zbruč* straight upstream, after an hour walk one reaches the place where the stream called *Kurivka*¹⁹ flows to the said river; in this place is situated the ruined village *Martynkivci*, belonging to *Sataniv*, and on the opposite side [of *Zbruč*] there are the villages *Kalahariivka* and *Kozyna*, belonging to *Terebovlja*, which are in the possession of the Poles.

From the said place one turns straight westward to reach the ruined village *Zajčyky*, also belonging to *Sataniv* and situated on the said river; on the opposite side there is a

¹⁶ This whole fragment is confused. The border should have passed not westward, but eastward in the direction of the *Zbruč* river, leaving the *Podolian* villages *Čabariivka* and *Staryj Vil'xovec'* on the right hand, and the villages *Lyčkivci* and *Trybuxivci* on the left, as is indicated in the Polish protocol of demarcation (cf. Document 56); however, from other Polish sources one learns that the small castle of *Lyčkivci* was temporarily occupied by the Ottomans, who claimed that it had been registered in the previous imperial register—apparently the first Ottoman survey register of *Podolia* executed in 1672. The Ottomans only promised to reconsider this matter in the future; see “Relacja komisarzy Rzeczypospolitej do rozgraniczenia Podola,” AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, p. 17. According to the new Ottoman survey of *Podolia* (*defter-i mufassal*) prepared in 1681, *Lyčkivci* remained in Ottoman hands; see Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia* (ca. 1681): *Defter-i Mufassal-i Eyalet-i Kamanice* (in press), [189].

¹⁷ This village is also registered in the Ottoman survey of 1681, and was apparently left in Ottoman hands along with *Lyčkivci*; see note 16.

¹⁸ This village is also listed in the Polish protocol of demarcation, but it could not be located on the maps. Apparently it was situated between *Holenyščeve* and *Ivankivci* on the left shore of the river *Zbruč*.

¹⁹ Named after the village of *Kurivka* (Pol. *Kurówka*), alias *Šukajvoda*.

monastery and the village Luka, again belonging to Terebovlja, [both] being in the possession of the Poles.

Then, heading westward from the said place, after a one-and-a-half-hour walk one reaches the ruined fort of Tarnoruda, situated in Podolia also on the said river; on the opposite side there is the village Turiwka, again belonging to Terebovlja and being in the possession of the Poles.

Heading straight westward from this place, upstream from Tarnoruda, one reaches an elevated place on the river Zbruč called "the dam of Kručā."²⁰ The said river marks the Podolian border up to this place. [Also] the old border of the fort of Tarnoruda is separated and delimited by the said place. As since olden times swampy lakes situated on the nearer and further side of the aforementioned river have been freely exploited in Podolia for fishing, the said lakes and marshes were separated and registered [as belonging] to Podolia. On the western side of the said river Zbruč, on its opposite shore, the old borders of the village Orixovec', belonging to the fortress of Terebovlja, being in the possession of the Poles, and the village Kaniwka, also situated on the western side and belonging to the fortress of Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles, are set and delimited. Likewise, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, turning straight eastward from this place, after a two-hour walk one reaches a willow growing on a plain; in this place the old borders of the said fort of Tarnoruda are set; they are connected to and delimited by the old borders of the villages Holoxwasty and Fedirky, situated in the west and belonging to the fortress of Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, from this place, having crossed a forest situated straight to the east, after an hour walk one reaches the place situated above a swampy and marshy valley called Ruda or Mšanec', known to the [local] inhabitants; in the said place are separated and delimited the contiguous old borders of the ruined fort of Kumaniv and its dependent ruined village Hrečany, [both] situated in Podolia—in the kable direction, and—to the west—the old border of the village Zavalijki, belonging to the aforementioned fortress of Kremenec', being in the possession the Poles. Likewise, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Heading straight eastward from this place, after a two-hour walk one reaches a place situated above the said valley of Mšanec'. From the kable direction, in this place the old borders of the forests and lands of the ruined fort of Fel'styn and the ruined villages Žučkivci and Andrijkivci,²¹ situated in Podolia, are separated and delimited. And to the west, the old border of the village Vydava, belonging again to the said Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles, is defined by the further edge of the said valley. In this place, near a dam [built] in the valley, an earth [mound] was raised with the consent of the two sides.

Then, after an hour walk straight eastward from this place one reaches the place where are separated and delimited the borders of the ruined village Sjaklivci²² situated

²⁰ [K]ručā yaza < Pol. jaz ("dam"). The Polish protocol reads that a mound was raised on the shore of the Zbruč river, called Kručza, at a dam (*kopiec wysypany nad brzegiem rzeki Zbrucza, nazwanym Kručza, po jaz na rzecę*); see Document 56.

²¹ This village was very distant from the Podolian border.

²² Listed in the Polish sources as Siakłowce, but not found on the maps.

in Podolia—in the kable direction from the said valley Mšanec' and—to the west—the village Broniwka, belonging to the said Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles. There, a mound was raised.

Then, after an hour walk straight eastward from this place one reaches a place, where the contiguous old borders of the ruined villages: <the other>²³ Sjakliwci, Rajkiwci, Lapkiwci and Heletyni, again situated in Podolia in the kable direction from the said valley Mšanec', are set and delimited; and where the border of the village Żelena, situated on its other, western side, and belonging again to Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles, is separated. Likewise, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker.

The said valley Mšanec' separates the Podolian border up to this place. Having crossed to the other side of the said valley Mšanec', one reaches an elevated place opposite, where the old borders of the ruined village Pawlykiwci, situated in Podolia, to the east, and the village Bokyjówka,²⁴ belonging to the said Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles, to the west, are separated and delimited. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, after an hour walk straight eastward from the said place, on a plain above a valley one reaches the artificial earth mound that has marked the Podolian border since olden times. In this place are separated and delimited the old borders of the villages Humenci and Dzelenci, belonging to the fort of Čornyj Ostriv, situated in Podolia—in the kable direction and—to the west—the village Trytel'nyky, belonging to Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles. On the top of the said [old] mound a new one was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, after an hour walk straight eastward from this place one reaches an elevated place known to the [local] inhabitants and situated on a plain. In the said place are separated and set the old borders of the said fort of Čornyj Ostriv and its dependent village Juxymivci—to the east and—to the north—the village Bahlajky, belonging to Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, after a half-hour walk straight eastward from the said place one reaches a plain crossed by a swampy and marshy valley; above [this valley] are delimited again the old borders of the village Juxymivci, situated in Podolia—to the east and—to the west—the said village Bahlajky, being in the possession of the Poles. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

After a two-hour walk straight eastward from this place one reaches an elevated place situated on a plain; in the kable direction lies the village Żaxarivci, situated in Podolia, and to the west passes the border of the village Żozulyni, being in the possession of the Poles. Likewise, a boundary marker was raised.

Then, after a one-and-a-half-hour walk straight eastward from the said place, one reaches a place situated on a plain; again in this place are separated the old border of

²³ Apparently an error. In the Polish protocol only one village named Siakłowce is mentioned; cf. Document 56.

²⁴ Pol. Bukiejówka or Bukijówka. In the Ottoman survey of 1681 this village is registered as belonging to the Ottomans; see Kołodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia* (ca. 1681): *Defter-i Mufasssal-i Eyalet-i Kamanice* (in press), [293].

the said fort of Čornyj Ostriv, situated in Podolia—to the east and—to the west—the border of the fort of Bazalija, being in the possession of the Poles.²⁵ There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, after an hour walk straight eastward from this place one reaches a place situated above a swampy and marshy valley of the river Bužok; again, this place separates the border of the said fort of Čornyj Ostriv, to the east, and [the border] of the village Markivci, being in the possession of the Poles, [situated] on the other, western²⁶ side [of the valley]. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, after a two-hour walk from the said place one reaches a place on the shore of the said river Bužok, where there is a stone in the form of an erect cross. [This cross] also separates the border of the ruined village Mykolajiv, situated in Podolia, and [the border] of the village Kotjuržyni, belonging to the said Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles and situated on the opposite shore [of the river]. There, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker.

From this place, after a half-hour walk downstream by the said Bužok river, one reaches the place marking the border of the ruined villages Orlinci and Vezden'ky, situated in the kable direction in Podolia; opposite stands the forest of [the village] Krasyliv, being in the possession of the Poles. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, from the said place, after an hour walk downstream by the aforementioned Bužok river, one reaches an elevated place; in this place are set the old borders of the said villages Orlinci and Vezden'ky, situated in the kable direction in Podolia; also the border of Mytyni, the village opposite, being in the possession of the Poles, is defined by this place. Further downstream, an artificial mound was raised at a dam. The border of the village Xodkivci, situated in Podolia, was also separated at this place. A nearby pond belongs to Podolia. There, a [new] mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, after an hour walk downstream from this place one reaches a place on the shore of the said Bužok river that defines the old border of the village Klymašivka, situated in the kable direction in Podolia; the forest and lands of Veremijivka, the village opposite, being in the possession of the Poles, are delimited by the said place. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, from this place, after an hour walk downstream by the aforementioned Bužok river, one reaches an elevated place that defines the border of the village Pečes'ky, situated in the kable direction in Podolia, and that defines also the border of Zapadyni, the village opposite, belonging to Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Further downstream by the said Bužok river one reaches ponds and marshes that are exploited for fishing. Having passed by the village Molomolyni, situated on the opposite side of the said river within [the borders of] Podolia, toward Medžybiž, the right of free exploitation [of these ponds] was assigned to Podolia.²⁷

Then, from this place, [having crossed the river,] on the other shore of the Bužok

²⁵ Bazalija was very distant from the border.

²⁶ It should rather read "northern."

²⁷ *Mejibuji öniñe varınca istiklal üzere Podolyanındır*, the term *istiklal üzere* applies here to the exploitation of fishing ponds.

river one reaches the valley called Paškuwaś that separates the border of the village Paśutynci, belonging to Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles, to the north, from the old borders of the forests, groves and lands of the village Junačynci, situated in Podolia, to the east. There a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, ascending from the said valley, after a half-hour walk one reaches an elevated place where an artificial earth mound was raised in olden times as a boundary marker. The [new] border [also] passes through this place. Then a dispute arose with the Poles over the said village Żapadynci, being in the possession of the Poles. [As was provided] in the [previously] issued imperial 'ahdname, a careful investigation was conducted among the aged and old Ruthenian subjects [from among the inhabitants of this country].²⁸ As they collectively declared that the said village had belonged since olden times to Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles, it was registered and recorded as it used to be. East of the said place also passes the border of the said village Junačynci, belonging to Medżybiż. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, heading straight eastward from the said place one reaches a place in the forest that separates the border of the village Skovorodky, belonging to Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles, to the west, and the border of the said Molomolynci, belonging to Medżybiż, in the kable direction. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, heading eastward from the said place one reaches the place in a hilly region that separates the old border of the village Hnatiwci, belonging to Medżybiż, in the kable direction, and [the old borders] of the lands and forests of the said village Skovorodky, belonging to Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles, to the west. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

After an hour walk straight eastward from the said place through the hilly region, one reaches a ditch called "the ditch of Hnatiwci," which has been [considered] a boundary marker since olden times. From the kable direction this ditch marks the border of the said village Hnatiwci, belonging to Medżybiż. And on the west side a dispute arose with the Poles concerning the border of the village Semyren'ky, which is in the possession of the Poles. Likewise, after an investigation was conducted among the inhabitants of this country, they declared that since olden times the said village has been situated outside Podolia and belonged to Kremenec'. It was registered as it used to be.

After an hour walk from the said place one reaches a valley situated in the hilly region that separates the border of the village Volosiwci, situated in Podolia and belonging to Medżybiż, in the kable direction, and the border of the lands, forests and groves of the village Semyren'ky, being in the possession of the Poles, to the west. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, after a two-hour walk straight eastward from the said place, one reaches a clearing in the forest situated by the road leading from Starokostjantyniv to Medżybiż. There, the forest and lands of the said village Volosiwci, belonging to Medżybiż, in the kable direction, mingle with the forest and lands of the village Samčynci, belonging to the said Kremenec', being in the possession of the Poles, to the west. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

²⁸ This sentence is complete only in A. copy; see the Turkish text, note em.

Then, after a half-hour walk from this place, one reaches a place in the forest where the borders of the village Pyljavci, belonging to Medżybiż, mingle with the borders of the village Samčynci, being in the possession of the Poles. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

After a two-hour walk straight northward from this place one reaches the place on a plain known to the [local] inhabitants. There, an earth mound was raised as a boundary marker in olden times. The borders of the village Iljaśwka,²⁹ belonging to Medżybiż, and [the village] Pyljavci, to the east, are separated [in this place] from the borders of the village Derkači, being in the possession of the Poles. There a [new] mound was raised as a boundary marker.

After a half-hour walk straight eastward from the said place one reaches the place that separates the border of the said village Iljaśwka and the border of the villages³⁰ Starokostjantyniv and Verborodynci, being in the possession of the Poles, to the west. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, having turned straight eastward from this place, after a one-and-a-half-hour walk one reaches the place where an artificial mound was raised in olden times as a boundary marker. This place separates the borders of the ruined village Babyne, situated in Podolia, in the kable direction, and the borders of the village Bahlaji, being in the possession of the Poles, to the west. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Straight eastward from the said place, on a plain, one reaches the artificial earth mound raised as a boundary marker in olden times. In this place the borders of the village Stara Synjava and the village Paplynci, [both] situated in Podolia, in the kable direction, mingle with the borders of the village Ostropil', being in the possession of the Poles, to the west. There, a [new] mound was raised as a boundary marker.

Then, heading straight eastward from here, after a two-hour walk one reaches a valley that separates the borders of the villages Paplynci and Iuky, situated in Podolia, in the kable direction, and the borders of the said village Ostropil', being in the possession of the Poles, to the west. There, a mound was raised as a boundary marker.

After a four-hour walk straight eastward from this place, one reaches a well called "the well of Koljadnyča,"³¹ which was dug by a Cossack called Nalivajko³² as a boundary marker. Then, in this place, the hills of Hončaryxa³³ have marked the border of

²⁹ Written in the corrupted form *Laviška*; in the Polish protocol registered as Illaszkowce, cf. Document 56.

³⁰ *Sic!* Starokostjantyniv was quite a large town.

³¹ Tur. *koladnyča*; in the Polish protocol *kolodziej* (see Document 56); a corrupted form of *kolodedz* or *kolodjaz*; Ukr. "well."

³² Lit. "which he caused to be dug" (*hafr itdirmiştir*). Apparently a local legend associated the aforementioned well with the famous leader of the Cossack uprising of 1595, Semerij (Severyn) Nalivajko (in Pol. sources Semen Nalewajko). Also in the Polish protocol the well is referred to as "the well of Nalivajko," (*Kolodziej Nalewajków*); cf. note 31.

³³ In the Polish documents it is referred to as "the trail called Honczarycha" (*gościniec nazwany Honczarycha*) or simply *Onczarycha*; see "Relacja komisarzy Rzeeczypospolitej do rozgraniczenia Podola," AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 479, no. 803, p. 21 and Document 56, note 16.

*Podolia since olden times. The interior of Podolia extends in the kable direction, while the border of the village Ljubar, being in the possession of the Poles, is delimited on the west.*³⁴

After a four-hours walk straight eastward from the said place, one reaches a great hill; as Sławski, Siekielnicki, Spendowski and others, appointed to the demarcation by the Polish commissioners, declared and confessed that the old border of the province of Podolia ends in this place, the border of Podolia was set in the kable direction of the said hill, while the borders of the forts of Moločky,³⁵ Krasnopil', and Berdyčiv were set to the west. As the old border of Podolia ends on the said hill, it was registered and delimited as it used to be. From the said place, heading in the kable direction toward the river Dniester, [Podolia] borders on the province of Ukraine.

As [the subjects] of the two sides collectively declared that "according to everybody's knowledge the situation is such and such," the demarcation was executed in the manner described with the consent of the deputies of both sides; since an exact report describing the location of boundary markers was recorded to be submitted to the prosperous gate [i.e., Porte], a written copy was made and given to the Poles at [their] request. Written in the third decade of the blessed month of Ramadan, of the year 1091.

[signature] *Written by the humble Huseyn, the governor of Očakiv*

[seal] *"My hope for prosperity is only with God,"³⁶ His servant Huseyn*

³⁴ It should rather read "north."

³⁵ In the Polish protocol the nearby town of Januszpol (Ukr. Ivanopil') is mentioned instead of Moločky; see Document 56.

³⁶ A fragment of verse 88 of sura 11 of the *Koran*, cf. Document 51, note 2.

DOCUMENT 58 (26 JANUARY 1699)
The Polish document of the agreement of Karlowitz

The original document is missing.

Latin copy: Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 265a–267a.

Published in a) *Relacya poselstwa Jasnie Wielmożnego JMci Pana Stanisława Małachowskiego, wojewody poznańskiego do traktatu karłowickiego, oraz różnych komisyi po tym traktacie nastąpionych* (Warsaw, 1778), pp. 47–48 (without the articles of peace, already published with a Latin translation of the Turkish *temessük* on pp. 42–47);¹ b) J. Dumont, *Corps Universel diplomatique*, vol. 7, pt. 2, pp. 451–53 (after a copy from the imperial chancery in Vienna); c) *Treaties, etc. between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, pp. 393–99; d) *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, vol. V, pt. 1: 1650–1699. Edited by E. Hurmuzaki (Bucharest, 1885), pp. 524–28 (after an imperial chancery copy from Vienna).

Polish translation is published in *Traktaty między mocarstwami europejskiemi od roku 1648 zaszłe*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1773), pp. 326–39.

Instrumentum pacis inter Serenissimum et Potentissimum Regem et Rempublicam Poloniarum, et Excelsum Imperium Othomanicum, ad Carlowitz in Sirmio in congressu generali confoederatorum plenipotentiariorum confectae.

In nomine Sanctissimae Individuae Trinitatis. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam, omnibus et singulis, quorum interest, notum sit. Quandoquidem inter Regnum Polonicum et Excelsum Imperium intercedens diuturnum dissidium Serenissimo et Potentissimo Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hyberniae Rege Guilhelmo III, et Praepotentibus Generalibus Foederati Belgii Statibus, sistendi humani sanguinis, et reducendae reciprocae quietis desiderio, ad procurandos huius almae pacis tractatus mediationem suam interponentibus, atque officia omnia et omnes conditiones mediationis diligenti opera et studio explentibus, excellentissimis dominis ad Fulgidam Portam legatis plenipotentariis, Guilhelmo Domino Pagett, Barone de Beaudesert, in comitatu Staffordiensi, eiusdem comitatus regis locumtenente, ex parte Maiestatis Britannicae, et Domino Jacobo Collier ex parte Praepotentium Generalium Foederati Belgii Ordinum, favente Deo reciproca utrinque inclinatione atque propensione sopiri et penitus extinguere placuerit, atque Carlowicii ad confinia Sirmii, ubi congressus legatorum plenipotentiariorum ex inclitae mediationis dispositione institutus fuerat, initis tractatibus de pacis articulis cum illustrissimo et excellentissimo Domino Mehmmed Effendi, magno cancellario

¹ The whole relation was first published in 1699 (A. Gorkowski, *Compendium legationis*). Numerous separate editions of the peace articles were also published in 1699 in Latin (*Instrumentum pacis inter...*) or in German translation (*Friedens = Instrument zwischen...*) throughout Europe (Hamburg, Breslau, Cracow, sometimes no place of issue is given).

Excelsi Imperii, et illustrissimo atque excellentissimo Domino Alexandro Mauro Cordato,^a de nobili stirpe Scarlati, ab intimis secretis eiusdem Excelsi Imperii, ad tractandam pacem legatis plenipotentariis, post aliquas sessiones tandem annuente divina clementia, negotium hoc almae desiterataeque pacis feliciter in mutuas leges coaluerit, et integerrima iterum amicitia et pax inter Serenissimum et Potentissimum Musulmanorum Imperatorem Sultanum, filium Sultani Mehmeti, Sultanum Mustafa, et Serenissimum ac Potentissimum Regem Augustum Secundum, dominum meum clementissimum, et Rempubli- cam Poloniarum, super undecem mutuo consensu compositis hisce articulis, perpetuo religiose inter utrumque dominium observanda perfecta et conclusa, restituta et renovata est; qui articuli subinde singulatim describuntur:

Articulus I:

Cum Excelso perpetuitati subnixo Imperio multo abhinc tempore, intercedente ope et favore Dei Altissimi, sublata hostilitate conciliationi et bonae vicinitati congrua, cum sinceritate antiqua amicitia iterum coalescente, ut hostilitates utrinque amoveantur, et subditi pristina securitate, quiete ac tranquillitate fruantur; ante ultima duo bella constituti veteres limites restituantur ac stabiliantur, et confinia provinciarum subditarum Poloniae, a confiniis imperialibus, tum Moldaviae, tum aliorum districtuum subiectorum Excelso Imperio antiquis limitibus separentur ac distinguantur, neve utrinque aut praetensio aut extensio deinceps fiat, sed limites antiqui sine mutatione aut perturbatione tanquam sacri religiose observentur atque colantur.

Articulus II:

Quaecunque sive munimenta, sive loca, vel maiora vel minora intra veteres Moldaviae limites, ante ultimum bellum existentes sita, atque hucusque detenta sunt a dominis Polonis, eductis, atque extractis inde Polonicis militiis evacuentur, et Moldaviae provincia maneat ex integro libera, et ante postremum bellum in quo erat pacifico statu sit.

Articulus III:

Intra veteres quoque ante postrema duo bella versus Poloniae limites situm Cameneci fortalitium, eductis inde musulmanicis militiis evacuetur et integrum relinquatur, et Podoliae atque Ucrainae provinciarum, nulla deinceps ab Excelso Imperio fiat praetensio, et Ucrainae Kozakorum hetmani nomine substitutus, qui modo in Moldavia residet, hetmanus amoveatur. Cumquae, limites antiqui Poloniae et Moldaviae manifesti sint, si commodum fuerit tempus ab initio futuri Martii inchoetur evacuatio, et quam citius fieri poterit, quamprimum Polonica militia e Moldavia educatur, et munimenta et loca illius evacuentur, et Moldavia maneat libera. Simulque ab initio Martii Camenecensis fortalitii evacuatio inchoetur, atque evacuationis negotium ubi prius perfici poterit, sine haesitatione ac sine tarditate ac negligentia in executionem deducatur. Et Camenecensis fortalitii evacu-

^a For *Maurocordato*.

atio ad summum usque in decimam quintam mensis Maii ad finem perducatur; et quo cum facilitate et celeritate dicti fortalitii fiat evacuatio, ad onera imponenda et transvehenda, quo ad fieri potest, curribus et iumentis transportationem coadiuvent Poloni; et ubique evacuationis negotium cum securitate et salva re peragatur, in quibus evacuationibus fortalitorum et aliorum locorum, quoquo pacto munitorum, e subditis quicunque voluntarie exire velint, cum propriis rebus et suppellectili exeant tuto et secure, et quicunque remanere velint, item tuto remaneant, et utrinque nullatenus impediuntur. Et cum evacuatio fortalitorum et locorum a principio Martii mensis utrinque inchoari debeat, instantiam de tormentorum Cameneci relicione, scilicet ex propriis atque ibi repertis, ablegatus Polonus quam primum ad Fulgidam Portam expediendus, afferat ad solium imperatoris.

Articulus IV:

Nemo subditorum Excelsi Imperii, cuiuscunque conditionis, praesertim vero Tartari, cuiuscunque gentis, sub cuiusvis praetensionis et controversiae praetextu, in subditos Regis et Reipublicae Poloniarum, et in limites eorum hostilitates exercere, excursions agere, captivos rapere, pecora abigere, aut quidquid damni inferre, neve eos offendere possint, expressis regis edictis committatur et demandetur, vesiriis, beghlerbegis, et felicissimo Crimensi hano, cavelgaio et noradino² et reliquis softanis, ac woiewodae Moldaviae, ut adhibita maxima sedulitate observent et conservent confiniorum pacificam tranquillitatem et conciliationem atque quietem, neve aut in captivationibus, aut pecorum abactionibus, aut quacunque alia ratione damnis et molestiis afficiant Poloniae subditos, et severissime inquirent in perturbatores et transgressores conditionum pacis, atque habita notitia ad exemplum aliorum in illos animadvertant, et rapta ad inventa propriis dominis restituantur. Et si qui hac de re negligenter ac oscitanter agant, sive amissione officiorum, sive privatione vitae, prout ex divinis legibus convenerit, iuste puniantur. Pariterque Poloni has conditiones pacis omnino et sedulo observent atque colant, et nemo in oppositum quidquid audeat.

Articulus V:

Cum Regnum Poloniae ab antiquo sit liberrimum, ab Excelso Imperio aut subiectis eidem gentibus, qualiscunque praetensionis aut expostulationis praetextu, nulla penitus hostilitate perturbetur, et conclusae istius almae pacis pactorum vi, ad tales praetensiones nequaquam adstringatur.

Articulus VI:

Tempore huiusce belli, Budziacenses et alii Tartari, e propriis locis exeuntes, atque in terras Moldavorum ingressi, hostilitates ac offensiones hac occasione in Moldavos et Moldaviam exercent, quod cum sit contrarium sacris capitulationibus, ante hac concessis regibus Poloniae, atque proinde cessare ac sustolli [*sic*] debeat, a quibusque locis et possessionibus, et praediis

² I.e., *kalga* and *nureddin*.

et hyemalibus in Moldavia, aut occupatis, aut de novo exstructis Tartari amoveantur, et natis propriis locis habitent, atque pacifice vivant, et in posterum nullas offensiones faciant.

Articulus VII:

Religiosi christiani romano-catholici, iuxta concessa ab Excelso Imperio edicta, ubicunque ecclesias suas habent, consuetas suas functiones sine impedimento exercent, et pacifice vivant, et ulterius sibi commissas instantias de religione, extraordinarius ad Fulgidam Portam magnus legatus ad imperatorium solium exponat.

Articulus VIII:

Cum res mercatoria e fructibus pacis existat, atque provincias in meliorem conditionem reducat, utriusque dominii mercatores, in posterum non per occulta loca meantes, sed per loca transitui opportuna, ultro citroque euntes et redeuntes, postquam solverint iuxta consuetum ab antiquo thelonium rerum portatarum et exportatarum, novis exactionibus et expostulationibus nequaquam molestantur. Neve ex numerata pecunia thelonium exigatur. Et quicunque nati subditi Poloniarum, et Lithuaniae, et aliarum subiectarum iisdem nationum, ad mercimonia agenda venientes, et nullum damnum inferentes, praedicta ratione mercaturam et coemptionem et venditionem, sicuti in antecedentibus sacris capitulationibus etiam declaratur, exactione tributi dicti haracz, et aliis inordinatis exactionibus ne molestantur. Verum enimvero si qui relictis suis regionibus in imperii regnis sedem figant, et si qui alii exteriores sese Polonis immisceant, tales ne possint esse detrimento reipublicae, a mercatoribus Polonorum redeuntibus ex armis et equis et iumentis et captivis, qui libertationis suae instrumentum legitimum habentes in patriam redire voluerint, nihil exigatur, et ne quisquam impedimento sit taliter ab euntibus captivis; verum sub isto praetextu sine facultate nemini liceat vetita abducere. Praeterea opibus et rebus mercatorum utriusque dominii, quibus in aliis regionibus mori contingat, publici confiscatores et partitores ne ab utralibet parte sese immisceant, sed inter mercatores, cui fides adhibetur, tradantur, ut iuxta cathalogum depositionis haeredibus tradat. Si quis autem casus acciderit inter mercatores, inter ipsos praepositi decisione definiatur, ipse vero, quibus debet, rationem reddat. Ad debitum sive scripto sive instrumento iudiciario non affirmatum, solvendum contra divinas leges nemo compellatur, neve testimoniis solis conductis lites debitorum et sponsionum dicantur et audiantur. Instrumentis scilicet legitimis et scriptis, ante extraditis, sacris mandatis perlectis atque consideratis, iuste ac debite causae decendantur, atque in similibus causis contenta et statuta, in sacris capitulationibus, ut aliis confoederatis nationibus concessa, in Polonos etiam mercatores extendantur, et ulterius speciatim Polonis ante hac concessorum et in manibus eorundem servatorum sacrorum edictorum sensus quoque colatur et observetur.

Articulus IX:

Captivi tempore belli abacti, pretiis illorum iuxta leges comprobatis, aut datis iuramentis in manifestum productis atque solutis, iuxta antecedentium

capitulationum hac de re declarationem eliberentur. Si vero tales captivi multo tempore servierint, ex discretione pretia emptionum cum imminui debeant, si honesto et mediocri pretio cum domino captivi conveniri non poterit, iudices locorum legitime procedentes tales differentias componant. Si aliqua occasione post conclusionem pacis ex regionibus Polonicis captivi capiantur, sine pretio dimittantur. Et in regnis Excelsi Imperii, et inter Tartaros etiam ad eliberandos captivos Polonos circumeuntes homines, quandocunque res suas pacifice agerent, praetextu operae eliberationi captivorum navatae, aut alia ratione, ne utiquam offendantur, quinimo offendentes et detrimentum inferentes puniantur. Captivi in publicis carceribus detenti permutatione utrinque in libertatem asserantur. Magnus vero Poloniarum legatus de captivis suas instantias ad solium imperiale afferre poterit.

Articulus X:

Quandocunque Serenissimus Rex Poloniae in stabilita cum Excelso Imperio pace firmiter permanebit, sicuti in antecedentibus capitulationibus declaratur, Moldaviae woiewoda ea ratione, qua ab antiquo cum regibus Poloniarum sincere sese praestitit, rursus consueta ratione sincere tractet. Caeterum, instar aliorum subditorum Excelsi Imperii, uti prius, pacati sint; et e Moldaviae atque Valachiae provinciis, si qui transfugerint, ne recipiantur. Si qui alia methodo in Poloniae dominium irrepserint, ac postea provinciam suam perturbare ac corrumpere deprehensi fuerint, similes homines quando perquirentur, reddantur, et conditio ista, cum in antecedentibus capitulationibus clare ac manifeste posita sit, observetur. Pariter ex subditis Polonis, sive Poloni illi sint, sive Kosaci, cuiuscunque nationis extiterint, quando perturbationem afferent, hinc etiam neque recipiantur, neque protegantur, sed retro reddantur. Et universi quicunque turbare voluerint pacem atque amicitiam, haccine ratione conclusam ex merito puniantur.

Articulus XI:

Quaecunque conditiones et clausulae, in antecedentibus capitulationibus descriptae atque contentae, nullatenus adversantur de recenti conclusis pactis, neque oppositae sunt liberis et perpetuis iuribus utriusque dominii, deinceps etiam colantur et observentur; quae vero contrariae sunt, cassentur et annihilentur, favente et annuente Deo Altissimo. Quae utrinque declaratis et exaratis articulis perfectiori et exactiori ratione conclusa pax et conciliatio inter Maiestates Serenissimi et Potentissimi alte memorati Poloniarum Regis, domini mei clementissimi, et successorum eius et Rempublicam Polonam, et ex altera parte Serenissimi et Potentissimi Musulmanorum Imperatoris eiusdemque haeredum, ex voluntate et clementia Dei, perpetua, stabilis, firma, et inconcussa permaneat, et conservata atque custodita sit ab omni turbatione et mutatione et confusione et violatione, et uno eodemque tenore firmissime perseveret et constantissime continuet. Et ut omnes omnino hostilitates amoveantur atque sustollantur [*sic*], quam citissime notitia praebeatur in confiniis praesidentibus praefectis et gubernatoribus, ut sibi caveant, ne in posterum transgressiones fiant, neve altera pars alteri damna inferat, verum enimvero omnes utrinque sincere et amice sese praestent, iuxta istam aliam pacem.

Ut autem omnibus cognita et comperta sit, istius almae pacis conclusio triginta dies pro termino ponantur, post quem nullus praetextus nullaque excusatio acceptabitur, sed in eos qui adversabuntur editis edictis, exactam obedientiam merentibus severissime animadvertatur. Post subscriptionem autem instrumentorum utriusque partis, ablegatus prius a Polonia missus, et ad Fulgidam Portam veniens, iuxta antiquam consuetudinem afferat regias publicas literas, ratificationem pactorum instrumentis declaratorum continentes, atque literas imperatorias ratificatorias item accipiat et deducat. Postea vero ad solennem confirmationem pactorum pacis et perfectionem reciprocae sinceritatis, et absolutam terminationem mutuae amicitiae, et dispositionem ac digestionem reliquarum rerum, iuxta laudatum veterem morem, adventurus magnus legatus, quam primum commode fieri poterit, moveat.

Ac proinde undecim numero pactis conclusa, iuxta istas condiciones^b alma pax ab utraque parte acceptetur atque colatur. Cum vero alte memorati illustrissimi et excellentissimi domini, Excelsi Imperii plenipotentarii et commissarii existentes legati, vi suae facultatis et auctoritatis Turcico sermone exaratum legitimum et validum instrumentum tradiderint.

Ego quoque vi facultatis et deputationis meae propria manu subscriptas et sigillo sigillatas, a me praesentes pactorum literas tanquam legitimum et validum instrumentum tradidi. Datum in congressu generali ad confinia Sirmii, Carłowitzii, die vigesima sexta Ianuarii anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo nonagesimo nono. Stanislaus Małachowski, palatinus Posnaniensis, legatus magnus et plenipotentarius Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis et Reipublicae Poloniarum (locus sigilli).

^b In Dumont and Document 60: *conclusiones*.

DOCUMENT 59 (26 JANUARY 1699)
The Ottoman document of the agreement of Karlowitz
[Facs. XXV]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 78, t. 503, no. 832.

86 × 71 cm.

text (black): *nesih* script

two oval seals (*mühür*) are affixed next to the signatures

Turkish copies:

A. Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Türkische Urkunden (an eighteenth-century copy by Crutta)

Latin translation: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 78, t. 503, no. 833 (signed by Alexander Maurocordato).

Published in a) A. Ch. Załuski, ed., *Epistolarum historico-familiarum tomus primus*, pt. 1–2 (Brunsberga, 1709–1710), pp. 765–68; b) *Relacya poselstwa Jasnje Wielmożnego JMci Pana Stanisława Małachowskiego, wojewody poznańskiego do traktatu karłowickiego, oraz różnych kommissyi po tym traktacie nastąpiionych* (Warsaw, 1778), pp. 41–47.

French translation by Crutta: Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 175a–180b.

Hüve'llahu'l-Fettah Zu'l-Kuvvetü'l-Metin

bismi'llahi'r-Rahmani'r-Rahimi

- [1] sebeb-i tahrir-i kitab-i sıhhat-nisab ve muceb-i tastir-i sutur-i hakikat-intisab oldur ki Hazret-i Malikü'l-mülk-i la-yüzal ve Cenab-i Vahibü'l-'ataya ve'n-neval celle şanehö ve 'azzame saltanatuhunun
- [2] mukarenet-i 'inayeti ve bastat-i efzal-i bi-gayeti ile hala a'zam-i salatın-i 'izam ve ekrem-i havakin-i kiram sultanü'l-berreyni ve hakanü'l-bahreyni hadimü'l-haremeyni ş-şerifeyni şevketlü kudretlü 'azametlü
- [3] padişah islam-penah efendimiz es-sultan ibnü's-sultan es-Sultan Mustafa Han ibnü's-Sultan Mehmed Han makkanehö'llahu 'ala sariri'l-'adl u'l-ihshan ve hallade hilafetehü ila yevme'l-mizan hazretleri ve eslaf-i
- [4] sa'adet-ittisafı ile iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübe-ra'i'l-fihami'l-mesihie muslihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye hala Leh kralı ve Litva^a ve Rusya^b ve bunlara tabi'

^a لٹوه.

^b روسیه.

- [5] vilayetlerin hükümdarı Augustus-i Sani^c hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr u'r-reşad ve cumhuri beyninde vuku' bulan husumet ü 'adavet ve harb u kıtaldan re'aya ve beraya muztaribü'l-ahval olmalarıyla
- [6] mabeynde olan kadimi sulh u salahı ibka ve eski dostluğu ve konşuluk merasimini ihya için mefahirü'l-ümera'i'l-izami'l-iseviye meracı'ü'l-kübera'i'l-fihami'l-mesihîye muslihu masalihi cemahiri
- [7] 't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye İngiltere^d ve İbranya^e ve İrlandiye^f kralı Vilelmos-i Salis^g ve Niderlanda İstati Ceneralleri^h hutimet 'avakibühüm bi'l-hayr u'r-reşad tavassut ve istirza' ve sevk ve ragbetleriyle 'ibadu'llaha
- [8] merhameten sulh u salaha meyl ü ragbet olunmagn Seremⁱ yakasında sınır başında Karloviç^j nam mahalde kiral müşarun-ileyh ve cumhuri tarafından mükaleme-i mevadd-i sulh ve 'akd-i musalaha
- [9] ruhsat-i kamile ile ta'yin ve irsal olunan Posnanya palatinus^k ve Krekovya hakim^l kıdvetü'l-'uzama'i'l-milleti'l-mesihîye Gruf İstanislavus Mostetanika Rakorayde Konşke
- [10] Malakovşki^m nam murahhas vekili ve müntahab elçisi ile bir yere gelindikde kıdveti-inⁿ 'uzama'i'l-milleti'l-mesihîye İngiltere kralının müm-taz elçisi Baron di-Bodezert Vilelmos Lort Paget^o ve Niderlanda
- [11] İstati Cenerallerinin elçisi Sinyor Yakobus-Kolyer^p hüsn-i sa'i ile mabeynde hizmet-i tavassut ke-ma yenbagi icra ve ma'rifetleriyle ruh-satnamelerimiz mu'tad-i kadim üzere mübadele ve mütala'a
- [12] ve sulh u salah ahvali ferman-i şehriyariyle olan ruhsat u vekaletimiz hasbiyla müzakere ve mükaleme olundukda tarafeynden hüsn-i rıza ile mabeynde bi-tevfiki'llahi ta'ala karar-dade
- [13] olan mevadd dır ki zikr olunur evvelki madde devlet-i 'aliye-i ebed-peyvend ile mabeynde bu kadar zamandan berü vaki' olan husumet bi-'avni'llahi ta'ala ve tevfikihi bi'l-küllîye murtefi' ve mahabbete
- [14] mübeddel olub hüsn-i cara muvafık-i hulus üzere olan kadimi dostluk yine hasıl olmagın tarafeynden ta'addiyat mündefi' ve re'aya ve beraya evvelki gibi emn ü eman ve asayiş ü istirahat ile

^c اوغوستوس ثانی.

^d انکلتره.

^e ایبرنیه.

^f ایرلاندیه.

^g ویللموس ثالث.

^h ندرلانده استاتی جنرالری.

ⁱ سرم.

^j قارلویچه.

^k پوسنانیه پلاتینوسی.

^l قره قوویه حاکمی.

^m غروف استانسلاوس موستتانیکه راقورایده قونشکه ملاقوشکی by Maurocordato: *Stanislao in Mosczanica Rahoraij Konskie Malahouski*.

ⁿ قدوتی; apparently written in an incorrect Arabic plural.

^o بارون دیودزرت ویللموس لورت پاکت; in the Latin translation: *Vilhelmo Lord Pagett Barone de Beaudesert*.

^p سننیور یاقوبوسقولیر; in the Latin translation: *Domino Jacobo Collier*.

- [15] müreffehü'l-hal olmalarıyçün bu iki cengden evvel mabeynde mer'i tutulan eski hudud ibka ve gerek Bogdan vilayeti ve gerek gayri memalik-i mahrusa muzafatından olan yerler ile Leh vilayetinin
- [16] sınırı eski hudud ile mahdud olalar ve min ba'd öteye berüye tecavüz olunmayub işbu kadimi hudud kemal-i hurmet ile bila-tebdil ve la-tagayyür mür'aat oluna ikinci madde bu cengden
- [17] evvel Bogdan vilayetin sınır-i kadimesi dahilinde olup hala içinde Leh 'askeri olan büyük ve küçük cümle kal'e ve yerlerden Leh 'askeri ihrac ve tahliye ve Bogdan memleketi
- [18] bi'l-küllüye tathir olunub bu cengden evvel olduğu gibi asude-hal ola üçüncü madde iki cengden evvel Leh vilayetinin sınır-i kadimesi dahilinde olan Kamaniçe^q kal'esi içinde olan
- [19] 'askeri ihrac ve tahliye olunmagla bütün kala ve ba'de'l-yevm Podolya^r ve Ukrayna^s vilayetlerinde devlet-i 'aliye tarafından bir dürlü 'alaka olmaya ve sonra nesb olunub Bogdan içinde
- [20] oturan Ukrayna Kazagı hetmanı ref^c oluna ve Leh ve Bogdan vilayetlerinin hudud-i kadimesi mu'ayyen olmagla hava müsa'id olursa işbu gelecek Mart ibtidasından tahliyeye mübaşeret
- [21] olunub ne kadar mukaddemce mümkün olursa bir gün evvel Bogdandan Leh 'askeri ihrac ve cümle kal'e ve yerleri tahliye ve Bogdan vilayeti tathir oluna ve Kamaniçe kal'esinin tahliyesine
- [22] bile Mart ibtidasından şuru^t oluna ve tahliye emri kangı tarafdand evvel olmak mümkün ise bila-tereddüd ve bila-tesamuh heman icra oluna ve Kamaniçe kal'esinin [tahliyesi]^t en çok Mayısın on
- [23] beşinci gününe degin tamam ola ve kal'e-i mezburenin asanlıkla boşadılmasıyçün yük tahmil ü naklına Leh tarafından dahi mümkün mertebe 'araba ve davar ile imdad oluna ve her yerde tahliye
- [24] hususı emniyet ü selamet ile icra oluna tarafeynden tahliye olunan kal'eler ve sa'ir mevazi-i mahrusede sakin olan re'ayadan hüsn-i rızalarıyla çıkmak murad idenler emval
- [25] ve erzaklarıyla emniyet ü selamet ile çıkub kalmak isteyenler dahi salimen kalalar tarafeynden bir vechle cebr ü ta'arruz olunmaya ve Kamaniçe kal'esinin tahliyesi Mart ibtidasından
- [26] mübaşeret olunmak üzere karar-dade olmagın Kamaniçe kal'esinde evvelden içinde bulunan kendü toplarından top alı-konmasına müt'aallık iltimaslarını der 'akb asitane-i sa'adete
- [27] göndürilecek küçük Leh elçisi 'atebe-i 'aliye-i hürevaniyeye 'arz eyleye dördüncü madde devlet-i 'aliyeye tabi^t olan esnaf-i 'asker ba husus tava'if-i Tatar bir dürlü 'illet
- [28] ü bahane ve mutalebe ile Leh re'ayasına ta'addi ve sınırlarına tecavüz

^q قمانیچہ.

^r پودولیه.

^s اوکراینه.

^t Omitted by the copyist; cf. the text of the 'ahdname (Document 62).

- eylemek ve esir ve davar sürmek ve ahar vechle zarar eylemege kadar olmaya ve vüzera ve beglerbegilere ve sa'adetlü
- [29] Kırım hanı ve kalgayı ve nure'd-din ve sa'ir sultanlara ve Bogdan voyvodasına sarahaten evamir-i şerife ile tenbih ve te'kid oluna ki sınırların nizamını ve bu barışıklık
- [30] levazımını kemal-i ihtimam ile ri'ayet ve sıyanet eyleyeler esir almagla ve hayvanat sürmekle ve gayri vechle Leh re'ayasına zarar eyleyüb sulh u salahın şera'itine muhalif ile
- [31] ihtilala ba'is olanları teftiş ü tafahhus idüb zahir oldukda ahara muceb-i 'ibret için hakklarından geleler ve gasb olunan eşya dahi buldurulub sahiblerine redd
- [32] oluna ve bu hususda ihmal ve müsamaha idenlerin 'azille mi yohsa katilla mi şer'an sezaraları olan cezaları virile ve bu şurut-i musalaha bi'l-cümle Lehlü tarafından dahi
- [33] ke-zalık kemal-i takayyüd ve ihtimam ile ri'ayet olunub bir ferd hilafına cesaret eylemeye beşinci madde Leh vilayeti kadimden müstakıl devlet olmagla devlet-i 'aliye ve tabi' olan
- [34] ta'ifeleri tarafından teklif olunan her ne ise mutalebesi bahanesiyle bir dürlü ta'addi ile incidilmeyüb bu sulh u salahın şerayiti muktazasınca bu makule tekalif
- [35] taraflarına mütezem olmaya altıncı madde esna-i cengde Bucaklu ve gayri Tatar kadimi meskenlerinden çıkub ve Bogdan arazisine girüb bu vechle eyledikleri dahl u tecavüzleri
- [36] mukaddema Leh kralı ve cumhurine ihsan olunan 'ahdname-i hümayun şerayitine muhalif olub bi'l-küllüye def' olunmak iktiza' itmekle Tatar ta'ifesi Bogdan içinde tagallüben zabt
- [37] u ahdas eyledikleri cümle yer ve çiftlik ve kışlaklardan ihrac ve kadimi meskenlerine iskan itdirilüb ve kendü hallerinde olub kimesneyi rencide eylemeyeler yedinci madde
- [38] hazret-i 'İsa dininde olub Rim papaya^u mensub olan rahiblere ihsan olunan evamir-i şerifenin mazmun-i münifi üzere kiliseleri olduğu yerlerde mu'tad olan
- [39] ayinlerin icra eylediklerinde kimesne mani' olmayub asude-hal olalar ve ayinlerine müta'alıhk gayri iltimaslarını büyük elçisi südde-i seniye-i şehriyariye 'arz eyleye sekizinci madde
- [40] ticaret ahvali semere-i sulh u salahdan olub mucib-i 'imaret-i memleket olmagla ba'de'l-yevm ahsen-i vech üzere nizama konulub tarafeynin tüccarı mahfi yerlerden gelüb gitmeyüb memerr-i nas olan
- [41] yerlerden kendü hallerinde gelüb gidüb getürdikleri ve alub götürdikleri emti'anın gümrüğün kanun-i kadim üzere eda eylediklerinden sonra muhdes olan tekalif talebiyle rencide
- [42] olunmayalar ve getürdikleri nakd akçeden gümrük taleb olunmaya ve Leh vilayetinde dogmuş Leh re'ayası olan Leh ve Litva ve gayri milletden ticaret ile gelenler ma damki zararları

^u ریم پاپایه

- [43] olmaya minval-i meşruh üzere ticaret ve bey' ü şîraların eylediklerinde selefde virilen 'ahdnamelerde tasrih olunduğı üzere harac ve tekalif-i şakka talebiyle rencide olunmaya
- [44] amma Leh vilayetini terk ve memalik-i mahrusede tevattun idüb veyahud aralarına ecnebi karışmagla taraf-i miriye gadr olunmaya ve Leh bazarganları vilayetlerine 'avdet eylediklerinde
- [45] yat u yaraklarına ve davarlarına ve tahlis olunduğına elinde hüccet-i şer'ıyesi olub vilayetlerine giden esirlerden nesne taleb olunmayub bile götürdiklerine dahl u ta'arruz
- [46] olunmaya amma bu bahane ile memnu' olan eşyayı bila-izn götürmeyeler ve tarafeynin bazarganlarından ahar vilayetde vefat idenlerin emval ü erzaklarına beytü'l-mal ve kassam
- [47] tarafından dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub mabeynlerinde i'timad eyledikleri kimesneye teslim oluna ki götürüb defteriyle varislerine teslim eyleye ve tüccar ta'ifesinin mabeynlerinde
- [48] bir 'arza zuhur iderse yine aralarında başları ma'rifetiyle görüle ki lazım olan yerlere cevab vireler ma'mulün-bih ve memhur temessük veyahud hüccet ile sabit
- [49] olmayan borc hilaf-i şer'-i şerif taleb olunmaya bu makule deyn ü kefalet da'vaları mücerred şahid-i zur ile istima' olunmayub hüccet-i şer'ıye ve temessükata ve evvelen
- [50] yedlerinde olan evamir-i şerifeye nazar olunub hakk u 'adl üzere fasl oluna ve bu da'va hususunda sa'ir müste'min ta'ifelerine ihsan olunan 'ahdnamelerde
- [51] mestur u mukayyed olan madde Leh tüccarına dahi şamil ola ve kendülere mahsusan mukaddema ihsan olunub yedlerinde olan evamir-i şerifenin mazmunı dahi
- [52] mer'i tutıla dokuzuncı madde ceng esnasında Lehlüden alınan esirler alınduğı bahaları şer'an isbat veyahud sahiblerine yemin ile zahir olan bahaları eda olunmagla
- [53] selefde virilen 'ahdnamelerde beyan olunduğı üzere ıtlak olunalar meger çok hizmetleri sebkat itmış ise alındıklarından aşağı mürüvveten bahaları tenzil olunmak
- [54] iktiza eyleye bu takdirce ma'kul u mu'tedil baha ile esir sahibiyle uzlaşılmaz ise hakimü'l-vakt şer'le görüb mabeynlerin tevfik eyleye ve 'akd-i sulh u salahdan sonra
- [55] Leh vilayetinden bir tarikle esir ihrac olunmak olursa bila-baha sahvırile ve memalik-i mahrusede ve Tatar aralarında Lehlü esara tahlisine giden kimesneler kendü hallerinde
- [56] iken siz esir kurtarmaga geldiniz deyü bir dürlü zarar olunmayub zarar kasdında olanların hakkından geline ve beglik zindanlarda olan esara bedelleriyle tarafeynden
- [57] ıtlak olunalar ve Lehin büyük elçisi esirlerine müta'allık olan gayri iltimaslarını 'atebe-i 'aliye-i hüsrevaniyeye 'arz eyleye onuncı madde selefde virilen 'ahdnamelerde
- [58] mestur olduğı üzere Leh kırılı südde-i sa'adete olan dostlugunda sabit-kadem oldukça Bogdan voyvodası dahi kadimden Leh kırılı ile ne vechle musafat

- [59] üzere oli-gelmış ise olvechle musafat üzere olub devlet-i 'aliyenin sa'ir re'ayası gibi ke-ma kan asude-hal olalar ve Bogdan ve Effak
- [60] vilayetlerinden kaçanlar kabul olunmaya bir tarikle Leh vilayetine sığınub ba'dehu memleketine fitne bıragub müfsidlik ider olursa anın gibiler taleb olunduklarında
- [61] girü teslim oluna selefde virilen 'ahdnamelerde bu madde mu'ayyen olmagla ke-ma yenbagi mer'i tutıla ke-zalik Leh re'ayasından gerek Lehlü ve gerek Kazak kangı milletden
- [62] olursa olsun fesad u şekavet eyledikde berü tarafdan kabul ve himaye olunmayub girü redd oluna bu makule mabeynde mün'akd olan sulh u salahın
- [63] ihtilaline ba'is olanların sezarları üzere cezaları virile on birinci madde selefde virilen 'ahdnamelerde mestur u mukayyed olub haliya 'akd olunan
- [64] şurut u kuyuda mugayir ve iki devletin rüsum-i müstemirresine muhalif ü muzır olmayan mevadd bundan böyle dahi mer'i tutulub mutagayyir olanlar fesh ü nesh oluna
- [65] ve bi-'avni'llahi ta'ala ve tevfihi işbu tahrir ü tastır olunan mevadd ile mabeynde vech-i etemm ü ekmel üzere 'akd olunan sulh u salah şevketlü ve 'azametlü ve kudretlü padişah 'alem-penah
- [66] efendimiz hazretleri ve varis-i saltanatları ile iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fihami'l-mesihkiye müşarun-ileyh Leh kralı ve halifeleri ve cumhuri beyninde inşa'a'llah ta'ala
- [67] mü'ebbed ü mü'ekked ve mü'eyyed ü müşeyyed olub tebdil ü tagayyür ve ihtilal ü ihtilafdan masun u mahfuz ve ber-karar u üstüvar olub ta'addiyat dahi bi'l-cümle men' ü def' olunmak için
- [68] serhadd-nişin olan hükkam ve zabıtlara bir gün evvel haber irişdirile ki ba'de'l-yevm tecavüz ve birbirine isal-i mazarratdan hazer idüb bu sulh u salaha muktazasınca
- [69] müvalat u musafat üzere 'amal ü hareket ideler lakin cümlelerin 'ilmi 'akd-i sulh u salaha lahik olmak için temessük tarihinden otuz gün müddet ta'yin olunub andan sonra
- [70] bir dürlü özr ü bahane kabul olunmayub sadır olan ferman-i vacibü'l-ita'ata muhalefet idenlerin muhkem hakkından geline ve tarafeynin temessükleri imzadan sonra mu'tad-i kadim üzere
- [71] Leh tarafından küçük elçi bir gün evvel der-i devlet-medara gelüb temessükdeki mevadd kabulunu müş'irname getüre ve taraf-i hümayundan dahi alub götüre ba'dehu takviyet-i mevadd-i sulh u salahlı
- [72] tekml-i musafat ve tetnim-i müvalat ve tanzim-i umur-i sa'ire için de'b-i hasene-i kadime üzere gelecek Mayıs ayında büyük elçi dahi irsal oluna deyü on bir madde üzerine 'akd
- [73] olunan bu şerayit-i sulh u salah taraflarından makbul ve mu'teber olmak üzere müşarun-ileyh Leh kralı ve cumhuri'nin murahhas vekili olan elçisi elinde olan izin ü ruhsat
- [74] muktazasınca Latin^v lisanı üzere ma'mulün-bih temessük virmekle biz

^v لاطين.

dahi ruhsat ve vekaletimiz hasbıyla hattlarımız ve mühürlerimizle
 mumza ve mahtum işbu mevadd kagıdını ma'mulün-bih
 [75] temessük olmak üzere teslim itmiştir vallahu'l-muvaffık li's-savab tahriren
 fi'l-yevmi'r-rabi' ve'l-ışrin min şehr-i Receb li-seneti 'aşara ve mi'ate
 ve elf bi-makam-i Karloviçe

Alexander Maurocordatus
 De Scarlato affirmo^w

ez'afu 'ibadi'llahi'l-Meliki'l-Vahhab
 Mehmed Rami re'isü'l-küttab^x

mazhar-i feyz-i ilah ola Mehmed Rami^y

Translation:

He, God, the Opener of All Ways, the Firm Possessor of Power

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The reason for the writing of these truthful letters and the cause of the inscribing of these sincere lines is as follows:

As the subjects were suffering from the hostility, enmity, war and battle existing between our lord, the sultan, son of the sultan, his excellency, Sultan Mustafa Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan (may God strengthen him on the throne of justice and benevolence and make his caliphate perpetual until the Day of Judgment!), being now—through the conjunction of grace and through the boundless superior knowledge of His Excellency, the everlasting Lord of the kingdom of heaven, earth, and hell, and the Bestower of largess and gifts (exalted is His glory and great is His authority!)—the greatest of the great sultans and the noblest of the noble emperors, the sultan of the two continents and the emperor of the two seas, the servant of the two holy sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina], the majestic, mighty, and great padishah, who is the shelter of Islam, and his fortunate predecessors[—on the one hand] and the present king of Poland, the ruler of Lithuania, Ruthenia and their dependent provinces, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious Christian dignitaries, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, August the Second (may his latter days end with good and with [his] taking the right path!) and his republic[—on the other hand] in order to keep the ancient peace and amity between [us], and to bring to life the established usages of friendship and neighborliness, for the sake of mercy toward the servants

^w Signed in Latin. Under the signature a seal (without inscription) is added; see Facsimile XXV.

^x Text of the signature. For this signature see Friedrich Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, "Studien zur osmanischen Urkundenlehre, I: Die Handfeste (Pençe) der osmanischen Wesire," *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, vol. 2 (1923–1926): 257–68, esp. p. 267. Since Mehmed Rami was not a vizier, his signature is written in an ordinary form and not as a *pençe*.

^y Text of the seal, (*mühür*).

of God the tendency and desire of peace and amity arose through the mediation, endeavors, inciting, and inclination of the pride of the great Christian princes, the authorities of the illustrious Christian dignitaries, the restorers of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, the king of England, Britain, and Ireland, William the Third, and the General States of the Netherlands¹ (may their days end with good and with [their] taking the right path!);

having arrived at the place called Karlovice, situated on the border, on the [Danubian] shore of Srem, [we met] with the plenipotentiary deputy and chosen envoy, appointed with full powers and sent from the side of the aforementioned king and his republic in order to discuss the matters of peace and to reach a reconciliation, the palatine of Poznań and the starosta of Krzeczów, Prince Stanisław Małachowski, [the hereditary owner of] Moszczenica, Rękoraj, and Końskie,² the model of the notables of the Christian nations; [then] the exemplars of the notables of the Christian nations; the distinguished envoy of the king of England, William Lord Paget, Baron de Beaudesert; and the envoy of the General States of the Netherlands, Signor Jacobo Collier; provided their best services in mediation between [the two sides] with earnest endeavor;

in accordance with ancient custom, our credentials have been exchanged and examined through their mediation; and on the basis of our permission and full powers [granted] by imperial order, the negotiations and discussions were held concerning the conditions of peace and amity;

with the assistance of God (may He be exalted!) and with the full consent of the two sides the articles [of peace] were drawn up, which [articles] are stated [below]:

The first article: With the assistance and guidance of God (may He be exalted!), the enmity existing for some time between [Poland] and the exalted eternal state should be totally abolished and transformed into friendship; the old amity, being in sincere conformity with the [principles of] good neighborliness, should be restored, so that the aggression on the two sides might cease and so that the subjects may live in a prosperous state in safety, security, tranquillity and ease, as it used to be previously; the old border between [the two states] observed before these two wars should be preserved, and the borders of Poland should be separated from the territories of Moldavia and the other dependencies of the well-protected dominions in conformity with the old border. Henceforth no aggression should occur from this side or the other, and this old border should be observed with the utmost respect, without any change or alteration.

The second article: Polish soldiers stationed at present in the large and small fortresses and sites situated within the old, prewar borders of Moldavia should leave and vacate them all; and Moldavia should be completely evacuated and remain in tranquillity as before this war.

The third article: [Ottoman] soldiers stationed in the fortress of Kamieniec, situated within the old borders of Poland before the two wars, should leave and vacate it, and

¹ The General States of the Netherlands are treated in this text as a person.

² Małachowski was the palatine of Poznań, the starosta of Łuków and Krzeczów, and the hereditary owner of three demesnes: Końskie (in the district of Opoczno), Rękoraj, and Moszczenica (both in the district of Piotrków). His title of "prince" is not genuine; see the article on Małachowski by Włodzimierz Dworzaczek in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], vol. 19 (Wrocław, 1974), pp. 414–15.

it should remain intact. Henceforth no kind of claim should be made from the side of the high state concerning Podolia and Ukraine. Then, the hetman of the Ukrainian Cossacks, appointed [by the Ottoman side] and residing in Moldavia, will be dismissed. As the old borders between Poland and Moldavia are known, if weather permits, evacuation will start at the beginning of this coming March; and if it is possible any earlier, the Polish soldiers should leave Moldavia and vacate all fortresses and sites as soon as possible, and Moldavia should be evacuated. The evacuation of the fortress of Kamieniec should start as early as the beginning of March. From whichever side an order of evacuation can be issued first, it should be done at once without hesitation and without negligence. [The evacuation of]³ the fortress of Kamieniec should be completed by the fifteenth of May at the latest. In order to facilitate the vacating of the said fortress, as many carts and beasts as possible should also be provided by the Polish side for the loading and the transporting of loads. The evacuation should be carried out in every place in complete safety and security. Those from among the subjects dwelling in the fortresses and other guarded sites evacuated by the two sides who wish to leave of their own free will may leave in safety and security along with their property and goods; and those wishing to stay may stay in safety as well. No kind of force or molestation should occur on either of the two sides. While it was fixed that the evacuation of the fortress of Kamieniec should start at the beginning of March, their petition that their own cannons which were previously in the fortress of Kamieniec might be left may be submitted to the high imperial court by the small Polish envoy who will be sent immediately to the felicitous threshold.

The fourth article: None of the troops dependent on the high state, and especially the Tatars, should attack Polish subjects and transgress the Polish borders under any kind of excuse, pretext, or title, nor should they drive away captives or animals nor should they cause any other damage. And it will be clearly commanded and confirmed by noble orders to the viziers and beylerbeyis, to the felicitous Crimean khan, kalga, nureddin, and the other [Tatar] princes⁴ and to the hospodar of Moldavia that they should respect and preserve with the utmost care the order on the frontiers and the provisions of this peace. [As concerns] those who would take prisoners, drive away animals, or inflict damage on Polish subjects in any way and who are the cause of disturbance contrary to the conditions of the peace and amity, after an investigation and inquiry is made and [their crime] is evident, they will be punished as a necessary warning to the others. Also, goods seized by violence should be returned to their owners after it is ordered that they be found. And those guilty of carelessness and negligence in this matter should receive their merited punishment according to the *şeri'at*, whether it is dismissal or death. Likewise, these conditions of peace should also be entirely respected by the Poles with the utmost attention and care, and nobody should dare to act in a contrary manner.

The fifth article: As Poland has been a free state since olden times, it should not be disturbed by any kind of oppression resulting from any claims by the high state and its dependent tribes; in accordance with the terms of this peace and amity, no claim of this kind will be respected.

³ Omitted by the copyist; cf. the *ahdname* (Document 62).

⁴ Tur. *ve sa'ir sultanlara*; in the Latin translation rendered incorrectly as *pasis confiniarius*. Only the members of the Giray family were entitled to the title of *sultan*.

The sixth article: During the war the Tatars of Budjak and others left their old dwellings and entered the territory of Moldavia; their consequent invasion and attacks were contrary to the conditions of the imperial 'ahdname granted previously to the Polish king and republic; as it was required that they be completely expelled, the Tatars who seized [land] by force in Moldavia and caused trouble should leave all the land, farms, and winter quarters and be settled in their old dwellings; [henceforth] they should live in tranquillity and not cause harm to anybody.

The seventh article: In accordance with the illustrious contents of the noble orders granted to the Christian monks⁵ subject to the pope of Rome, nobody should hinder them from performing their customary acts of worship on the sites where their churches exist and they should live in tranquillity. Their [i.e., Polish] other requests concerning their religion should be submitted to the exalted imperial threshold by their great ambassador.

The eighth article: As the conditions of trade result from peace and amity and promote the wellbeing of a country, henceforth they will be regulated in the best manner; the merchants of the two sides should not come and go through hidden places, but they should travel quietly through the public thoroughfare; after they pay customs on imported and exported goods according to the old law, they should not be molested by demands to pay any new taxes. And no one should impose customs duties on the cash [nakd akçe] that they bring. Polish subjects born in Poland, from among the Polish, Lithuanian, and other nations, may come for the purpose of trade on condition they do not commit any harm. When they engage in trade and sell and buy in the manner described, they should not be molested by demands to pay harac and extraordinary taxes [tekalif-i şakka], as stipulated in the 'ahdnames given in the past.⁶ But if they leave Poland and settle in the well-protected dominions or if a foreigner mingles with them, one should not cheat the state treasury. When Polish merchants return to their country, nobody should meddle and interfere with their arms, animals, and released prisoners whom they conduct; and nothing should be demanded from the prisoners who bear in their hands legal certificates [of manumission] and are returning home. But under this pretext they should not carry out forbidden goods without permission.

The [agents of the] state treasury and functionaries dealing with inheritances [kas-sam] should not meddle and interfere with the property or goods of merchants of either of the two sides, who die in each other's country; they [i.e., their effects] should be handed over to reliable men from among them, so that they may take them [to their country] and hand them over to their heirs with a register [of these effects]. If an accident happens among the merchants, it should be investigated by the leaders among them, so that they may find the right resolve.

One should not demand, as contrary to the şer'iat, [the payment of] a debt that is not proved by a sealed receipt, which ought to be observed, or by a certificate [hüccet]. In this kind of conflict concerning debts or bails, no single false witness should be heard; one should look at the legal certificates [hüccet-i şer'iye], receipts [temessukat], and previous noble orders being in their hands and resolve [the dispute] according to truth and justice. And in the matter of such disputes, the articles written and registered in the

⁵ Lit. "the monks being in the religion of his excellency Jesus."

⁶ Tur. *selef* means "predecessor," thus *selefe* could be interpreted: "in [the times of our] predecessors." Here it is rendered more simply: "in the past."

'ahdnames given to other foreign nations apply also to Polish merchants. The contents of the noble orders, previously granted expressly to them and being in their hands, will be observed as well.

The ninth article: The prisoners taken during the war from among the Poles will be set free after the price of their purchase, confirmed legally [şer'an] or revealed by their owners with an oath, is repaid in the manner described in the 'ahdnames given in the past. But if they have previously rendered many services, it is necessary that their prices be generously reduced below the price of their purchase. Supposing that a prisoner cannot agree with his owner on a reasonable and moderate price, the judge of the time should look [into the matter] according to the şer'iat, and find a compromise between them. After the conclusion of peace and amity, if captives are taken from Poland in any way, they should be released without ransom. Those who arrive in tranquillity to liberate Polish captives held in the well-protected dominions or among the Tatars should not be injured in any way by those saying: "you came to rescue prisoners!;" those who intend to hurt [them] will be punished. Prisoners held in state prisons will be set free on the principle of mutual exchange. Other requests regarding prisoners may be submitted to the high imperial threshold by the great ambassador of the Poles.⁷

The tenth article: As it is set forth in the 'ahdnames given in the past, "as long as the friendship between the Polish king and the felicitous threshold is firm, [the relationship] between the Moldavian hospodar and the Polish king should also be kept in the same friendly way as it has been since olden times; like other subjects of the high state they [i.e., the Moldavians] should live in tranquillity as they used to. Deserters from Moldavia and Wallachia should not be accepted [in Poland]. If they take refuge in Poland and then [come back] to their country and raise rebellion and intrigue, when requested, such individuals should be delivered back [to their country]."⁸

As this article is defined in the 'ahdnames given in the past, it should be properly observed. Likewise, if any among the Polish subjects, whether from the Poles, the Cossacks, or from any [other] nation, commits intrigues and crimes, he should not be accepted or granted protection on this side, but should be delivered back. Those who cause a disturbance of the [recently] concluded peace and amity between [the two states] should receive their deserved punishment.

The eleventh article: henceforth the articles written and registered in the 'ahdnames given in the past that are not opposed to the conditions and restrictions fixed at the present time and are not contrary or detrimental to the perpetual customs [existing] between the two states will be observed as well, while those that have been changed will be annulled and abolished. With the assistance and guidance of God (may He be exalted!), the peace and amity between his majesty, our lord, the majestic, great, and mighty padishah, refuge of the universe, and the heirs of his sultanate[—on the one hand] and the aforementioned Polish king, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious Christian dignitaries, his successors, and his republic[—on the other hand] concluded between [the two sides] in a complete and perfect manner through these written

⁷ Tur. *Lehin büyük elçisi*; in the Latin translation rendered as *Magnus vero Poloniarum Legatus*.

⁸ Actually this segment is not a literal quotation, but a new sentence composed from two typical phrases contained in earlier 'ahdnames.

and registered articles, will—God (may He be exalted!) willing—remain perpetual, firm, corroborated, and sound; and it will be preserved and guarded from any change or alteration, disturbance or dispute, and it will remain permanent and stable; and in order to totally prohibit and prevent aggression, the frontier commanders and guards will be notified as soon as possible that henceforth they should take precautions against violations and mutual injuries and that according to the requirements of this peace and amity they should act and proceed with mutual confidence and amity. But in order that [the notification of] the conclusion of peace and amity should become known to all a period of thirty days from the date of the temessük has been established; thereafter no kind of excuse or pretext will be accepted and those who proceed contrary to the issued firman, which must be obeyed, will receive a severe punishment.

After the signing of the temessüks by the two sides, according to old custom, a small envoy from the Polish side should arrive as soon as possible at the prosperous gate [i.e., *Porte*]; and he should bring a letter indicating [Polish] approval of the articles contained in the temessük. And he will also receive and take [back a similar letter] from the imperial side. Henceforth, in order to strengthen the articles of peace and amity, to perfect the affection, to complete the mutual friendship, and to arrange other matters, according to the old, good custom, a great ambassador will also be sent this coming May.

In order that these conditions of peace and amity, consisting of eleven articles, be accepted and corroborated by the [two] sides, the aforementioned envoy, being the plenipotentiary deputy of the Polish king and republic, has given, in accordance with the permission and credentials in his hands, a temessük in Latin, which ought to be observed; according to our full powers and authority, we have also signed and sealed with our handwriting and seals this list of articles in the form of a temessük, which ought to be observed, and it was given [to them]. By God, Who guides to right actions.

Written on the twenty-fourth day of the month of Redjeb of the year 1110, in the place of Karlovice.

[signature] *Alexander Maurocordatus*
 De Scarlato affirmo

[seal]⁹

[signature] *The weakest of the servants of God, the All-Bountiful King,*
 Mehmed Rami, the reisü'l-küttab

[seal] *May Mehmed Rami be the object of divine blessing!*

⁹ This seal does not contain any inscription.

DOCUMENT 60 (1 MARCH 1699)
The royal confirmation of the treaty (first version)

The original document is missing.

Latin copies:

A. AGAD, Metryka Koronna, Libri Inscriptionum, sign. 220, fol. 54b–58b.
B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 274a–279b.¹

Published in *Relacya poselstwa Jaśnie Wielmożnego JMci Pana Stanisława Małachowskiego, wojewody poznańskiego do traktatu karłowickiego, oraz różnych komisyi po tym traktacie nastąpionych* (Warsaw, 1778), pp. 49–51 (without the articles of peace, identical with those negotiated in the Treaty of Karlowitz).

Nos Augustus Secundus, Dei gratia Rex Poloniae, Magnus Dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Masoviae, Samogitiae, Kiioviae, Volhyniae, Podoliae, Podlachiae, Livoniae, Smolensciae, Severiae, Czerniechoviaeque, necnon haereditarius dux Saxoniae et princeps elector. Significamus omnibus et singulis praesentibus et futuris, cuiuscunque conditionis et status hominibus, praecipue iis, quorum interest. Quod ad locum certum per partes mediantes ac interessatas electum, pro ineundo nos regnumque nostrum inter, et Serenissimum ac Potentissimum Principem Turcarum Imperatorem Sultanum Mustafa et dominium eius pacis tractatu, nostrum destinaverimus magnum legatum commissarium et plenipotentiarium, illustrem et magnificum Stanislaum comitem in Moszczennica, Rękoray, et Końskie Małachowski palatinum Posnaniensem gubernatorem Lucoviae et Crecoviae, illeque cum Suae Caesariae Serenitatis plenipotentiaris habito congressu, in articulos, qui sequuntur, convenerit:²

Instrumentum pacis inter Serenissimum et Potentissimum Regem et Rempublicam Poloniarum, et Excelsum Imperium Othomanicum, ad Carłowiz in Sirmio in congressu generali confoederatorum plenipotentiariorum confectae.

In nomine Sanctissimae Individuae Trinitatis. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam, omnibus et singulis, quorum interest, notum sit. Quandoquidem inter Regnum Polonicum et Excelsum Imperium intercedens diuturnum dissidium Serenissimo et Potentissimo Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Rege Guilielmo Tertio, et Praepotentibus Generalibus Foederati Belgii Statibus,

¹ This late eighteenth-century copy, based on the documents from the royal chancery, contains fewer mistakes and omissions than the contemporary official copy from the Crown Register. It contains also the full text of the confirmation by the royal chancery, dated 24 April 1699.

² Here follows the text of the agreement of Karlowitz (cf. Document 58), repeated *in extenso* in the royal ratification.

sistendi humani sanguinis, et reducendae reciprocae quietis desiderio, ad procurandos huius almae pacis tractatus mediationem suam interponentibus, atque officia omnia et omnes conditiones mediationis diligenti opera et studio explentibus, excellentissimis dominis ad Fulgidam Portam legatis plenipotentariis, Guilielmo Domino Paget, Barone de [Beaudesert],^a in comitatu Staffordiensi, eiusdem comitatus regis locumtenente, ex parte Maiestatis Britannicae, et Domino Jacobo Colyer ex parte Praepotentium Generalium Foederati Belgii Ordinum, favente Deo reciproca utrinque inclinatione atque propensione sopiri et penitus extinguere placuerit, atque Carlovizii ad confinia Sirmii, ubi congressus legatorum plenipotentiariorum ex inclitae mediationis dispositione institutus fuerat, initis tractatibus de pacis articulis cum illustrissimo et excellentissimo Domino Mechmet Effendi, magno cancellario Excelsi Imperii, et illustrissimo atque excellentissimo Domino Alexandro Mauro Cordato,^b de nobili stirpe Scarlati, ab intimis secretis eiusdem Excelsi Imperii, ad tractandam pacem legatis plenipotentariis, post aliquas sessiones tandem annuente divina clementia, negotium hoc almae desiderataeque pacis feliciter in mutuas leges coaluerit, et integerrima iterum amicitia et pax inter Serenissimum et Potentissimum Musulmanorum Imperatorem Sultanum, filium Sultani Mechmeti, Sultanum Mustafa, et Serenissimum ac Potentissimum Regem Augustum Secundum, dominum meum clementissimum, et Rempublicam Poloniarum, super undecem mutuo consensu compositis hisce articulis, perpetuo religiose inter utrumque dominium observanda perfecta et conclusa, restituta et renovata est; qui articuli subinde singulatim describuntur:

Articulus primus: Cum Excelso perpetuitati subnixo Imperio multo abhinc tempore, intercedente ope et favore Dei Altissimi, sublata hostilitate conciliationi et bonae viciniae congrua, cum sinceritate antiqua amicitia iterum coalescente, ut hostilitates utrinque amoveantur, et subditi pristina securitate, quiete ac tranquillitate fruantur; ante ultima duo bella constituti veteres limites restituantur ac stabiliantur, et confinia provinciarum subditarum Poloniae, a confiniis imperialibus, tum Moldaviae, tum aliorum districtuum subiectorum Excelso Imperio antiquis limitibus separentur ac distinguantur, neve utrinque aut praetensio aut extensio deinceps fiat, sed limites antiqui sine mutatione aut perturbatione tanquam sacri religiose observentur atque colantur.

Articulus secundus: Quaecunque sive munimenta, sive loca, vel maiora vel minora intra veteres Moldaviae limites, ante ultimum bellum existentes sita, atque hucusque detenta sunt a dominis Polonis, eductis, atque extractis inde Polonicis militibus evacuentur, et Moldaviae provincia maneat ex integro libera, et ante postremum bellum in quo erat pacifico statu sit.

Articulus tertius: Intra veteres quoque ante postrema duo bella versus Poloniae limites situm Cameneci fortalitium, eductis inde musulmanicis militibus evacuetur et integrum relinquitur, et Podoliae atque Ucrainae provin-

^a Thusly in B.; in A. spelled erroneously: *Bandefert*.

^b B. *Maurocordato*.

ciarum, nulla deinceps ab Excelso Imperio fiat praetensio, et Ukrainae Kosakorum hatmani [*sic*] nomine substitutus, qui modo in Moldavia residet, hetmanus amoveatur. Cumquae, limites antiqui Poloniae et Moldaviae manifesti sint, si commodum fuerit tempus ab initio futuri Martii inchoetur evacuatio, et quam citius [fieri]^c poterit, quamprimum Polonica militia e Moldavia educatur, et munimenta et loca illius evacuentur, et Moldavia maneat libera. Simulque ab initio Martii Camenecensis fortalitii evacuatio inchoetur, atque evacuationis negotium ubi prius perfici poterit, sine haesitatione ac sine tarditate ac negligentia in executionem deducatur. Et Camenecensis fortalitii evacuatio ad summum usque in decimum quintum maii ad finem perducatur; et quo cum facilitate et celeritate dicti fortalitii fiat evacuatio, ad onera imponenda et transvehenda, quo ad fieri potest, curribus et iumentis transportationem coadiuvent Poloni; et ubique evacuationis [negotium cum securitate et salva re peragatur, in quibus evacuationibus]^d fortalitorum et aliorum locorum, pro quo^e pacto munitorum, e subditis quicunque voluntarie exire velint, cum propriis rebus et suppellectile exeant tuto et secure, et quicunque remanere velint, item tuto remaneant, et utrinque nullatenus impediuntur. Et cum evacuatio fortalitorum et locorum a principio Martii mensis utrinque inchoari debeat, instantiam de tormentorum Cameneci relictione, scilicet ex propriis atque ubi^f repertis, ablegatus Polonus quam primum ad Fulgidam Portam expediendus, afferat ad solium imperatoris.

Articulus quartus: Nemo subditorum Excelsi Imperii, cuiuscunque conditionis, praesertim vero Tartari, cuiuscunque generis, sub cuiusvis praetensionis et controversiae praetextu, in subditos Regis et Reipublicae Poloniarum, et in limites eorum hostilitates exercere, excursions agere, captivos rapere, pecora abigere, aut quidquid damni inferre, neve eos offendere possint, expressis regiis edictis committatur et demandetur, vesiriis, beglerbegis, et felicissimo Crimensi hano, cavelgaio et nuradino et reliquis soltanis, ac woiewodae Moldaviae, ut adhibita maxima sedulitate observent et conservent confiniorum pacificam tranquillitatem et conciliationem atque quietem, neve aut in captivationibus, aut pecorum abactionibus, aut quacunque [alia]^g ratione damnis et molestiis afficiant Poloniae subditos, et severissime inquirent in perturbatores et transgressores conditionum pacis, atque habita notitia ad exemplum aliorum in illos animadvertant, et rapta ad inventa propriis dominis restituantur. Et si qui hac de re negligenter ac oscitanter agant, sive amissione officiorum, sive privatione vitae, prout ex divinis legibus convenerit, iuste puniantur. Pariter Poloni has condiciones pacis omnino et sedulo observent atque colant, et nemo in oppositum quidquid audeat.

Articulus quintus: Cum Regnum Poloniae ab antiquo sit liberrimum, ab

^c In B. only.

^d In B. only.

^e B. *quoquo*.

^f B. *ibi*.

^g In B. only.

Excelso Imperio aut subiectis eidem gentibus, qualiscunque praetensionis aut expostulationis praetextu, nulla penitus hostilitate perturbetur, et conclusae istius almae pacis pactorum vi, ad tales praetensiones nequaquam adstringatur.

Articulus sextus: Tempore huiusce belli, Budziacenses et alii Tartari, e propriis locis exeuntes, atque in terras Moldavorum ingressi, hostilitates ac offensiones hac occasione in Moldavos et Moldaviam exercent, quod cum sit contrarium sacris capitulationibus, ante hac concessis regibus Poloniae, ac proinde cessare ac sustolli [*sic*] debeat, a quibusque locis et possessionibus, et praediis hyemalibus in Moldavia, aut occupatis, aut de novo extructis Tartari amoveantur, et nativis propriis locis habitent, atque pacifice vivant, et in posterum nullas offensiones faciant.

Articulus septimus: Religiosi christiani romano-catholici, iuxta concessa ab Excelso Imperio edicta, ubicunque ecclesias suas habent, consuetas suas functiones sine impedimento exercent, et pacifice vivant, et ulterius sibi commissas instantias de religione, extraordinarius ad Fulgidam Portam magnus legatus ad imperatorium solium exponat.

Articulus octavus: Cum res mercatoria e fructibus pacis existat, atque provincias in meliorem conditionem reducat, utrinque^h dominii mercatores, in posterum non per occulta loca meantes, sed per loca transitiaⁱ opportuna, ultro citroque euntes et redeuntes, postquam solverint iuxta consuetum ab antiquo thelonium rerum portatarum et exportatarum, novis exactionibus et expostulationibus nequaquam molestentur. Neve ex numerata pecunia thelonium exigatur. Et quicunque nativi subditi Poloniarum, et Lithuanicae,^j et aliarum subiectarum iisdem nationum, ad mercimoniam agenda venientes, et nullum damnum inferentes, praedicta ratione mercaturam et coemptionem et venditionem, sicuti in antecedentibus sacris capitulationibus etiam declaratur, exactione tributi dicti haracz, et aliis inordinatis exactionibus ne molestentur. Verum enimvero, si qui relictis suis regionibus in imperii regnis sedem figant, et si qui alii exteriores sese Polonis immisceant, tales ne possint esse detrimento reipublicae, a mercatoribus Polonorum redeuntibus ex armis et equis et iumentis et captivis, qui liberationis suae instrumentum legitimum habentes in patriam redire voluerint, nihil exigatur, et ne quisquam impedimento sit taliter ab euntibus captivis; verum sub isto praetextu sine facultate nemini liceat vetita abducere. Praeterea opibus et rebus mercatorum utriusque dominii, quibus in aliis regionibus mori contingat, publici confiscatores et partitores ne ab utralibet parte sese immisceant, sed inter mercatores, cui fides adhibetur, tradantur, ut iuxta cathalogum depositionis haeredibus tradat. Si quis autem casus acciderit inter mercatores, inter ipsos praepositi decisione definiatur, ipse vero quibus debet rationem reddat. Ad debitum sive scripto sive instrumento iudiciario non affirmatum, solvendum contra divinas leges nemo compellatur, neve

^h B. *utriusque*.

ⁱ B. *transitui*.

^j B. *Lithuaniae*.

testimoniis solis conductis lites debitorum et sponsonum dicantur et audiantur. Instrumentis scilicet legitimis et scriptis, ante extraditis, sacris mandatis perfectis atque consideratis, iuste ac debite causae decendantur, atque in similibus causis contenta et statuta, in sacris capitulationibus, atque in^k aliis confoederatis nationibus concessa, in Polonos etiam mercatores extendantur, et ulterius speciatim Polonis ante hac concessorum et in manibus eorundem servatorum sacrorum edictorum sensus quoque colatur et observetur.

Articulus nonus: Captivi tempore belli abacti, pretiis illorum iuxta leges comprobatis, aut datis iuramentis in manifestum productis atque solutis, iuxta antecedentium capitulationum hac de re declarationem eliberentur. Si vero tales captivi multo tempore servierint, ex discretione pretia emptionum cum imminui debeant, si honesto et mediocri pretio cum domino captivi conveniri non poterit, iudices locorum legitime procedentes tales differentias componant. Si aliqua occasione post conclusionem pacis ex regionibus Polonicis captivi capiantur, sine pretio dimittantur. Et in regnis Excelsi Imperii, et inter Tartaros etiam ad eliberandos captivos Polonos circumeuntes homines, quandocumque res suas pacifice agerent, praetextu operae eliberationi captivorum navatae, aut alia ratione, ne utiquam offendantur, quinimo offendentes et detrimentum inferentes puniantur. Captivi in publicis carceribus detenti permutatione utrinque in libertatem asserantur. Magnus vero Poloniarum legatus de captivis suas instantias ad solum imperiale afferre poterit.

Articulus decimus: Quandocumque Serenissimus Rex Poloniae in stabilita cum Excelso Imperio pace firmiter permanebit, sicuti in antecedentibus capitulationibus declaratur, Moldaviae woiewoda etiam ea ratione, qua ab antiquo cum regibus Poloniarum sincere sese praestitit, rursus consueta ratione sincere tractet. Caeterum, instar aliorum subditorum Excelsi Imperii, uti prius, pacati sint; et e Moldaviae atque Valachiae provinciis, si qui transfugerint, ne recipiantur. Si qui alia methodo in Poloniae dominium irreperint, ac postea provinciam suam perturbare ac corrumpere deprehensi fuerint, similes homines quando perquirentur, reddantur, et conditio ista, cum in antecedentibus capitulationibus clare et manifeste posita sit, observentur.^l Pariter ex subditis Polonis, sive Poloni illi sint, sive Cosaci, cuiusculunque nationis extiterint, quando perturbationem afferent, hinc etiam neque recipiantur, neque protegantur, sed retro reddantur. Et universi quicunque turbare voluerint pacem atque amicitiam, haccine ratione conclusam ex merito puniantur.

Articulus undecimus: Quaecumque conditiones et clausulae, in antecedentibus capitulationibus descriptae atque contentae, nullatenus adversantur de recent^m conclusis pactis, neque oppositae sunt liberis et perpetuis iuribus utriusque domini, deinceps etiam colantur et observentur; quae vero contrariae sunt, cassentur et annihilentur, favente et annuente Deo Altissimo.

^k B. *ut*.

^l B. *observetur*.

^m B. *recenti*.

Quae utrinque declaratis et exaratis articulis perfectiori et exactiori ratione conclusa pax et conciliatio inter Maiestates Serenissimi et Potentissimi alte memorati Poloniarum Regis, domini mei clementissimi, et successorum eius et Rempublicam Polonam, et ex altera parte Serenissimi et Potentissimi Musulmanorum Imperatoris eiusdemque haeredum, ex voluntate et clementia Dei, perpetua, stabilis, firma, et inconcussa permaneat, et conservata atque custodita sit ab omni turbatione et mutatione et confusione et violatione, et uno eodemque tenore firmissime perseveret et constantissime continuet. Et ut omnes omnino hostilitates amoveantur atque sustollantur [*sic*], quam citissime notitia praebeatur in confiniis praesidentibus praefectis et gubernatoribus, ut sibi caveant, ne in posterum transgressiones fiant, neve altera pars alteri damna inferat, verum enimvero omnes utrinque sincere et amice sese praestent, iuxta istam almam pacem.

Ut autem omnibus cognita et comperta sit, istius almae pacis conclusio triginta dies pro termino ponantur, post quem nullus praetextus nullaque excusatio acceptabitur, sed in eos qui adversabuntur editis edictis, exactam obedientiam merentibus severissime animadvertatur. Post subscriptionem autem instrumentorum utriusque partis, ablegatus prius a Polonia missus, et ad Fulgidam Portam veniens, iuxta antiquam consuetudinem afferat regias publicas literas, ratificationem pactorum instrumentis declaratorum continentes, atque literas imperatorias ratificatorias item accipiat et deducat. Postea vero ad solennem confirmationem pactorum pacis et perfectionem reciprocae sinceritatis, et absolutam terminationem mutuae amicitiae, et dispositionem ac digestionem reliquarum rerum, iuxta laudatum veterem morem, adventurus magnus legatus, quam primum commode fieri poterit, moveat.

Ac proinde undecimo numero pactis conclusa, iuxta istas conclusionesⁿ alma pax ab utraque parte acceptetur atque colatur. Cum vero alte memorati illustrissimi et excellentissimi domini, Excelsi Imperii plenipotentiarum et commissarii existentes legati, vi suae facultatis et authoritatis Turcico sermone exaratum legitimum et validum instrumentum tradiderunt.^o Ego quoque vi facultatis et deputationis meae propria manu subscriptas et sigillo sigillatas, a me praesentes pactorum literas tanquam legitimum et validum instrumentum tradidi. Datum in congressu generali ad confinia Sirmii, Czarlovizii, die 26 Ianuarii anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo nonagesimo nono. Stanislaus Małachowski, palatinus Posnaniensis, legatus magnus et plenipotentarius Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis et Reipublicae Poloniarum (locus sigilli).

Quos omnes articulos, solenne foedus mutuae pacis complectentes pactaque ipsa reciproce inter partes commutanda, in omnibus eorum nexibus, clausulis, ligamentis approbanda et ratificanda esse duximus, uti quidem praesentibus approbamus et ratificamus.

Declarantes ea omnia et singula puncta, dummodo vicissim eadem ab

ⁿ B. *conditiones*.

^o B. *tradiderint*.

alte memorato Serenissimo et Potentissimo Turcarum Imperatore eiusque subditis praestentur et observentur, perpetuam vim, robur et firmitatem habitura. In cuius rei fidem praesentes sigillo regni appenso communiri iussimus. Datum Varsaviae in regia nostra, die prima mensis Martii, anno a nativitate Domini Nostri Iesu Christi millesimo sexcentesimo nonagesimo nono; regni nostri secundo (locus sigilli pensilis).

Ad mandatum Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis proprium. Quas quidem ratificationis pactorum superius insinuatorum literas nos ad acta nostra regia suscipi, iisdem inseri et ingrossari, atque ex iisdem^p de verbo ad verbum descriptas authenticae extradi permisimus. [In quorum fidem praesentibus sigillum regni appressum. Actum Varsaviae feria sexta post festa solennia Sacri Paschatis proxima die scilicet vigesima quarta mensis Aprilis anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo nonagesimo nono; regni vero nostri anno secundo.

Carolus Tarło
procancellarius regni

locus sigilli Relatio illustrissimi et excellentissimi
domini Domini Caroli de Czekar-
zowice³ Tarło procancellarii regni]^q

^p B. *eisdem*.

³ Czekarzowice or Czekarzewice, a village near Tarłów, belonging to the Tarło family.

^q In B. only; the ending in A. is abbreviated and reads: "*In quorum fidem etc. Actum Varsaviae ut supra. Relatio eiusque illustrissimi procancellarii regni.*"

DOCUMENT 61 (24 AUGUST 1699)
The royal confirmation of the treaty (second version)
[Facs. XXVI]

Original documents in Latin:

A. The first copy sent to Istanbul is missing.

B. The second solemn parchment copy: AGAD, AKW, Dokumenty pergaminowe, no. 5418.

68.5 × 82 cm.

the arms of Poland, Lithuania and Saxony under the crown are drawn at the top

margins ornamented in gold and blue

text (black and gold)

six holes were pierced in the document to attach the seal

Nos Augustus Secundus, Dei gratia Rex Poloniae, Magnus Dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Masoviae, Samogitiae, Kiioviae, Vołhiniae, Podoliae, Podlachiae, Livoniae, Smolensciae, Severiae, Czerniechoviaeque, necnon haereditarius dux Saxoniae et princeps elector etcc. Notum testatumque facimus universis et singulis, quorum interest vel quomodolibet interesse poterit, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Quod posteaquam auspice **Deo** ter Optimo Maximo nuper almae pacis nos inclytamque Rempublicam Poloniae inter, et Excelsum Imperium Ottomanicum ad Carlowitz in Syrmio in congressu generali confederatorum plenipotentiariorum initum tractatum literis nostris ratificatoriis iam acceptassemus, restare ad huc ut de more consueto solenni confirmatione, nostro atque totius Reipublicae nomine eadem pacta perpetua, ac in illum qui sequitur tenorem disposita approbemus, roboremus et solidemus:¹

Instrumentum pacis inter Serenissimum et Potentissimum Regem et Rempublicam Poloniarum, et Excelsum Imperium Othomanicum, ad Carlowitz in Syrmio in congressu generali confoederatorum plenipotentiariorum confectae.

In nomine Sanctissimae Individuae Trinitatis. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam, omnibus et singulis, quorum interest, notum sit. Quandoquidem inter Regnum Polonicum et Excelsum Imperium intercedens diuturnum dissidium Serenissimo et Potentissimo Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hyberniae Rege Guilielmo Tertio, et Praepotentibus Generalibus Foederati Belgii Statibus, sistendi humani sanguinis, et reducendae reciprocae quietis desiderio,

¹ Here follows the text of the agreement of Karlowitz (cf. Document 58), repeated *in extenso* in the royal ratification.

ad procurandos huius almae pacis tractatus mediationem suam interponentibus, atque officia omnia et omnes conditiones mediationis diligenti opera et studio expleantibus, excellentissimis dominis ad Fulgidam Portam legatis plenipotentariis, Guilielmo Domino Pagett, Barone de Baudezet,^a in comi[tu] Staffordiensi, eiusdem comitatus regis locumtenente, ex parte Maiestatis Britannicae, et Domino Jacobo Colyer ex parte Praepotentium Generalium Foederati Belgii Ordinum, favente **Deo** reciproca utrinque inclinatione atque propensione sopiri et penitus extinguere placuerit, atque Carlowitzii ad confinia Syrmii, ubi congressus legatorum plenipotentiariorum ex inclytae mediationis dispositione institutus fuerat, initis tractatibus de pacis articulis cum illustrissimo et excellentissimo Domino Mehmet Effendi, magno cancellario Excelsi Imperii, et illustrissimo et excellentissimo Domino Alexandro Mauro Cordato,^b de nobili stirpe Scarlati, ab intimis secretis eiusdem Excelsi Imperii, ad tractandam pacem legatis plenipotentariis, post aliquas sessiones tandem annuente divina clementia, negotium hoc almae desiderataeque pacis feliciter in mutuas leges coaluerit, et integerrima iterum amicitia et pax inter Serenissimum et Potentissimum Musulmanorum Imperatorem Sultanum, filium Soltani Mehmeti, Sultanum Mustafa, et Serenissimum ac Potentissimum Regem Augustum Secundum et Rempublicam Poloniarum, super undecem mutuo consensu compositis hisce articulis, perpetuo religiose inter utrumque dominium observanda perfecta et conclusa, restituta et renovata est; qui articuli subinde singulatim describuntur:

Articulus primus: Cum Excelso perpetuitati subnixo Imperio multo abhinc tempore, intercedente ope et favore **Dei** Altissimi, sublata hostilitate conciliationi et bonae viciniae congrua, cum sinceritate antiqua amicitiae iterum coalescente, ut hostilitates utrinque amoveantur, et subditi pristina securitate, quiete ac tranquillitate fruantur; ante ultima duo bella constituti veteres limites restituantur ac stabiliantur, et confinia provinciarum subditarum Poloniae, a confiniis imperialibus, tum Moldaviae, tum aliorum districtuum subiectorum Excelso Imperio antiquis limitibus separentur ac distinguantur, neve utrinque aut praetensio aut extensio deinceps fiat, sed limites antiqui sine mutatione aut perturbatione tanquam sacri religiose observentur atque colantur.

Articulus secundus: Quaecunque sive munimenta, sive loca, vel maiora vel minora intra veteres Moldaviae limites, ante ultimum bellum existentes sita, atque hucusque detenta sunt a dominis Polonis, eductis, atque extractis inde Polonicis militibus evacuentur, et Moldaviae provincia maneat ex integro libera, et ante postremum bellum in quo erat pacifico statu sit.

Articulus tertius: Intra veteres quoque ante postrema duo bella versus Poloniae limites situm Cameneci fortalium, eductis inde musulmanicis militibus evacuetur et integrum relinquatur, et Podoliae atque Ucrainae provinciarum, nulla deinceps ab Excelso Imperio fiat praetensio, et Ucrainae Cosacorum hetmani nomine substitutus, qui modo in Moldavia residet, het-

^a It should read: *Beaudesert* as in Document 58.

^b For *Maurocordato*.

manus amoveatur. Cumquae, limites antiqui Poloniae et Moldaviae manifesti sint, si commodum fuerit tempus ab initio futuri Martii inchoetur evacuatio, et quam citius fieri poterit, quamprimum Polonica militia e Moldavia educatur, et munimenta et loca illius evacuentur, et Moldavia maneat libera. Simulque ab initio Martii Camenecensis fortalitii evacuatio inchoetur, atque evacuationis negotium ubi prius perfici poterit, sine haesitatione ac sine tarditate ac negligentia in executionem deducatur. Et Camenecensis fortalitii evacuatio ad summum usque in decimum quintum mensis Maii ad finem perducatur; et quo cum facilitate et celeritate dicti fortalitii fiat evacuatio, ad onera imponenda et transvehenda, quo ad fieri potest, curribus et iumentis transportationem coadiuvent Poloni; et ubique evacuationis negotium cum securitate et salva re peragatur, in quibus evacuationibus fortalitorum et aliorum locorum, quoquo pacto munitorum, e subditis quicunque voluntarie exire velint, cum propriis rebus et suppellectile exeant tuto et secure, et quicunque remanere velint, item tuto remaneant, et utrinque nullatenus impediuntur. Et cum evacuatio fortalitorum et locorum a principio Martii mensis utrinque inchoari debeat, instantiam de tormentorum Cameneci relictione, scilicet ex propriis atque ibi repertis, ablegatus Polonus quam primum ad Fulgidam Portam expediendus, afferat ad solum imperatoris.

Articulus quartus: Nemo subditorum Excelsi Imperii, cuiuscunque conditionis, praesertim vero Tartari, cuiuscunque generis, sub cuiusvis praetensionis et controversiae praetextu, in subditos Regis et Reipublicae Poloniarum, et in limites eorum hostilitates exercere, excursions agere, captivos rapere, pecora abigere, aut quidquid damni inferre, neve eos offendere possint, expressis regiis edictis committatur et demandetur, vesiriis, beglerbegis, et felicissimo Crimensi hano, calergaio et nuradino et reliquis soltanis, ac woiewodae Moldaviae, ut adhibita maxima sedulitate observent et conservent confiniorum pacificam tranquillitatem et conciliationem atque quietem, neve aut in captivationibus, aut pecorum abactionibus, aut quacunque alia ratione damnis et molestiis afficiant Poloniae subditos, et severissime inquirent in perturbatores et transgressores conditionum pacis, atque habita notitia ad exemplum aliorum in illos animadvertant, et rapta ad inventa propriis dominis restituantur. Et si qui hac de re negligenter ac oscitanter agant, sive amissione officiorum, sive privatione vitae, prout ex divinis legibus convenerit, iuste puniantur. Pariter Poloni has condiciones pacis omnino et sedulo observent atque colant, et nemo in oppositum quidquid audeat.

Articulus quintus: Cum Regnum Poloniae ab antiquo sit liberrimum, ab Excelso Imperio aut subiectis eidem gentibus, qualiscunque praetensionis aut expostulationis praetextu, nulla penitus hostilitate perturbetur, et conclusae istius almae pacis pactorum vi, ad tales praetensiones nequaquam adstringatur.

Articulus sextus: Tempore huiusce belli, Budziacenses et alii Tartari, e propriis locis exeuntes, atque in terras Moldavorum ingressi, hostilitates ac offensiones hac occasione in Moldavos et Moldaviam exercent, quod cum sit contrarium sacris capitulationibus, ante hac concessis regibus Poloniae, ac proinde cessare ac sustolli [*sic*] debeat, a quibusque locis et possessio-

nibus, et praediis hyemalibus in Moldavia, aut occupatis, aut de novo extructis Tartari amoveantur, et nativis propriis locis habitent, atque pacifice vivant, et in posterum nullas offensiones faciant.

Articulus septimus: Religiosi christiani romano-catholici, iuxta concessa ab Excelso Imperio edicta, ubicunque ecclesias sitas habent, consuetas suas functiones sine impedimento exerceant, et pacifice vivant, et ulterius sibi commissas instantias de religione, extraordinarius ad Fulgidam Portam magnus legatus ad imperatorium solium exponat.

Articulus octavus: Cum res mercatoria e fructibus pacis existat, atque provincias in meliorem conditionem reducat, utrius dominii mercatores, in posterum non per occulta loca meantes, sed per loca transitui opportuna, ultro citroque euntes et redeuntes, postquam solverint iuxta consuetum ab antiquo telonium rerum portatarum et exportatarum, novis exactionibus et expostulationibus nequaquam molestentur. Neve ex numerata pecunia telonium exigatur. Et quicunque nativi subditi Poloniarum, et Lithuaniae, et aliarum subiectarum iisdem nationum, ad mercimonium agendum venientes, et nullum damnum inferentes, praedicta ratione mercaturam et coemptionem et venditionem, sicuti in antecedentibus sacris capitulationibus etiam declaratur, exactione tributi dicti haracz, et aliis inordinatis exactionibus ne molestentur. Verum enimvero, si qui relictis suis regionibus in imperii regnis sedem figant, et si qui alii exteriores sese Polonis immisceant, tales ne possint esse detrimento reipublicae, a mercatoribus Polonorum redeuntibus ex armis et equis et iumentis et captivis, qui libertationis suae instrumentum legitimum habentes in patriam redire voluerint, nihil exigatur, et ne quisquam impedimento sit taliter ab euntibus captivis; verum sub isto praetextu sine facultate nemini liceat vetita abducere. Praeterea opibus et rebus mercatorum utriusque dominii, quibus in aliis regionibus mori contingat, publici confiscatores et partitores ne ab utralibet parte sese immisceant, sed inter mercatores, cui fides adhibetur, tradantur, ut iuxta catalogum depositionis haeredibus tradat. Si quis autem casus acciderit inter mercatores, inter ipsos praepositi decisione definiatur, ipse vero quibus debet rationem reddat. Ad debitum sive scripto sive instrumento iudiciario non affirmatum, solvendum contra divinas leges nemo compellatur, neve testimoniis solis conductis lites debitorum et sponsionum dicantur et audiantur. Instrumentis scilicet legitimis et scriptis, ante extraditis, sacris mandatis perlectis atque consideratis, iuste ac debite causae decidantur, atque in similibus causis contenta et statuta, in sacris capitulationibus, atque in aliis confoederatis nationibus concessa, in Polonos etiam mercatores extendantur, et ulterius speciatim Polonis ante hac concessorum et in manibus eorundem servatorum sacrorum edictorum sensus quoque colatur et observetur.

Articulus nonus: Captivi tempore belli abacti, pretiis illorum iuxta leges comprobatis, aut datis iuramentis in manifestum productis atque solutis, iuxta antecedentium capitulationum hac de re declarationem eliberentur. Si vero tales captivi multo tempore servierint, ex discretione pretia emptionum cum imminui debeant, si honesto et mediocri pretio cum domino captivi conveniri non poterit, iudices locorum legitime procedentes tales differentias componant. Si aliqua occasione post conclusionem pacis ex

regionibus Polonicis captivi capiantur, sine pretio dimittantur. Et in regnis Excelsi Imperii, et inter Tartaros etiam ad eliberandos Polonos captivos circumeuntes homines, quandocunque res suas pacifice agerent, praetextu operae eliberationi captivorum navatae, aut alia ratione, ne utiquam offendantur, quinimo offendentes et detrimentum inferentes puniantur. Captivi in publicis carceribus detenti permutatione utrinque in libertatem afferantur. Magnus vero Poloniarum legatus de captivis suas instantias ad solum imperiale afferre poterit.

Articulus decimus: Quandocunque Serenissimus Rex Poloniae in stabilita cum Excelso Imperio pace firmiter permanebit, sicuti in antecedentibus capitulationibus declaratur, Moldaviae woiewoda etiam ea ratione, qua ab antiquo cum regibus Poloniarum sincere sese praestitit, rursus consueta ratione sincere tractet. Caeterum, instar aliorum subditorum Excelsi Imperii, uti prius, pacati sint; et e Moldaviae atque Valachiae provinciis, si qui transfugerint, ne recipiantur. Si qui alia methodo in Poloniae dominium irrepserint, ac postea provinciam suam perturbare et corrumpere deprehensi fuerint, similes homines quando perquirentur, reddantur, et conditio ista, cum in antecedentibus capitulationibus clare et manifeste posita sit, observetur. Pariter ex subditis Polonis, sive Poloni illi sint, sive Cosaci, cuiuscunque nationis extiterint, quando perturbationem afferent, hinc etiam neque recipiantur, neque protegantur, sed retro reddantur. Et universi quicunque turbare voluerint pacem atque amicitiam, haccine ratione conclusam ex merito puniantur.

Articulus undecimus: Quaecunque conditiones et clausulae, in antecedentibus capitulationibus descriptae atque contentae, nullatenus adversantur de recenter conclusis pactis, neque oppositae sunt liberis et perpetuis iuribus utriusque domini, deinceps etiam colantur et observentur; quae vero contrariae sunt, cassentur et annihilentur, favente et annuente **Deo** Altissimo. Quae utrinque declaratis et exaratis articulis perfectiori et exactiori ratione conclusa pax et conciliatio inter Maiestates Serenissimi et Potentissimi Poloniarum Regis eiusque successorum et Rempublicam Polonam, et Serenissimi atque Potentissimi Musulmanorum Imperatoris eiusdemque haerendum, ex voluntate et clementia **Dei**, perpetua, stabilis, firma, et inconcussa permaneat, et conservata atque custodita sit ab omni turbatione et mutatione et confusione et violatione, et uno eodemque tenore firmissime perseveret et constantissime continuet. Et ut omnes omnino hostilitates amoveantur atque sustollantur [*sic*], quam citissime notitia praebeatur in confiniis praesidentibus praefectis et gubernatoribus, ut sibi caveant, ne in posterum transgressionem fiant, neve altera pars alteri damna inferat, verum enimvero omnes utrinque sincere et amice sese praestent, iuxta istam almam pacem.

Ut autem omnibus cognita et comperta sit, istius almae pacis conclusio triginta dies pro termino ponantur, post quem nullus praetextus nullaque excusatio acceptabitur, sed in eos qui adversabuntur editis edictis, exactam obedientiam merentibus severissime animadvertatur. Post subscriptionem autem instrumentorum utriusque partis, ablegatus prius a Polonia missus, et ad Fulgidam Portam veniens, iuxta antiquam consuetudinem afferat regias publicas literas, ratificationem pactorum instrumentis declaratorum conti-

nentes, atque literas imperatorias ratificatorias item accipiat et deducat. Postea vero ad solennem confirmationem pactorum pacis et perfectionem sinceritatis reciprocae, et absolutam terminationem mutuae amicitiae, et dispositionem ac digestionem reliquarum rerum, iuxta laudatum veterem morem, adventurus magnus legatus, quam primum commode fieri poterit, moveat.

Ac proinde undecimo numero pactis conclusa, iuxta istas conclusiones alma pax ab utraque parte acceptetur atque colatur. Cum vero alte memorati illustrissimi et excellentissimi domini, Excelsi Imperii plenipotentarii et commissarii existentes legati, vi suae facultatis et authoritatis Turcico sermone exaratum legitimum et validum instrumentum tradiderint. Ego quoque vi facultatis et deputationis meae propria manu subscriptas et sigillo sigillatas, a me praesentes pactorum literas tanquam legitimum et validum instrumentum tradidi. Datum in congressu generali ad confinia Syrmii, Carlowitzii, die 26 mensis Ianuarii anno Domini 1699. Stanislaus Małachowski, palatinus Posnaniensis, legatus magnus et plenipotentarius Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis et Reipublicae Poloniarum (locus sigilli).

Uti quidem praesentibus literis nostris praeinsertum foedus pactum ac conclusum per omnia et singula approbamus, roboramus et solidamus.

Promittentes pro nobis et inclyta Republica Poloniae, regioque verbo pollicentes, ac insuper iureiurando per nomen **Dei** Omnipotentis spondentes nos omnia et singula in praefato foedere contenta sancte et religiose observaturos, impleturos observari et impleri, dummodo idem ab Excelso Imperio Ottomanico suisque subditis praestetur, curaturos. In quorum fidem et robur praesentes sigillo regni appenso communiri iussimus. Datum Varsaviae in regia nostra, die XXIV mensis Augusti, anno a nativitate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi MDCXCIX; regni nostri tertio.

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Ad mandatum Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis proprium, Venceslaus Franciscus Trzcinski pincerna palatinatus Ravensis Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis secretarius, manu propria.

DOCUMENT 62 (6–15 OCTOBER 1699)
The *‘ahdname* sent by Mustafa II to King August II
[Facs XXVII]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 78, t. 507, no. 837.

292 × 76.5 cm.

invocation (black): *divani* script

formula devotionis (black): *divani* script

tugra (gold with black outline)

text (black with gold insertions): *divani* script

a sign of correction, resembling the word *sahh*, is placed on the reverse side

Turkish copies:

A. BA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye [Ecnebi Defterleri], 55/1, pp. 22–26.

B. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D. 7018/1, fol. 33a–36a.

C. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D. 7018/2, fol. 49b–53a.¹

D. BA, Name-i Hümayun, no. 1, pp. 2–5 (articles only).

Polish translation: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 78, t. 507, no. 838. (without the articles of peace).²

Latin translation: Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 240b–243b (without the articles of peace).

French translation by Crutta: Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 181a–185a (without the articles of peace).

Published in *Relacya poselstwa Jaśnie Wielmożnego JMci Pana Stanisława Małachowskiego, wojewody poznańskiego do traktatu kartowickiego, oraz różnych kommissyi po tym traktacie nastąpiących* (Warsaw, 1778), pp. 51–54.

Hüve³

[I] Hazret-i Malikü'l-mülk-i la-yüzal ve Cenab-i Vahibü'l-'ataya ve'n-neval teferrüdet zatühü 'ani'-ş-şebihi ve'l-misal ve tenezzühet sıfatuhu 'an vasmeti'l-intikalin kemal-i kudret-i ezeliye ve vüfur-i mevhibet-i lem-yezeliyesi ve mihr-i sipehr-i nübüvvet ve ahter-i burc-i fütüvvet pişva-yi zümre-i enbiya ve mukteda-yi

¹ This copy is missing in the catalogue by Anafarta, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan (Polonya) arasındaki münasebetlerle ilgili tarihi belgeler/Historical documents concerning relations between the Ottoman Empire and Lehistan (Poland)* [(Istanbul, 1979)].

² This and the following translations do not contain the eleven articles of peace already known from the earlier *temessük* (Document 59).

³ Three small sheets of paper with notes written in Turkish were pasted on the document beneath the invocation. One of them is signed by Mustafa, the kadi of

- [III] fırka-i asfiya iki cihan fahri Muhammed el-Mustafa salla'llahu ta'ala 'aleyhi ve sellemin mu'cizat-i kesiretü'l-berekatı ve eshab <ke-zaynu>^a ve hulefa'ü'r-raşidin [ke-zaynu] ridvanu'llah ta'ala 'aleyhim ecma'in ve cümle-i evliya-i hedayet-karnın ervah-i mukaddeseleri mürafakatı ile

Mustafa-şah bin Mehmed han muzaffer da'ima

- [1] benki eşrefü'l-büldan u'l-emakin ve ebrekü'l-meda'in ü'l-mesakin kible-i cümle-i 'alem ve mihrab-i tevcih-i 'amme-i ümem olan Mekke-i mükerreme ve Medine-i münevvere ve Kuds-i şerif-i mübarekin hadım ü hakimî ve hasretü'l-müluk olan bilad-i selase-i mu'azzame ki İstanbul ve Edirne ve Brusa dır ve Şam cennet-meşamm ve Bagdad daru's-salam ve Masr nadiretü'l-'asr-i bi-hem-ta ve külliyyen 'Arabistan ve Haleb-i şehba ve 'İrak-i 'Arab u 'Acem ve Basra ve Ahsa ve Dilem ve Rakka ve Musul ve Şehrizul
- [2] ve Van ve Diyarbekir ve Du'l-kadriye ve Kürdistan ve Gürcistan ve vilayet-i Erzurum ve Sivas ve Adana ve Karaman ve Magreb ve Habeş ve Tunus ve Cezayir ve Trablus ve cezire-i Kıbrıs ve Rodos ve Girid ve Ak Deniz ve Kara Deniz ve cezayir ü sevhili ve diyar-i Anadolu ve memalik-i Rum-ili ve hususen memalik-i Tatar ve Deşt-i Kıpçak ve vilayet-i Kefe ve ol havalide olan cümle oymak ve diyar-i Bosna ve Temeşvar ve Belgrad ve ona tabi' kıla'
- [3] ve husun ve memalik-i Eflak ve Bogdan ve ta'rif ü tavsıfıdan müstagni niçe bika' ve büldanın padişah-i ma'delet-penahı ve şehinşah-i merhamet-destgahı es-sultan ibnü's-sultan ve'l-hakan ibnü'l-hakan es-Sultan Mustafa Han [ibnü's-Sultan Mehmed Han]^b ibnü's-Sultan İbrahim Hanım ki hall ü 'akd-i umur-i emn ü eman ve fevk ü retk-i kar-i cihanban bi-tevfiki'llahi'l-Meliki'l-Müste'an kabza-i tasarrufuma müsahhar u müfevvazdır fe-la-cerem şükran
- [4] 'ala tilke'n-ni'am zimmet-i himmet-i mülukaneme ahra ve ehemm olmuşdur ki sıdk-i niyet ve safa-i taviyet ile izhar-i hulusiyet idenlere 'avatıf-i 'aliye-i padişahanemiz bi-dirig ola bina'en 'ala zalik kadimü'l-eyyamdan berü Leh kralı ve cumhuri 'atebe-i 'aliye-i gerdun-penah ve südde-i seniye-i felek-iştibahımıza 'arz-i sadakat u ihlas ve hamışe izhar-i meveddet ü ihtisas idüb dostluk ide-gelmişler iken iftiharü'l-ümera'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye
- [5] muhtarü'l-kübera'i'l-fihami'l-mesihîye muslihu masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye sahibü ezyali'l-haşmet ü'l-vakar sahibü delayili'l-mecd

the town in Dobrudja, Hacı Oğlu Bazarı (Bazarcık, today Bulg. Dobrič). The notes, which contain interpretations of two portions of the *'ahdname* of 1678, were apparently obtained by Ambassador Gniński during his prolonged stay in this town in the autumn of 1678 and brought to the royal chancery along with the *'ahdname*. Later on, perhaps by error, they were pasted on the document of 1699; on Gniński's stay in Bazarcık, see Pułaski, *Żródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego*, pp. 184–92, 400–405.

^a Written in the wrong place.

^b Missing in the original document, but written in A., B., and C.

ü'l-i-tibar hala Leh kralı ve Litva^c ve Rusya^d ve bunlara tabi vilayetlerin hükümdarı Augustus-i Sani^e hutimet 'avakibühü bi'l-hayr u'r-reşad ve selefi ve cumhuri ile mabeynde vuku bulan husumet ü 'adavet ve harb u kıtaldan re'aya ve beraya muztaribü'l-ahval olmalarıyla mabeynde olan kadimi

- [6] sulh u salahı ibka ve eski dostluk ve konşuluk merasimin ihya için mefahirü'l-ümerä'i'l-'izami'l-'iseviye meraci'ü'l-kübera'i'l-fıhami'l-mesihîye muslihu[nu]^f masalihi cemahiri't-tayifeti'n-nasraniye savahibü ezyali'l-şahmet ü'l-vakar eshabü delayili'l-mecd ü'l-i-tibar İngiltere^g ve Iskoçya^h ve İbranyaⁱ kralı Vilemos-i Salis^j ve Niderlanda İstati Ceneralleri^k hutimet 'avakibühüm bi'l-hayr u'r-reşad ıslah-i zatü'l-beyn için tavassut u istirza^l
- [7] eylediklerin dasturu akram müşiru afham nizamü'l-'alam nazimu manazimu'l-umam mudabbiru umuri'l-cumhur bi'l-fikr as-sakib mutammimu mahami'l-anam bi'r-re'yi's-sa'ib mumahhidu bunyani'd-dawlat u'l-ikbal müşayyidu arkani's-sa'ada wa'l-iclal mukammilu namusi saltanati'l-'azami murattibu meratibi hilafet al-mahfuf bi-sunufi 'avatifi'l-Meliki'l-A'la veziri a'zam-i Asaf-şiyem ve vekil-i mutlak-i sadakat-'alem serdar-i ekrem Hüseyin Paşa edama'llahu ta'ala
- [8] iclahü ve da'efe iktidarehü 'izz-i huzur-i fa'izü'l-hubur-i hüsvaneme 'arz ü telhis itmeleriyle müşarun-ileyhimin tergib ü vesatlarıyla musalahaya meyl ü ragbet olunmagın Serem^l yakasında sınır başına karib Karloviçe^m nam mahalde mükaleme-i mevadd-i sulh ve 'akd-i musalahat için tarafeynin vekilleri ve müntahab elçileri bir yere geldiklerinde kıdveti-iⁿ 'uzama'i'l-milleti'l-mesihîye İngiltere elçisi Baron di-Bodezert Vilemos Lort Paget^o ve Niderlanda elçisi
- [9] Sinyor Yakobo Kolyer^p hüsn-i sa'île mabeynde hizmet-i tavassut merasimini ke-ma yenbagi icra idüb ve bi'd-defa'at müzakere ve mükalemeden sonra on bir madde üzerine vükela-i tarafeyn hüsn-i rıza ile işbu

^c لتوه.

^d روسیه.

^e اوغوستوس ثانی.

^f انکلتره. مصلحو; written in an incorrect Arabic plural: *muslihu* instead of *muslihun*.

^g انکلتره.

^h اسکوچیہ.

ⁱ ایبرنیہ.

^j ویلموس ثالث.

^k ندرلانده استاتی جنراللری.

^l سرم.

^m قارلوویچه.

ⁿ قدوتی; apparently written in an incorrect Arabic plural; cf. note f above (*muslihu*) and Document 59, note n.

^o بارون دیباودزرت ویلموس لورت پاکت; in the Latin translation: *Vilhelmo Lord Pagett Barone de Beaudesert*. The French *eau* is rendered here by two Arabic letters *elif* and *vav*. In the *temessük* of January 1699 this name is written phonetically with *vav* only; cf. Document 59, note o.

^p سنیرور یاقوبو قولیر; in the Latin translation: *Domino Jacobo Collier*.

- seneti 'aşara ve mi'ate ve elf Recebinin yigirmi dördüncü gününde mü'ebbeden 'akd-i musalaha idüb ma'mulün-bih olmak üzere canibeyn-den temessükler virilmekle mu'tad-i kadim üzere virilen temessük mazmununu mü'eyyid ü mü'ekkid rikab-i hümayun-i şevket-makrunuma
- [10] küçük elçilik hizmetiyle ta'yin olunan kdvatü 'uzama'i'l-milleti'l-mesihiye Ladişlavus Jevucki^q ile gönderilen namesi tercüme ve müşarun-ileyh vezir-i a'zamım vesatıtiyla paye-i serir-i a'lamıza telhis olunub umur-i sulh u salah her ne ise 'ilm-i 'alem-şümül-i hüsvanem muhit ü şamil oldukda re'aya ve berayanın refahiyet ve istirahatlarıyçün rica ve iltimasına taraf-i hümayunumdan dahi müsa'ade-i 'aliye-i hüsvanem erzani kılınub
- [11] hatt-i hümayun-i şevket-makrunumuzla ferman-i 'ali-şanımız sadır olmanın işbu tugra-i garra-i cihan-aramızla müşerref 'ahdname-i hümayun sa'adet-makrunumuz şeref-yafte sudur olub yerlü yerinde ri'yanet ve sıyanet olunmak için işbu on bir madde dir ki zıkr olunur **evvelki madde** devlet-i 'aliye-i ebed-peyvendimle mabeynde bu kadar zamandan berü vakı' olan husumet bi-'avni'llahi ta'ala ve tevfihi bi'l-külliyeye mürtefi' ve muhabbete mübeddel olub hüsn-i cara muvafık-i hulul üzere olan kadimi dostluk yine hasıl olmanın tarafeynden ta'addiyat mündefi' ve re'aya ve beraya evvelki gibi emn ü eman ve asayiş ü istirahat ile müreffehü'l-hal olmalarıyçün bu iki cengden evvel mabeynde mer'i tutulan eski hudud ibka ve gerek Bogdan vilayeti ve gerek gayri memalik-i mahrusen muzafatundan olan
- [13] yerler ile Leh vilayetinin sınırı eski hudud ile mahdud olalar ve min ba'd öteye berüye tecavüz olunmayub işbu kadimi hudud kemal-i hurmet ile bila-tebdil ve la-tagayyür müra'at oluna **ikinci madde** bu cengden evvel Bogdan vilayetinin sınır-i kadimesi dahilinde olub hala içinde Leh 'askeri olan büyük ve küçük cümle kal'e ve yerlerden Leh 'askeri ihrac ve tahliye ve Bogdan memleketi bi'l-külliyeye tathir olunub
- [14] bu cengden evvel olduğu gibi asude-hal ola<lar>^r **üçüncü madde** iki cengden evvel Leh vilayetinin sınır-i kadimesi dahilinde olan Kamanice^s kal'esi içinde olan 'askeri ihrac ve tahliye olunmagla bütün kala ve ba'de'l-yevm Podolya^t ve Ukrayna^u vilayetlerinde devlet-i 'aliyem tarafından bir dürlü 'alaka olmaya ve sonra nesb olunub Bogdan içinde oturan Ukrayna Kazagı hetmanı
- [15] ref' oluna ve Leh ve Bogdan vilayetlerinin hudud-i kadimesi mu'ayyen olmagla hava müsa'id olursa işbu gelecek Mart ibtidasından tahliyeye mübaşeret olunub ne kadar mukaddemce mümkün olursa bir gün evvel Bogdandan Leh 'askeri ihrac ve cümle kal'e ve yerleri tahliye ve Bogdan

^q لادشلاوس ژوجکی; in fact, the first name of the Polish envoy was Stanisław and not Władysław.

^r In the *temessük* written correctly: *ola*; cf. Document 59.

^s قمانیچہ.

^t پودولیه.

^u اوکراینه.

vilayeti tathir oluna ve Kamanıçe kal'esinin tahliyesine bile Mart ibtidasından şuru' oluna ve tahliye emri kangı tarafdand evvel olmak mümkün ise bila-tereddüd

- [16] ve bila-tesamuh heman icra oluna ve Kamanıçe tahliyesi en çok Mayısın on beşinci gününe degin tamam ola ve kal'e-i mezburenin asanlıkla boşadılmasıyçün yük tahmil ü naklına Leh tarafından dahi mümkün mertebe 'araba ve davar ile imdad oluna ve her yerde tahliye hususi emniyet ü selamet ile icra oluna tarafeynden tahliye olunan kal'eler ve sa'ir mevazi-i mahrusede sakin olan re'ayadan hüsn-i rızalarıyla
- [17] çıkmak murad idenler emval ve erzaklarıyla emniyet ü selamet ile çıkub kalmak isteyenler dahi salimen kalalar tarafeynden bir vechle cebr ü ta'arruz olunmaya ve Kamanıçe kal'esinin tahliyesi Mart ibtidasından mübaşeret olunmak üzere karar-dade olmagla Kamanıçe kal'esinde evvelde içinde bulunan kendü toplarından top alı-konmasına müta'allık iltimaslarını der 'akb asitane-i sa'adetime göndürilecek küçük Leh elçisi 'atebe-i 'aliye-i hüsevaneme 'arz eyleye
- [18] **dördüncü madde** devlet-i 'aliyeme tabi' olan esnaf-i 'asker ba husus tava'if-i Tatar bir dürlü 'illet ü bahane ve mutalebe ile Leh re'ayasına ta'addi ve sınırlarına tecavüz eylemek ve esir ve davar sürmek ve ahar vechle zarar eylemege kadar olmaya ve vüzera ve beglerbegilere ve Kırım hanına ve kalgayı ve nure'd-din ve sa'ir sultanlara ve Bogdan voyvodasına sarahaten evamir-i şerifem ile tenbih ve te'kid oluna ki sınırların nizamını
- [19] ve bu barışıklık levazımını kemal-i ihtimam ile ri'ayet ve sıyanet eyleyeler esir almagla ve hayvanat sürmekle ve gayri vechle Leh re'ayasına zarar eyleyüb sulh u salahın şera'itine muhalif ile ihtilala ba'is olanları teftiş ü tafahhus idüb zahir oldukda ahara muceb-i 'ibret içün hakklarından geeler ve gasb olunan eşya dahi buldurulub sahiblerine redd oluna ve bu hususda ihmal ve müsamaha idenlerin 'azille mi
- [20] yohsa katilla mi şer'an sezaralı olan cezaları virile ve bu şurut-i musalaha bi'l-cümle Lehlü tarafından dahi ke-zalik kemal-i takayyüd ve ihtimam ile ri'ayet olunub bir ferd hilafına cesaret eylemeye **beşinci madde** Leh vilayeti kadimden müstakil devlet olmagla devlet-i 'aliyem ve tabi' olan ta'ifeleri tarafından teklif olunan her ne ise mutalebesi bahane-siyle bir dürlü ta'addi ile incidilmeyüb bu sulh u salahın şerayiti
- [21] muktazasınca bu makule tekalif taraflarına mültezem olmaya **altıncı madde** esna-i cengde Bucaklu ve gayri Tatar kadimi meskenlerinden çıkub ve Bogdan arazisine girüb bu vechle eyledikleri dahl u tecavüzleri mukaddema Leh kralı ve cumhurine ihsan olunan 'ahdname-i hümayun şerayitine muhalif olub bi'l-küllüye def' olunmak iktiza' itmekle Tatar ta'ifesi Bogdan içinde tagallüben zabt u ahdas eyledikleri cümle yer ve çiftlik ve kışlaklardan ihrac
- [22] ve kadimi meskenlerine iskan itdirilüb ve kendü hallerinde olub kimesneyi rencide eylemeyeler **yedinci madde** hazret-i 'İsa dininde olub Rim papaya^v mensub olan rahiblere ihsan olunan evamir-i şerifenin

^v ریم پاپایه.

mazmun-i münifi üzere kiliseleri olduğu yerlerde mu'tad olan ayinlerin icra eylediklerinde kimesne mani' olmayub asude-hal olalar ve ayinlerine müta'allık gayri iltimaslarını büyük elçisi sūdde-i seniye-i

- [23] şehriyariye 'arz eyleye **sekizinci madde** ticaret ahvali semere-i sulh u salahdan olub mucib-i 'imaret-i memleket olmagla ba'de'l-yevm ahsen-i vech üzere nizama konulub tarafeynin tüccarı mahfı yerlerden gelüb gitmeyüb memerr-i nas olan yerlerden kendü hallerinde gelüb gidüb getürdikleri ve alub götürdikleri emti'anın gümrüğün kanun-i kadim üzere eda eylediklerinden sonra muhdes olan tekalif talebiyle rencide olunmayalar
- [24] ve getürdikleri nakd akçeden gümrük taleb olunmaya ve Leh vilayetinde dogmuş Leh re'ayası olan Leh ve Litva^w ve gayri milletden ticaret ile gelenler ma damki zararları olmaya minval-i meşruh üzere ticaret ve bey' ü şıraların eylediklerinde selefde virilen 'ahdnamelerde tasrih olunduğı üzere harac ve tekalif-i şakka talebiyle rencide olunmaya amma Leh vilayetini terk ve memalik-i mahrusemde tevattun idüb
- [25] veyahud aralarına ecnebi karışmagla taraf-i miriye gadr olunmaya ve Leh bazarganları vilayetlerine 'avdet eylediklerinde yat u yaraklarına ve davarlarına ve tahlis olundugına elinde hüccet-i şer'iyesi olub vilayetlerine giden esirlerden nesne taleb olunmayub bile götürdiklerine dahl u ta'arruz olunmaya amma bu bahane ile memnu' olan eşyayı bila-izn götürmeyeler ve tarafeynin bazarganlarından ahar
- [26] vilayetde vefat idenlerin emval ü erzaklarına beytü'l-mal ve kassam tarafından dahl u ta'arruz olunmayub mabeynlerinde i'timad eyledikleri kimesneye teslim oluna ki götürüb defteriyle varislerine teslim eyleye ve tüccar ta'ifesinin mabeynlerinde bir 'arıza zuhur iderse yine aralarında başları ma'rifetiyle görüle ki lazım olan yerlerde^x cevap vireler ma'mulün-bih ve memhur temessük veyahud hüccet ile sabit olmayan
- [27] borc hilaf-i şer'-i şerif taleb olunmaya bu makule deyn ü kefalet da'vaları mücerred şahid-i zur ile istima' olunmayub hüccet-i şer'iyeye ve temessükata ve evvelden yedlerinde olan evamir-i şerifeye nazar olunub hakk u 'adl üzere fasl oluna ve bu da'va hususunda sa'ir müste'min ta'ifelerine ihsan olunan 'ahdnamelerde mestur u mukayyed olan madde Leh tüccarına dahi şamil ola ve kendülere mahsusan mukaddema ihsan
- [28] olunub yedlerinde olan evamir-i şerifenin mazmunı dahi mer'i tutıla **dokuzuncı madde** ceng esnasında Lehlüden alınan esirler alındığı bahaları şer'an isbat veyahud sahiblerine yemin ile zahir olan bahaları eda olunmagla selefde virilen 'ahdnamelerde beyan olunduğı üzere ıtlak olunalar meger çok hizmetleri sebkat itmiş ise alındıklarından aşağı mürtüvveten bahaları tenzil olunmak iktiza eyleye
- [29] bu takdirce ma'kul u mu'tedil baha ile esir sahibiyle uzlaşılmaz ise hakimü'l-vakt şer'le görüb mabeynlerin tevfiğ eyleye ve 'akd-i sulh u

^w لتوه.

^x In all the copies and the *temessük*: yerlere.

salahdan sonra Leh vilayetinden bir tarikle esir ihrac olunmak olursa bila-baha salı-virile ve memalik-i mahrusemde ve Tatar aralarında Lehlü esara tahlisine giden kimesneler kendü hallerinde iken siz esir kurtarmaga geldiniz deyü bir dürlü zarar olunmayub zarar kasdında olanların

- [30] hakkından geline ve beglik zindanlarda olan esara bedelleriyle tarafeynden ıtlak olunalar ve Lehin büyük elçisi esirlerine müta'alık olan gayri iltimaslarını 'atebe-i 'aliye-i hüsrevaneme 'arz eyleye **onuncı madde** selefde virilen 'ahdnamelerde mestur olduğu üzere Leh kralı südde-i sa'adetime olan dostlugunda sabit-kadem oldukça Bogdan voyvodası dahi kadimden Leh kralı ile ne vechle musafat üzere
- [31] olı-gelmiş ise olvechle musafat üzere olub devlet-i 'aliyemin sa'ir re'ayası gibi ke-ma kan asude-hal olalar ve Bogdan ve Eflak vilayetlerinden kaçanlar kabul olunmaya bir tarikle Leh vilayetine sığınub ba'dehu memleketine fitne bıragub müfsidlik ider olursa anın gibiler taleb olunduklarında girü teslim oluna selefde virilen 'ahdnamelerde bu madde mu'ayyen olmagla ke-ma yenbagi mer'i tutıla ke-zalık Leh re'ayasından
- [32] gerek Lehlü ve gerek Kazak ve her kangı milletden olursa olsun fesad u şekavet eyledikde berü tarafdıan kabul ve himaye olunmayub girü redd oluna bu makule mabeynde mün'akıd olan sulh u salahın ihtilaline ba'is olanların sezaraları üzere cezaları virile **on birinci madde** selefde virilen 'ahdnamelerde mestur u mukayyed olub haliya 'akd olunan şurut u kuyuda mugayir ve iki devletin rüsum-i müstemirresine muhalif ü muzırr olmayan
- [33] mevadd bundan böyle dahi mer'i tutulub mutagayyır olanlar fesh ü nesh oluna ve bi-'avni'llahi ta'ala ve tevfiikihi işbu tahrir ü tastır olunan mevadd ile mabeynde vech-i etemm ü ekmel üzere 'akd olunan sulh u salah cenab-i hilafet-ma'abım ve varis-i saltanatımız ile müşarun-ileyh Leh kralı ve halifeleri ve Leh cumhuri beyninde inşa'a'llah ta'ala mü'ebbed ü mü'ekked ve mü'eyyed ü müşeyyed olub tebdil ü tagayyır ve ihtilal ü ihtilafdan masun u mahfuz
- [34] ve ber-karar u üstüvar olub ta'addiyat dahi bi'l-küllıye men' ü def' olunmak için serhadd-nişin olan hükkam ve zabıtlara bir gün evvel haber irişdirile ki ba'de'l-yevm tecavüz ve birbirine isal-i mazarratdan hazer idüb bu sulh u salaha muktazasınca müvalat u musafat üzere 'amal ü hareket ideler lakin cümlelerin 'ilmi 'akd-i sulh u salaha lahik olmak için temessük tarihinden otuz gün müddet ta'yin olunub
- [35] andan sonra bir dürlü öZR ü bahane kabul olunmayub sadır olan ferman-i vacibü'l-ita'atıma muhalefet idenlerin muhkem hakkından geline ve tarafeynin temessükleri imzadan sonra mu'tad-i kadim üzere Leh tarafından küçük elçi bir gün evvel der-i devlet-medarıma gelüb temessükdeki mevadd kabulunu müş'irname getüre ve taraf-i hümayunumdan dahi alub götüre ba'dehu takviyet-i mevadd-i sulh u salahla tek-mil-i musafat ve tetmim-i müvalat
- [36] ve tanzim-i umur-i sa'ire için de'b-i hasene-i kadime üzere gelecek Mayıs ayında büyük elçi dahi irsal oluna **imdi** fımaba'd eyyam-i devlet-i hümayun ve hengam-i saltanat-i sa'adet-makrunumda balada tafsıl

olunan şurut u kuyud ve mevadd [u]^y ‘uhud muktazasınca ‘amal ve sulh u salah levazımı geregi gibi mūra‘at olunub ma damki kiral tarafından ve kapudanlarından ve beglerinden ve gayriden mucceb-i ihtilal-i ‘ahd ü peyman

[37] ve ba‘is-i inhiraf-i şart u iman bir vaz‘ ü halet sadır olmayub dostluk ve barışıklık hukukına ke-ma yenbagi ri‘ayet ideler yerleri ve gökleri yokdan var iden Perverdegar celle celalehünün ism-i şerifini yad ve ulu peygamberimiz iki cihan güneşi Muhammed el-Mustafa salla’llahu ta‘ala ‘aleyhi ve sellemin mu‘cizat-i kesiretü’l-berekatlarını irad idüb şime-i kerime-i hüsvan-i sadakat-mu‘tad ve ka‘ide-i

[38] merziye-i tac-daran-i vefa-i‘tiyad üzere ‘ahd ü misak ideriz ki minval-i meşruh üzere mu‘ahede olunan maddelerden cüzvi ve külli ber hususda tahallüf ü tecavüz olunmayub müddet-i baka-yi devlet-i ruz-efzun ve zaman-i sebat-i saltanat-i ebed-makrunumda bu sulh u salah mukarrer ve mü‘ebbed ve bu ‘ahd ü aman mü‘ekked ü mü‘eyyed olub bir ferd hilafete mütā‘allık vaz‘ ü hareket eylemeye tahriren fi evasiti

[39] şehri Rebi‘i’l-ahri seneti ahda ‘aşara ve mi‘ate ve elf

bi-makami
dari’s-saltanati’l-‘aliye
Kostantiniye’l-mahruse
m.^z

Translation:

He

[tugra] *Mustafa-shah, son of Mehmed, the ever victorious khan*

I who,

by the perfection of the eternal power, and the abundance of the nonelapsing gift of His Excellency, the everlasting Lord of the kingdom of heaven, earth, and hell, and the Bestower of largess and gifts (His essence being unique above any comparison and similarity and His attributes being free from the defect of being transient!), and by the miracles, full of divine blessings, of Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), the sun of the heaven of prophecy, the star of the constellation of generosity, the leader of the class of prophets, the guide of the group of saints, the pride of the two worlds, and by the assistance of the sanctified souls of his companions and the well-guided caliphs⁴ (may the ornament of the approbation of God—may He be exalted!—be upon them all!), and of all the saints, associated with the right path [of Islam],

^y In B. only.

^z An abbreviation of *temme* (“the end”), a customary closing formula.

⁴ *Hulefa’ü’r-raşidin*, i.e., the first four caliphs: Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and Ali.

am the servant and governor of the noblest of the cities and sites, the most blessed of the towns and [human] dwellings, of Mecca the venerated, being the kable of the whole world and the mihrab, toward which turn all the nations, of Medina the enlightened, and of the blessed, noble Jerusalem, and the just padishah and merciful shahinshah of the three great cities, which afflict the kings with nostalgia, Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa, and of Damascus, fragrant as paradise, of Baghdad, the abode of peace, of the unequaled Egypt, being the prodigy of the epoch, of the whole of Arabia, of ash-colored Haleb [i.e., Aleppo], of the Arabian and Persian Iraq [i.e., Babylonia and Media], of Basra, Lahsa, Dilem, Rakka, Mosul, Shehrizul, Van, Diyarbakır, Zulkadir, Kurdistan, Georgia, of the province of Erzurum, Sivas, Adana, Karaman, Maghreb, Ethiopia, Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, of the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Krete, of the White [i.e., Mediterranean] Sea and the Black Sea along with their islands and coasts, of the country of Anatolia and lands of Rumelia, and particularly of the Tatar countries, the Kıpçak steppe, the province of Caffa, and of all the tribes being in these regions, and of Bosnia, Temesvár, Belgrade, and their dependent fortresses and castles, and of the countries of Wallachia and Moldavia, and of many [other] territories and countries that have no need to be mentioned and described, the sultan, son of the sultan, and the emperor, son of the emperor, Sultan Mustafa Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Sultan Ibrahim Khan.

Since—with the divine guidance of the Lord, Whose aid is implored—the binding and the loosing of the matters of safety and security, and the rending and the mending of the acts of the sovereign of the world have been subjected and committed to the grasp of my power, while expressing gratitude by all means for these blessings, it is my worthy and most important royal incumbency that our high imperial favors be not denied to those displaying sincerity of purpose, clearness of intention, and devotion.

Therefore, while since olden days the Polish king[s] and commonwealth used to display loyalty and sincerity toward our high threshold, which takes refuge in heaven, and toward our exalted court, almost as high as the firmament, and they always demonstrated friendship and devotion, remaining in amity, [recently] the subjects have suffered from the enmity and hostility, war and killing existing between [us and] the present king of Poland, the ruler of Lithuania, Ruthenia and their dependent provinces, the pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious Christian dignitaries, the restorer of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, he who trails the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessor of the signs of glory and esteem, August the Second (may his days end with good and with [his] taking the right path!), his predecessor and his republic;

on the mediation and effort to reconcile the two sides by the pride of the great Christian princes, the authorities of the illustrious Christian dignitaries, the restorers of the proper course of the peoples of the Nazarene community, those, who trail the skirts of pomp and stateliness, the possessors of the signs of glory and esteem, the king of England, Scotland, and Britain, William the Third, and the General States of the Netherlands⁵ (may their days end with good and with [their] taking the right path!) in order to keep the ancient peace and amity between [the two sides] and to bring to life the established

⁵ The General States of the Netherlands are treated in this text as a person.

usages of friendship and neighborliness, the generous vizier, the illustrious müşir,⁶ the principle of the world order, who orders the ranks of nations, who takes the measure of human affairs by penetrating thought, who perfects the necessities of mankind with sound judgement, who arranges the building of power and prosperity well and solidly, who builds and strengthens the pillars of felicity and glory, who perfects the law of the highest sultanate, who sets the ranks of the caliphate in order, surrounded by the numerous favors of the Highest King, the grand vizier with the qualities of Asaph⁷ and the absolute deputy marked by fidelity, the great serdar Huseyn Pasha⁸ (may God—may He be exalted!—make his glory eternal and double his power!), submitted a petition and report in my imperial glorious presence, abundant with happiness;

[and] with the encouragement and mediation of the aforementioned, the inclination and desire of pacification arose; while the deputies and chosen envoys from both sides met in a place called Karlovice, situated close to the border on the [Danubian] shore of Srem, in order to discuss the matters of peace and to reach a reconciliation, the exemplars of the notables of the Christian nations; the English envoy, William Lord Paget, Baron de Beaudesert; and the Dutch envoy, Signor Jacobo Collier; provided their best services in mediation between [the two sides] with earnest endeavor;

after repeated conferences and negotiations, a perpetual peace consisting of eleven articles was concluded with the full consent of the deputies of the two sides on the twenty-fourth day of Redjeb of this year 1110,⁹ and in order that it be observed, temessüks were given by both sides;

[now], the [royal] letter sent through the model of the notables of the Christian nations, appointed as a small envoy to my imperial, glorious stirrup, Władysław Rzewuski,¹⁰ confirming and strengthening the contents of the temessük given [previously] according to the old custom has been translated and submitted to the foot of our highest throne through the mediation of the said grand vizier;

as the matters of peace and amity, in whatever form, were comprehended and contained by my imperial knowledge, embracing the universe, for the sake of the ease and comfort of the subjects, also from my imperial side my high royal permission has been granted on his [i.e., the vizier's] request and petition;

[and] as our illustrious, exalted firman with our glorious, imperial writing has been issued, this our felicitous and honored imperial 'ahdname, honored with our brilliant, world-adorning tugra, has been composed; and these eleven articles, fixed in their proper place so that they should be respected and preserved, are stated [below].¹¹

⁶ Müşir, Tur. "who makes a sign," an honorary title for a vizier.

⁷ Asaph was the vizier of King Solomon.

⁸ I.e., the grand vizier Amcazade Huseyn Köprülü.

⁹ I.e., 26 January 1699.

¹⁰ In fact, the first name of the Polish envoy was Stanisław and not Władysław.

¹¹ The articles of peace are copied almost word by word after the temessük; see Document 59. Only the "imperial court" was changed to "my imperial court" since the 'ahdname was granted by the sultan himself. Numerous problems referred to in this document had been already resolved by the time the 'ahdname was issued. For instance, the small envoy Rzewuski arrived at Istanbul in the spring of 1699 and the fortress of Kamieniec was evacuated by 22 September.

The first article: With the assistance and guidance of God (may He be exalted!), the enmity existing for some time between [Poland] and my exalted eternal state should be totally abolished and transformed into friendship; the old amity, being in sincere conformity with the [principles of] good neighborliness, should be restored, so that the aggression on the two sides might cease and so that the subjects may live in a prosperous state in safety, security, tranquillity and ease, as it used to be previously; the old border between [the two states] observed before these two wars should be preserved, and the borders of Poland should be separated from the territories of Moldavia and the other dependencies of my well-protected dominions in conformity with the old border. Henceforth no aggression should occur from this side or the other, and this old border should be observed with the utmost respect, without any change or alteration.

The second article: Polish soldiers stationed at present in the large and small fortresses and sites situated within the old, prewar borders of Moldavia should leave and vacate them all; and Moldavia should be completely evacuated and remain in tranquillity as before this war.

The third article: [Ottoman] soldiers stationed in the fortress of Kamieniec, situated within the old borders of Poland before the two wars, should leave and vacate it, and it should remain intact. Henceforth no kind of claim should be made from the side of my high state concerning Podolia and Ukraine. Then, the hetman of the Ukrainian Cossacks, appointed [by the Ottoman side] and residing in Moldavia, will be dismissed. As the old borders between Poland and Moldavia are known, if weather permits, evacuation will start at the beginning of this coming March; and if it is possible any earlier, the Polish soldiers should leave Moldavia and vacate all fortresses and sites as soon as possible, and Moldavia should be evacuated. The evacuation of the fortress of Kamieniec should start as early as the beginning of March. From whichever side an order of evacuation can be issued first, it should be done at once without hesitation and without negligence. The evacuation of Kamieniec should be completed by the fifteenth of May at the latest. In order to facilitate the vacating of the said fortress, as many carts and beasts as possible should also be provided by the Polish side for the loading and the transporting of loads. The evacuation should be carried out in every place in complete safety and security. Those from among the subjects dwelling in the fortresses and other guarded sites evacuated by the two sides who wish to leave of their own free will may leave in safety and security along with their property and goods; and those wishing to stay may stay in safety as well. No kind of force or molestation should occur on either of the two sides. While it was fixed that the evacuation of the fortress of Kamieniec should start at the beginning of March, their petition that their own cannons which were previously in the fortress of Kamieniec might be left may be submitted to my high imperial court by the small Polish envoy who will be sent immediately to my felicitous threshold.

The fourth article: None of the troops dependent on my high state, and especially the Tatars, should attack Polish subjects and transgress the Polish borders under any kind of excuse, pretext, or title, nor should they drive away captives or animals nor should they cause any other damage. And it will be clearly commanded and confirmed by noble orders to the viziers and beylerbeyis, to the Crimean khan, kalga, nureddin, and the other [Tatar] princes and to the hospodar of Moldavia that they should respect and preserve with the utmost care the order on the frontiers and the provisions of this peace. [As concerns] those who would take prisoners, drive away animals, or inflict damage on Polish subjects in any way and who are the cause of disturbance contrary to the conditions of the peace and amity, after an investigation and inquiry is made and [their

crime] is evident, they will be punished as a necessary warning to the others. Also, goods seized by violence should be returned to their owners after it is ordered that they be found. And those guilty of carelessness and negligence in this matter should receive their merited punishment according to the *şer'i'at*, whether it is dismissal or death. Likewise, these conditions of peace should also be entirely respected by the Poles with the utmost attention and care, and nobody should dare to act in a contrary manner.

The fifth article: As Poland has been a free state since olden times, it should not be disturbed by any kind of oppression resulting from any claims by my high state and its dependent tribes; in accordance with the terms of this peace and amity, no claim of this kind will be respected.

The sixth article: During the war the Tatars of Budjak and others left their old dwellings and entered the territory of Moldavia; their consequent invasion and attacks were contrary to the conditions of the imperial *'ahdname* granted previously to the Polish king and republic; as it was required that they be completely expelled, the Tatars who seized [land] by force in Moldavia and caused trouble should leave all the land, farms, and winter quarters and be settled in their old dwellings; [henceforth] they should live in tranquillity and not cause harm to anybody.

The seventh article: In accordance with the illustrious contents of the noble orders granted to the Christian monks¹² subject to the pope of Rome, nobody should hinder them from performing their customary acts of worship on the sites where their churches exist and they should live in tranquillity. Their [i.e., Polish] other requests concerning their religion should be submitted to the exalted imperial threshold by their great ambassador.

The eighth article: As the conditions of trade result from peace and amity and promote the wellbeing of a country, henceforth they will be regulated in the best manner; the merchants of the two sides should not come and go through hidden places, but they should travel quietly through the public thoroughfare; after they pay customs on imported and exported goods according to the old law, they should not be molested by demands to pay any new taxes. And no one should impose customs duties on the cash [*nakd akçe*] that they bring. Polish subjects born in Poland, from among the Polish, Lithuanian, and other nations, may come for the purpose of trade on condition they do not commit any harm. When they engage in trade and sell and buy in the manner described, they should not be molested by demands to pay *harac* and extraordinary taxes [*tekalif-i şakka*], as stipulated in the *'ahdnames* given in the past.¹³ But if they leave Poland and settle in my well-protected dominions or if a foreigner mingles with them, one should not cheat the state treasury. When Polish merchants return to their country, nobody should meddle and interfere with their arms, animals, and released prisoners whom they conduct; and nothing should be demanded from the prisoners who bear in their hands legal certificates [of manumission] and are returning home. But under this pretext they should not carry out forbidden goods without permission.

The [agents of the] state treasury and functionaries dealing with inheritances [*kas-sam*] should not meddle and interfere with the property or goods of merchants of either of the two sides, who die in each other's country; they [i.e., their effects] should be handed over to reliable men from among them, so that they may take them [to their

¹² Lit. "the monks being in the religion of his excellency Jesus."

¹³ Tur. *selef* means "predecessor," thus *selefde* could be interpreted: "in [the times of our] predecessors." Here it is rendered more simply: "in the past."

country] and hand them over to their heirs with a register [of these effects]. If an accident happens among the merchants, it should be investigated by the leaders among them, so that they may find the right resolve.

One should not demand, as contrary to the *şer'iat*, [the payment of] a debt that is not proved by a sealed receipt, which ought to be observed, or by a certificate [*hüccet*]. In this kind of conflict concerning debts or bails, no single false witness should be heard; one should look at the legal certificates [*hüccet-i şer'iyе*], receipts [*temessükat*], and previous noble orders being in their hands and resolve [the dispute] according to truth and justice. And in the matter of such disputes, the articles written and registered in the 'ahdnames given to other foreign nations apply also to the Polish merchants. The contents of the noble orders, previously granted expressly to them and being in their hands, will be observed as well.

The ninth article: The prisoners taken during the war from among the Poles will be set free after the price of their purchase, confirmed legally [*şer'an*] or revealed by their owners with an oath, is repaid in the manner described in the 'ahdnames given in the past. But if they have previously rendered many services, it is necessary that their prices be generously reduced below the price of their purchase. Supposing that a prisoner cannot agree with his owner on a reasonable and moderate price, the judge of the time should look [into the matter] according to the *şer'iat*, and find a compromise between them. After the conclusion of peace and amity, if captives are taken from Poland in any way, they should be released without ransom. Those who arrive in tranquillity to liberate Polish captives held in my well-protected dominions or among the Tatars should not be injured in any way by those saying: "you came to rescue prisoners!;" those who intend to hurt [them] will be punished. Prisoners held in state prisons will be set free on the principle of mutual exchange. Other requests regarding prisoners may be submitted to my high imperial threshold by the great ambassador of the Poles.

The tenth article: As it is set forth in the 'ahdnames given in the past, "as long as the friendship between the Polish king and my felicitous threshold is firm, [the relationship] between the Moldavian hospodar and the Polish king should also be kept in the same friendly way as it has been since olden times; like other subjects of my high state they [i.e., the Moldavians] should live in tranquillity as they used to. Deserters from Moldavia and Wallachia should not be accepted [in Poland]. If they take refuge in Poland and then [come back] to their country and raise rebellion and intrigue, when requested, such individuals should be delivered back [to their country]."¹⁴

As this article is defined in the 'ahdnames given in the past, it should be properly observed. Likewise, if any among the Polish subjects, whether from the Poles, the Cossacks, or from any [other] nation, commits intrigues and crimes, he should not be accepted or granted protection on this side, but should be delivered back. Those, who cause disturbance of the [recently] concluded peace and amity between [the two states] should receive their deserved punishment.

The eleventh article: henceforth the articles written and registered in the 'ahdnames given in the past that are not opposed to the conditions and restrictions fixed at the present time and are not contrary or detrimental to the perpetual customs [existing] between

¹⁴ Actually this segment is not a literal quotation, but a new sentence composed from two typical phrases contained in the earlier 'ahdnames.

the two states will be observed as well, while those that have been changed will be annulled and abolished. With the assistance and guidance of God (may He be exalted!), the peace and amity between my excellency, the abode of the caliphate and the heirs of our sultanate[—on the one hand] and the aforementioned Polish king, his successors, and the Polish republic[—on the other hand] concluded between [the two sides] in a complete and perfect manner through these written and registered articles, will—God (may He be exalted!) willing—remain perpetual, firm, corroborated, and sound; and it will be preserved and guarded from any change or alteration, disturbance or dispute, and it will remain permanent and stable; and in order to totally prohibit and prevent aggression, the frontier commanders and guards will be notified as soon as possible that henceforth they should take precautions against violations and mutual injuries and that according to the requirements of this peace and amity they should act and proceed with mutual confidence and amity. But in order that [the notification of] the conclusion of peace and amity should become known to all a period of thirty days from the date of the temessük has been established; thereafter no kind of excuse or pretext will be accepted and those who proceed contrary to my issued firman, which must be obeyed, will receive a severe punishment.

After the signing of the temessüks by the two sides, according to old custom, a small envoy from the Polish side should arrive as soon as possible at my prosperous gate [i.e., Porte]; and he should bring a letter indicating [Polish] approval of the articles contained in the temessük. And he will also receive and take [back a similar letter] from my imperial side. Henceforth, in order to strengthen the articles of peace and amity, to perfect the affection, to complete the mutual friendship, and to arrange other matters, according to the old, good custom, a great ambassador will also be sent this coming May.

Now: henceforth, for the [remaining] days of my imperial rule and for the time of my sultanate, joined with felicity, one should proceed according to the conditions, clauses, articles, and agreements detailed above, and one should respect the requirements of peace and amity, as necessary;

as on the part of the king, his commanders, governors, and others nothing occurs and happens that would cause a disturbance of the agreement and treaty or provoke any deviation from the [peace] terms and faith and as they properly respect the rules of amity and peace, [while] having in mind the noble name of God, the Creator of earth and heaven (may His glory be exalted!), and adducing the miracles, full of divine blessings, of our great prophet, the sun of the two worlds, Muhammad Mustafa (may God—may He be exalted!—command and salute him!), we swear and promise by the noble imperial qualities, accustomed to friendship, and by the approved royal principles, habituated to loyalty, that as no minor or major variation or violation should occur in the clauses agreed on in the above described manner, for the remaining period of my long-lived rule and for the fixed time of my sultanate, joined with eternity, this peace and amity will be fixed and perpetual, and this treaty and peace will be firm and strengthened; and nobody should act and proceed in a contrary way.

Written in the second decade of the month of Rebi II of the year 1111, in the place of the abode of the high sultanate, Constantinople, the well protected. The end.¹⁵

¹⁵ A customary closing formula.

DOCUMENT 63 (12 OCTOBER 1703)
The Ottoman protocol of demarcation
[Facs. XXVIII]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 78, t. 534, no. 869.

54 × 37 cm.

text (black): *nesih* script with some features of *rik'a*
oval seal (*mühür*) is affixed on the reverse side

Hüve'l-Mu'in

- [1] İşbu sene-i mübarekede a'zam-i selatin-i zaman ve efham-i havakin-i devran olan şevketlü kudretlü kerametlü mahabetlü padişahımız Sultan Ahmed Han ibnü's-Sultan Mehemed Han hallade'llahu hilafetehü ve ebbede saltanatahu hazretlerinin taraf-i bahirü'ş-şereflerinden
- [2] bi'l-fi'l Özi eyaletine mutasarrıf dasturu mukarram müşiru mufahham nizamü'l-'alam devletlü sa'adetlü el-Hacc Yusuf Paşa yessere'llahu bi'l-hayr [külli ma yuridu]^a ve ma işa' hazretlerine hitaben şeref-yafte sudur olan ferman-i vacibü'l-ittiba'larının mazmun-i sa'adet-makrunlarında bi-tevfiki'llahi ta'ala terfih-i ahval-i 'ibad
- [3] ve ta'mir-i ziya'-i bilad için devlet-i 'aliye-i ebed-peyvendimle Leh kralı ve cumhuri ve Moskov çarı beyninde musalah[a] ve muvada'a<-i>^b karin-i hüsn-i hitam ve tarike-i enike-i istihkam üzere ihtitam bulmagla senki vezir müşarun-ileyh sin verilen 'ahdname-i hümayun
- [4] mevaddi üzere Leh ve Moskov tarafıyla kat'-i hudud hususuna hüda-vendigar-i sabık karındaşım Sultan Mustafa Han hazretleri taraf-i bahirü'ş-şereflerinden me'mur ve haliya yanında olan kıdvetü'l-emacid ü'l-a'yan Ibrahim zide mecdühüden eşref-i şu'ur me'mul olmagla
- [5] Leh tarafıyla kat'-i hududa muma-ileyhi ta'yin ve kitabetin hidmetinde olanlardan bir ma'kul ve münasib katib koşub 'ahdname-i hümayunun muktazası üzere Bender toprakları müntehi olduğu Turla kenarından muma-ileyh Ibrahim zide mecdühü
- [6] vesatatiyla Lehlü ile kat'-i-hududa mübaşeret ve bir gün evvel itnam ve ikmaliyesine bezl ü sa'y [ü] gayret eylesesin deyü buyurulmagın imtisalene'l-emr-i 'ali devletlü vezir müşarun-ileyh hazretleri refakatından kasaba-i Benderden 'azimet olunub Bucak ve Kırım
- [7] ahalilerinin ittifak ve ittihadlarıyla kadimi hudud-i mu'ayyene olan nehr-i Kaynar'ın Turlaya mülaki olduğu mahalle varılıb Leh memleketinin

^a Apparently missing.

^b Written with a superfluous *izafet*.

^c قینار.

- kıralı Üçüncü Agustos^d nam kiral ve hududlarının ayınları üzere nazırı ve büyük hetmanları olan
- [8] Hironim Lubomirski kaştelan krakovski^e ve cumhurları taraflarından ke-zalik kat'-i hududa vekilleri olub ma'mulün-bih temessükleri ile ta'yin baş komisarı Marçin Homontovski voyevoda braslavski^f ve Yani Konecpolski konuşi koronni^g
- [9] ve Istefan Humoski postali koronni^h nam komisarlar ile vadi-i nehr-i mezkurda mülaki ve 'akd-i meclis olunub hudud ahvali müzakere ve tarafeynden mücadele ve mükaleme-i kesiredensonra iki taraftan hudud nehr-i mezkur olduğuna temessük taleb
- [10] olundukda Bucak ve Kırım ahalilerinin kadimi hudud nehr-i mezkur Kaynar olduğuna şهادetleri temessügünü tarafımızdan ibraz ve Leh komisarları dahi tarih-i temessükden yetmiş sene mukaddem 'Abazaⁱ Paşa hazretleri tarafından ta'yin müteferrika Hüseyin Aga ile
- [11] ol esnada büyük hetmanları olub kıralları ve cumhurları tarafından kat'-i hududa ta'yin İstanislav Konespolski^j nam voyvoda ma'an kat'-i hudud eyledikleri mahall-i Yahorlik^k ki Türki lisanında Kaynar dimekle ma'rufdur deyü temessük ibraz ve tarafeynin
- [12] makalleri nehr-i mezkura mutabık ve zahir ve muvafık ve müte'ayyin oldukdan sonra nehr-i mezkur Turlaya mülaki olduğu mahalle karib tarafında devlet-i 'aliye toprakında Kırım hanı hazretlerine tabi' bir mikdar Kazak re'ayası müddet-i ba'ide ile tevattun itmiş bulunur yine nehr-i mezkurun
- [13] karşı tarafında Lehlü re'ayası kariyesi bulunub zıkr olunan kariyeler def' olunmelüdü dinledikde cevapları sizin kariyeniz def' olur ise bizim taraftan dahi def' olunmelüdü hasılı biri birlerinden hoşnud olmayub ta'addiyen biri zahire oldukda
- [14] tarafeynde olan kariyeler def' ve hali üzere kılur ise ol havalide minba'd kal'e bina olunmamak şartıyla kavl u karar oldukdan sonra Raşkova^l ve Kamanka^m kal'elerini sabıka Bogdanⁿ voyvodalarından Vasil^o voyvoda kızı Domna^p nam tasarrufunda
- [15] Leh voyvodalarından sendomirski^q nam voyvodadan zıkr olunan Raşkova

^d اوچنجی اغستوس; see the translation, note 6.

^e هیرونیم لبومیرسکی قشتهلان قره قوسکی.

^f مارچین همونتوسکی ویوده براسلوسکی.

^g یانی قونچ پولسکی قونشی قرونی.

^h استفان هموسکی پوستالی قرونی.

ⁱ Written in an unusual orthography: عیاضه.

^j استانسلو قونسپولسکی.

^k یحورلیک.

^l راشقووه.

^m قمانکه.

ⁿ Written in an unusual orthography: بوغدان.

^o واصل.

^p دومنه.

^q سندومیرسکه.

kal'esini kırk bin zolota^r paha almışdır lakin mülkiyet üzere olmayub kırk bin zolotayı mesfur voyvoda sendomirski^s fûruht eda eylese girü kal'esi

- [16] virmek kavli ile ve Kamanka kal'esini dahi Raşkovadan az müddet sonra minval-i muharrer üzere yigirmi bin zolotaya alub işbu hudud-i mu'ayyene olan nehr-i Kaynara degin mutasarrıfına ve zabt eylediği mütevatiren cümlelerin ma'lumidir
- [17] zikri sebk iden kal'eleri yahud altmış bin zolotayı mezbure Domnanın hala iddi'a iden varislerine eda etmelüden dinledikde cevabları Podalya^t ve Ukrayna^u toprakların padişah hazretleri bize virmişlerdir çünkü <böyle>
- [18] böyle da'va zuhur eyledi bizim dahi cumhurlardan ba'zılarının Bogdan boyarları ve ahalileriyle hukuka müta'alık da'vaları olub bundan akdem sa'adettü ser-'asker paşa hazretlerine şer'ile alı-virilmesi için ifade olunmuşıydi
- [19] Bogdan voyvodası ve boyarları Edirne'de bulunmalarıyla te'hır olunmuşdur Leh cumhuri begzadelerinden ba'zılarının haklarıdır hududa ta'yin olunan komisarlara sipariş ve tenbih ve 'ahdname-i hümayunda misali
- [20] da'valar icra olunmelüdür deyü Bogdanda olan hakları alı-verilmesi matlublarıdır ihkak-i hakk oluna ve zikr olunan Raşkova ve Kamanka kal'elerinin sahibi işbu Koneçpolskidir da'va idenlerin maddelerinde mesfurun babasından ve ceddiden
- [21] bir temessük bulundukda virdiği akçelerin alurlar didiklerinde mesfur Koneçpolski komisar dahi minval-i meşruh üzere edaya kavlı u karar virdikden sonra arazi-i Bogdanın hududu dahi temyiz olunmelüdür dinledikde cevabları zikr olunan Bogdan arazisi ile bizim Lehlü^v
- [22] toprağının mabeynini Allahu ta'ala Turla suyu ile kat' eylemiştir şimdiki halde Bogdan ile hududa müta'alık niza'ımız ve biri birimizin hududına ta'addi ve tecavüzümüz yokdur ancak Bogdanın bize bir mikdar zulmi ve hilaf-i kanun ta'addisi vardır ki Hotun^w ve Sorika^x caniblerinde
- [23] ve ba'z geçidlerde olan potlar kadimden bizim tasarrufumuzda iken bir kaç seneden berü tegallüben Bogdan voyvodaları tarafından zabt olunmuşdur mukaddema ve hala olan sulhda dahi bizim zabt u tasarrufumuzda olmak üzere bize ruhsat verilmişiyken kasr-i yed
- [24] etmedikleri taraf-i devlete i'lam olunub Bogdan voyvodasına hitaben ferman-i şerifleriyle zulması ref' itdirilmegi iltimaslarıyla kavlı u karar ve bir dahi Lehlünün Turla lebinde kendü topraklarında sakin re'ayasından Bogdan voyvodası tarafından zabıtları

^r ذولته.

^s سندومیرسکی.

^t بودالیه.

^u آقراینه.

^v لهلو.

^w خطون.

^x سوریکه.

- [25] nehr-i Turlayı ‘ubur ve Lehlü re‘ayasından resm-i kovan ve sa’ir fuzuli aldıkları rüsumların girüye al-virilmek babında der-i devlet kıblına’ i‘lam olunub yine Bogdan voyvodasına hitaben ferman-i şerif ile ihkak-i hakk olunması iltimaslarıyla kavlı u karar ve bu dahi Lehlü
- [26] üç maddede nehr-i Kaynara iştirak üzere mutasarrıf oldukları ya’ni kadimden Ukrayna Lehlünün toprağı olduğu devlet-i ‘aliye ve Kırım hanları kuvveti ile celali Kazaklardan Menlikse^z nam hetmanı tegal-lüben zabıt itdikde ve mesfur Menliksenin oğlu Tumuş^{aa}’ın ‘ukdeti
- [27] mezbure Domna nasraniye zikri mürur iden sendomirski voyvodadan aldığı vakıtda nehr-i Kaynarın nısfına degin mutasarrıf oldukları muhakkak olmagın yine tarafeynden iştiraken mutasarrıf olunmak üzere kavlı u karar verildikten sonra zikri mürur iden
- [28] nehr-i Kaynarın Turlaya mülaki olduğu mahallin biri lebinde devlet-i ‘aliyenin ve karşı lebi Lehlünün olmak üzere berayı ‘alamet müceddeden iki büyük depe yapılub hatta komisarlar kendi ‘alamet depeinde hudud tarihi ile bir taş vaz’ eylemişlerdir andan
- [29] nefsi-i Kaynar suyu çıktığı mahalle ‘azimet ve mahall ü münasib olan yirlere tarafeynden karşı be-karşı depeler yapılub nehr-i mezkurun biri lebinde devlet-i ‘aliye için ve nehrin karşı tarafında Lehlü kendüler için vaz’-i ‘ala’im iderek
- [30] nehr-i mezkurun suyu çıktığı yire varıldıkda andan dahi tarafeynden birbirlerine mukabil müceddeden iki ‘azim depe yapılub andan nefsi-i Kaynarın ana deresi ile gidilüb minval-i muharrer üzere mahall ü münasib olan yirlere
- [31] iki taraftan ‘ala’im depeleri vaz’ olunub zikr olunan Kaynarın Çatal ta’bir olunur nihayet bulduğu yire karib iki ayrıldığı mahaldir ki vadinin sağ tarafıdır vadi-i mezkurun yine sağ tarafında ke-zalik devlet-i ‘aliye için bir ‘azim depe yapılub sol canibinde dahi Lehlüler bir depe yapmışlardır andan yine vadi-i mezkur ile bir sa’at gidilüb Koyanlık^{ab} başı mahallinde Kuçmad^{ac} yolunu aykırı geçüb bir büyük Kuzılı depe^{ad} vakı’ olub
- [33] ol havalede ana müşabih depe olmamakla ‘alamet ‘add olunub andan ‘Umman^{ae} giden bazargan yolu ile gidilüb Deli^{af} göl başı ta’bir olunur Markuv^{ag} ormanı dimekle ma’ruf ormanı kible tarafımıza alub ve sol tarafımızdan
- [34] Gölmen^{ah}den çıkan büyük kulagın nihayetinde olan orman Lehlünün

^y It should read *kablesine*.

^z منلكسه.

^{aa} طوموش.

^{ab} قویانلک.

^{ac} قوچماد; it should read *Kuçman*.

^{ad} قوزیلی دیه.

^{ae} عَمَّان.

^{af} دلی.

^{ag} مارقو.

^{ah} کلمن; in the Ottoman sources from 1542 Kodyma is referred to as “Kedmen” (کدمن), see Abrahamowicz, *KDT*, pp. 73–78.

- olmak üzere şimal tarafında kalub zıkr olunan bazargan yolu ile sırtı sıra yürüylüb Deli gölden çıkan kulakların nihayetinde
- [35] olan ormanları kible tarafımıza alub su bulunmadığı hasbıyla nefsi-i Gölmen vadisine varılub konuldukda nefsi-i Gölmen vadisi Lehlünün olub kible tarafı lebinin bayırında lebde olan depe Lehlünün 'alameti
- [36] ve kible canibinde olan müceddeden ihdas depe devlet-i 'aliye için olub bu minval üzere yine sırtı sıra poyraz tarafına gidilüb mahall ü münasib olan yirlere vaz'-i 'ala'im iderek Gök suyn Ak suya mülaki olduğu
- [37] mahalde nihayet bulmagın kible tarafında devlet-i 'aliye için müceddeden iki 'azim depe yapılub ve Lehlüler dahi müceddeden iki depe yapıub Ak su kenarında olan bir depelerine hududa tarih olmak üzere taşa nakş
- [38] ve depeleri üzerine vaz' etmişlerdir bu tertib üzere devlet-i 'aliye ile Leh memleketinin arazileri tahdid ü temyiz olub tarafeynden bir dürlü gales ü bahane kalmayub ve minval-i meşruh üzere tahdid olunan
- [39] hududname suretidir ki 'ala vuku'a ketb ü terkim olunub vekilun-i mesfurun^{ai} mirlerine verilmişdir ki mahallinde ihticac idtiyeler tahriren fi gurreti Cemaziyl-ahir li-seneti hamsa 'aşara ve mi'ate ve elf <seneti 1115>^{aj}

el-fakir el-Hacc Ibrahim
el-me'mur be-kat'-i hudud
ba ferman-i 'ali^{ak}

der dilim hayal şüid ya *Rabb-i mukim* sara kalbi makam-i Ibrahim^{al}

Translation:

He, the Helper

As was decreed in the felicitous contents of the noble firman that must be obeyed sent in this blessed year from the noble side of his excellency, our mighty, powerful, generous, and majestic padishah, Sultan Ahmed Khan, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan (may God make perpetual his caliphate and cause his sultanate to endure!), the greatest from among the sultans of the age and the most illustrious from among the emperors of the epoch, and addressed to his excellency, the illustrious and felicitous el-Hajj Yusuf Pasha (may God make prosperous [everything] that he [wants] and likes!), the honored vizier, illustrious müşir,¹ the basis of the world order, being the present governor of the province of Oçakiv:

"As—by the guidance of God (may He be exalted!)—in order to improve the conditions of the servants [of God] and to restore the losses of the country, the pacification

^{ai} Written in an incorrect Arabic plural.

^{aj} The date is repeated in numerals.

^{ak} Text of the signature.

^{al} Text of the seal (*mühür*) affixed on the reverse side of the document.

¹ *Müşir*, Tur. "who makes a sign," an honorary title for a vizier.

and reconciliation among my high eternal state, the Polish king and republic, and the Muscovian tsar reached a good outcome and was completed in a sure and excellent manner, you, who are the aforementioned vizier, appointed to the task of demarcation with Poland and Muscovy from the noble side of the previous sultan, my brother, his excellency Sultan Mustafa Khan,² in accordance with the clauses of the [previously] granted imperial 'ahdname:

At present there is at your side a model of the most illustrious ones and of the notables, Ibrahim (may his glory increase!), from whom the most eminent competence can be expected; the aforementioned should be appointed to the demarcation with Poland, and a wise and fit scribe from among those active in the scribal service should be given him as a companion;

in accordance with the imperial 'ahdname and through the mediation of the aforementioned Ibrahim (may his glory increase!), the demarcation procedure with the Poles should start at the shore of the Dniester, which delimits the lands of [the fortress of] Bender, and you should spend all energy, effort, and perseverance, so that it may be finished and completed as soon as possible;³

in compliance with the high order, I⁴ departed from attendance on his excellency, the aforementioned illustrious vizier, in the borough [kasaba] of Bender, and I arrived at the place where the river Jahorlyk⁵ flows into the Dniester, which is the old, recognized border, as was unanimously agreed by the inhabitants of Budjak and Crimea; likewise, deputies were appointed to [the task of] demarcation by the king of Poland, King August the Third,⁶ and—according to custom at the frontier—by their minister and grand hetman, the castellan [kasztelan] of Cracow, Hieronim Lubomirski, and their republic; and we met and held a conference in the valley of the said river with the [Polish] commissioners, appointed with their credentials, which should be observed—the head commissioner, the palatine of Bractaw Marcin Chomentowski; the Crown equerry [koniuszy koronny] Jan Koniecpolski; and the Crown steward [podstoli koronny] Stefan Humiecki;

² Mustafa II was dethroned by rioting troops. His brother, Ahmed II, was enthroned on 22 August 1703. The palace revolution in Istanbul was one among several reasons for the delay in undertaking the demarcation with Poland and Muscovy after the Treaty of Karlowitz; see also Part II (chapter 3).

³ A contemporary Polish translation of the imperial firman, a portion of which is quoted here, is contained in an account of this demarcation, published by one of its Polish participants; see Stefan Humiecki, *Relacya Kommissyi in Anno 1699, circa Evacuationem Kamieńca odprawionej, iako y innych Komissyi, requentibus annis expedyowanych. . . . Na seymie Walnym Grodzńskim in Anno 1718* [Lwów, 1718], fol. 27b–28b; see also *Relacya poselstwa Jaśnie Wielmożnego JMci Pana Stanisława Małachowskiego, wojewody poznańskiego do traktatu kartowickiego, oraz różnych kommissyi po tym traktacie nastąpionych* (Warsaw, 1778), pp. 111–12.

⁴ I.e., Ibrahim; in order to make this long Turkish sentence, full of gerund forms, more intelligible, this segment was translated in the first person (i.e., "I departed" instead of "having departed").

⁵ Tur. *Kaynar*; in the Polish protocol: *Jahorlik Turcice Kaynar appellatus*; see Document 64.

⁶ It should read "August the Second."

after discussion, mutual disputes, and lengthy negotiation over frontier matters, it was requested that certificates [temessük] be presented, proving that the said river had been a border between the two sides; from our side was demonstrated a certificate with the testimonies of the inhabitants of Budjak and Crimea, confirming that the said river Jahorlyk had been the old border; the Polish commissioners also presented a certificate [temessük], mutually effected seventy years before the date of [this] temessük by the mütefferika Huseyn Agha, appointed by his excellency, Abaza Pasha, and the palatine Stanisław Koniecpolski, being at that time the grand hetman and appointed to the [task of] demarcation from the side of their king and republic, which states: "the place Jahorlyk, known in the Turkish language as Kaynar, [is the border];"⁷

after the testimonies of both sides confirmed, demonstrated, agreed, and fixed the said river [as the border], it was learned that a certain number of Cossacks, being the subjects of his excellency, the Crimean khan, had settled long ago in the lands of the high [Ottoman] state, in the vicinity of the place where the said river flows into the Dniester. Then, on the opposite side of the said river, a village of Polish subjects was founded; on hearing that the said villages must be removed, they [i.e., the Polish commissioners] responded: "if your settlement is removed, [our settlement] will also be removed." As nobody from the two sides was satisfied with such a result, it was established and agreed that if an act of aggression arose on either side, the villages on both sides would be removed, but if they remained in tranquillity, [they could stay] on condition that thereafter no fortifications should be built in this region;

then, the daughter of the former Moldavian hospodar Basil,⁸ named Domna,⁹ obtained the fortresses¹⁰ of Raškiw and Kam'janka, being [since then] in her possession [tasarruf], from the Polish palatine called "the palatine of Sandomierz,"¹¹ [she obtained] the aforementioned fortress of Raškiw for the price of forty thousand złoty, not as property [mülkiyet], however, but with the promise that if the aforementioned palatine of Sandomierz paid [back] forty thousand złoty, his fortress would be returned; some time later than Raškiw, she obtained the fortress of Kam'janka for twenty thousand złoty in the manner described; it is generally known to everybody that [these sites] were in her possession and under her hold, [extending] up to the river Jahorlyk, being the recognized border;

on hearing that the said fortresses, or sixty thousand złoty, should be given to the

⁷ In fact, the border established in 1633 was more advantageous for the Commonwealth and extended as far as the stream Suxyj Jahorlyk, situated further to the south than Jahorlyk; see Document 42.

⁸ Vasile Lupu who reigned 1634–1653.

⁹ For a short biography of Domna Rosanda, who married Tymiš, the son of the Cossack leader, Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj, see Zdzisław Spieralski, *Awantury mołdawskie* (Warsaw, 1967), pp. 177–90. The Romanian title *domna*, by which Rosanda is referred to in this protocol, means "lady."

¹⁰ *Sic*; both localities were merely villages; the Polish protocol reads *Raszków et Kamionka oppida*; see Document 64.

¹¹ Pol. *wojewoda sandomierski*. This passage refers to Aleksander Koniecpolski, who had pawned the aforementioned villages to Rosanda. After his son, Stanisław, died without heir in 1682, the estates of Aleksander Koniecpolski were inherited by his cousin, Jan Koniecpolski, appointed as commissioner to the demarcation of 1703.

heirs of the aforementioned Domna [Rosanda], who have put forward claims at the present time, they replied:

"His excellency, the padishah gave us the lands of Podolia and Ukraine. If such a claim is put forward, a few other individuals from among our nation also have claims related to the dues of Moldavian boyars and inhabitants, which were previously submitted to his excellency, the felicitous serasker pasha,¹² so that they should be resolved in accordance with the *şer'i'at*. Since the Moldavian hospodar and boyars were at Edirne, a postponement occurred [in resolving these claims]. As some Polish nobles have claims concerning debts, [such matters] should be commissioned and commended to the border commissioners, and the claims should be resolved on the basis of the imperial '*ahdname*.'"

As they have claims concerning the execution of debts in Moldavia, they should be duly resolved. And the [present] owner of the said fortresses of Raškiw and Kam'janka is this Koniecpolski.¹³ When a certificate was found, originating from [the times of] the father and grandfather of the aforementioned, and concerning matters regarding the claim, and when they [i.e., the Poles] stated that [the heirs of Rosanda] had received the money paid [back for these villages], the aforementioned commissioner Koniecpolski also declared and confirmed that [the debt] had been paid in the manner described;

then, it was again necessary to delineate the borders of the lands of Moldavia. Upon hearing that, they answered:

"God (may He be exalted!) has separated the aforementioned lands of Moldavia from our Polish lands by the river Dniester. At present we have no border quarrels with Moldavia, and no acts of mutual transgression or excess occur on our border. But, several acts of oppression and violence, contrary to the law, were committed against us by Moldavians when the boats [used for ferry services] in the fords of Hotin, Soroka, and elsewhere, being since olden times in our possession, were taken by force by the Moldavian hospodars a few years ago. Notwithstanding that both previously and in the present reconciliation, permission was given to us, so that [these boats] should be in our holding and possession, they have not relinquished [the boats]."

It was mutually agreed that a report should be sent to the [high] state, so that, according to their request, the oppressions of the Moldavian hospodar should be halted by a noble firman, addressed to him; it was also mutually agreed that a report should be sent to the prosperous gate [i.e., Porte], so that, according to their request, justice may be established by another noble firman, addressed to the Moldavian hospodar, and ordering that the bee-hive tax and other taxes be returned, which were collected unlawfully from Polish subjects dwelling on their own land on the Polish side of the Dniester by the officers of the Moldavian hospodar, who used to cross the river Dniester;

then, in three places¹⁴ the Poles have shared the possession of the river Jahorlyk, namely: as Ukraine had been Polish territory since olden times, when it was taken by force by troops of the high [Ottoman] state, the Crimean khan, and the hetman of the rebellious Cossacks named Xmel'nyc'kyj,¹⁵ in the time, when the aforementioned Christian woman Domna [Rosanda], the wife of Tymiš, the son of the said Xmel'nyc'kyj, obtained

¹² I.e., Yusuf Pasha, the governor of Oçakiv.

¹³ I.e., Jan Koniecpolski, one of the Polish commissioners, cf. note 11.

¹⁴ Tur. *üç maddede*; in the Polish protocol: *tribus vicibus*; see Document 64.

¹⁵ Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, the leader and hetman of the Cossack uprising of 1648.

[this region] from the aforementioned palatine of Sandomierz, it was well known that their [i.e., Polish] possessions were extended to the middle of the river Jahorlyk; after it was mutually agreed that the two sides would again share possession [of this river], in the place where the aforementioned river Jahorlyk flows into the Dniester, two big earth mounds were raised anew as boundary markers, on one bank that of the high [Ottoman] state, and on the opposite bank that of the Poles; on their mound, the [Polish] commissioners even raised a stone with the date of demarcation.

Then, we set out for the place where the mouth of the river Jahorlyk springs, and mounds were raised on the two sides opposite each other in fitting and suitable places; while raising the boundary markers—on one bank of the said river for the high state, and on the opposite bank of the river for the Poles—we reached the source of the said river; then, two great mounds facing each other were again raised by the two sides; then, following the main valley of Jahorlyk, boundary mounds [i.e., markers] were raised by the two sides in fitting and suitable places in the manner described; near the place called “Pitchfork”¹⁶ where the aforementioned Jahorlyk ends, there is a bifurcation on the right side of the valley.¹⁷ Again, on the right side of the said valley a big mound was raised in the same way for the high state; and the Poles raised a mound on its left side.

Then, after following the said valley for an hour, we crossed the “Nomad track”¹⁸ at the source of [the river] Kujal’nyk;¹⁹ [there] a large [hill called] “Lamb hill”²⁰ is situated; as in this neighborhood there is no hill similar to this one, it has been reckoned as a boundary marker;

then, following the merchant track leading to Uman’ [Pol. Humań], [one reaches] the head of the lake named Deli.²¹ The forest called Marków,²² in the kable direction,²³ was taken by us, while the forest on our left side, situated on the north on the shore of a large inlet of the [river] Kodyma,²⁴ remained in the possession of the Poles; while following the aforementioned merchant track, [one reaches] forests situated on the shores

¹⁶ Tur. *Çatal*; in the Polish protocol: *Widty*; see Document 64. Both Tur. *çatal* and Pol. *widty* mean “a pitchfork.”

¹⁷ Tur. “*zıkr olunan Kaynarın Çatal ta’bir olunur nihayet bulduğu yire karib iki ayrıldığı mahaldır ki vadinin sag tarafıdır.*” The Turkish text is somewhat unclear. The respective fragment in the Polish protocol reads: “*in partibus nostris similiter scopulos posuimus usque ad montem, eandem vallem in dextram et levam partem dividentem, ut alii vocant Widty, a quo loco duae valles, unas dexter, quem productu nostro acceptimus, sinistram Poloniae,*” see Document 64.

¹⁸ Tur. *Kuşman yolu*; in the Polish protocol: *Kuczmański szlak*; see Document 64. This Turkish term adopted in Polish (*göçmen* > *kuşman* > *kuczmański*) refers to the major Tatar trail known as Szlak Kuczmański in Polish, and as Kučmans’kij šljax in Ukrainian.

¹⁹ Tur. *Koyanlık*; in the Polish protocol: *Koianłyk capitale appellatum*; see Document 64, note 4.

²⁰ Tur. *Kuzulı depe*; in the Polish protocol: *Jagnięca Mogiła* (Pol. “Lamb tomb”); see Document 64.

²¹ In the Polish protocol: *Caput Deli*; see Document 64, note 5. This term apparently refers to the river Tyligul (Tur. Deligöl).

²² In the Polish protocol: *Marków appellatam silvam*; see Document 64.

²³ I.e., “on the south.”

²⁴ Tur. *Gölmen*.

of the inlets²⁵ of the lake Deli in the kable direction which were taken by us; as we could not find water, we reached the valley of Kodyma and camped there; the valley of Kodyma itself belongs to the Poles; the mound situated on the slope on its kable [i.e., southern] bank is a boundary marker for the Poles, while the mound raised recently [further] in the kable direction is for the high state; again, while heading to the north-east and raising boundary markers in fitting and suitable places, we completed [the task] in the place where the river Synjuxa²⁶ flows to the river Boh,²⁷ in the kable direction, two great mounds were raised anew for the high state, and the Poles also raised anew two mounds; in order to commemorate the date of demarcation they made inscription in stone and placed it on the top of their mound, raised on the bank of the Boh river.

In this way the lands of the high state and of Poland were delimited and separated; no kind of adulteration or defect should be executed by either of the two sides;

this copy of the hududname, defining the borders in the manner described, has been composed and written for any event and given to the chief of the aforementioned [Polish] deputies, so that they might provide evidence on the spot.

Written on the first of Djumada II in the year 1115.

[signature] The humble el-Hajj Ibrahim, appointed to the task of demarcation by high order

[seal] A dream came to my heart, o Lord, the persevering,
my heart became the Station of Abraham²⁸

²⁵ Tur. *kulaklar*; in the Polish protocol: *Jeziora Ucha lacus appellati*; see Document 64. Pol. *jeziora ucha* means literally "lake ears;" while Turkish *kulaklar* means "ears" but also "inlets."

²⁶ Tur. *Gök su*, Pol. *Sina woda*; all these names mean literally "blue water."

²⁷ Tur. *Ak su* means literally "white water."

²⁸ The Station of Abraham (*makam-i Ibrahim*) is a stone in the courtyard of the Great Mosque in Mecca, near the Kaaba. This verse refers to the author's proper name, Ibrahim (Arabic equivalent for Abraham), and his pilgrimage to Mecca.

DOCUMENT 64 (14 OCTOBER 1703)

The Polish protocol of demarcation

[Facs. XXIX]

Original document in Latin: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 78, t. 534, no. 870.¹

A folded sheet of paper, written on both sides, thereby making 4 pages.
sheet format: 40.5 × 33 cm; page format: 33 × 20.25 cm.

text (red)

a red wax seal is affixed next to each of the three signatures

Latin copies:

A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 78, t. 534, no. 870 (a copy by Crutta registered under the same signature).

B. Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 288a–290a.

C. Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 293a–296a.

Published in a) A.Ch. Załuski, ed., *Epistolarum historico-familiarium tomus tertius* (Brunsberga, 1711), pp. 595–98; b) S. Humiecki, *Relacya Kommissyi in Anno 1699, circa Evacuationem Kamieńca odprawionej, iako y innych Komissyi, sequentibus annis expedyowanych. . . . Na seymie Walnym Grodzińskim in Anno 1718* [[Lwów, 1718]], fol. 25a–27a; c) J. Rousset, *Supplément au Corps Universel . . . de Mr. Dumont*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (Amsterdam-La Haye, 1739), pp. 37–38 (after Załuski); d) M. Dogiel, *Limites Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae, ex originalibus et exemplis authenticis descripti et in lucem editi anno 1758* (Wilna, 1758), pp. 62–68; e) *Relacya poselstwa Jaśnie Wielmożnego JMci Pana Stanisława Małachowskiego wojewody poznańskiego do traktatu karłowickiego, oraz różnych kommissyi po tym traktacie nastąpionych* (Warsaw, 1778), pp. 107–110; f) *Treaties, etc. between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, pp. 400–404.

In Nomine Sanctissimae Individuaeque Trinitatis.

Ex mandato Serenissimi Potentissimique Imperatoris Turcarum Soltani Achmet Hani filii Sultan Mechmet Hani, cuius felicitatem et imperium Deus protegat et conservet, emanarunt literae plenipotentiariae ad illustrissimum et excellentissimum dominum, Hadzi Jusuf Pasza, ratione dislimitationis cum Regno Poloniae de tenore tali:

Quoniam ex gratia Dei subsecuta est felicitas ad pacificationem et communem quietem, ex potestate itaque imperii nostri demandamus, cum inter Serenissimum Regem Regnumquae Poloniae, Magnum Ducem Lituaniae, necnon haereditarium ducem Saxoniae, et electorem Imperii, tum et carum Moschoviae, acceptatus sit tractatus pacis, firmamque habeat auctoritatem, exinde memorate magnifice gubernator pasza imperamus, ut iuxta oblo-

¹ The document bears a note stating that its contents were entered into the court register at Winnica (Ukr. Vinnycja) on 29 October 1703.

quentiam eiusdem tractatus, et omnia puncta conditionum cum Regno Poloniae et Ducatu Moschoviae in negotio dislimitationis procedas, et te ita regas, prout destinatus et designatus eras superintendens a praeterito imperatore Soltano Musztafa Hano, fratre nostro; nam et a Maiestate nostra in eadem iurisdictione tua confirmaris, sicut et penes te residens fama, et virtute probatus Imbraim Aga, quem uti muneris istius capacem designamus commissarium ad dislimitationem cum regionibus Poloniae, cum quo ut iuris peritum notarium mittas ubi unanimiter satisfacere tractatui necessum est nimirum, ut fundos Thehinenses incipiendo a littoribus Tyrae, Imbraim Aga cum dominis Polonis exdivitat, iuxta officium sibi competens, et quam diligentissime negotiationem suam ex integro perficere curet, tali itaque ordine et expeditione ex gratia Dei accepta ab illustrissimo et excellentissimo domino, superius specificato pasza.

Ego Imbraim Aga discessi Thehinia acceptisque Crimensibus et Budziacensibus hominibus dignis senibus beneque confinia calentibus substiti in loco, ubi fluvius Jahorlik in Tyram incidit, ubi et a Serenissimo et Potentissimo Augusto Secundo Rege Regnoque Poloniae communicato prius consilio cum illustrissimo et excellentissimo domino Hieronymo Lubomirski Sacrae Romani Imperii principe, castellano Cracoviensi, supremo exercituum Poloniae duce, uti generali custode limitum consilio, comparuerunt cum plena et perfecta ad determinanda confinia potestate illustrissimi et excellentissimi domini commissarii, videlicet primus Martinus Chomętowski palatinus Bracławien-sis, secundus Ioannes Koniecpolski stabuli regni praefectus, tertius Stephanus Humiecki subdapifer regni, et in loco vicino ubi Tyram praefatus fluvius influit substiterunt, cum quibus in primo statim congressu in negotio dislimitationis plurimae ab utrinque propositiones factae sunt, post quas petierunt documenta instrumentaque sibi exhiberi, et veritatem deduci, quae confinia a memorato fluvio incipere debeant. Quibus testimonia dignorum tam Crimensium, quam Budziacensium hominum pro firmitate limitum ab hoc fluvio incipientium pro documento produximus, Poloni itidem commissarii produxerunt primam dislimitationem, ante septuaginta annos ad datam praesentis instrumenti factam, quae fuit in superattendentia Abazy Pasza cum commissario muteferico Husein Aga, et Stanislao Koniecpolski olim castellano Cracoviensi supremoque duce exercitus Poloniae, uti commissario ex parte Poloniae, cuius dislimitationes ductus est Jahorlik Turcice Kaynar appellatus, et hoc documento confinia ipsa demonstrarunt, et sic unanimiter sine omni dubio cognovimus esse fines et initia eorum, a memorato fluvio, et ita non procul a memorato fluvio, ubi se iungit cum Tyra in fundo Turcico, quem non ita pridem inhabitant Kozacy, subditi felicissimi hani Crimensis, supra eundem fluvium ex opposito Polonae villae, ubi itidem habitant subditi et incolae. Ex illis vero locis, ut memoratae villae transferantur fuit propositum, ad quae pars reposuit, si nostrae transferri debent, sequitur ut transferantur et vestrae. Conclusum itaque, ut si in concordia non habitabunt, et si iniuria aliqua inter illos ostendetur, tunc omnia ab utrinque demoliri debebunt. Si vero in esse suo et integritate hae villae permanserint, tamen nulla fortalitia ex utraque parte erigi debent. Et haec est imposita conditio. Raszków et Kamionka oppida quondam palatini Valachiae

Bazylii filia Domna² tenebat in possessione sua, in summa palatino Sendomiriensi³ data, quadraginta millium florenorum iure obligatorio Raszków, Kamionka vero in summa etiam palatino Sendomiriensi data viginti millium florenorum, similiter iure obligatorio cum ea declaratione, ut tamdiu praefata oppida in possessione sua usque ad praesentem limitationem fluvii Kaynardzi et iurisdictionem eius teneat, donec ipsi praefata summa reponatur, et ideo clara res est, ut haec praetensio cum actoribus, et successoribus defunctae Domna pacificetur, ut aut oppida successoribus Domny,^a aut summa restituatur; ad quam propositionem subiuncta est ratio, quod Podoliam et Ukrainam totam Serenissimus Turcarum Imperator nobis restituerit, et haec praetensio respicit modernum possessorem oppidorum Raszków et Kamionka, id est illustrissimum et excellentissimum dominum Koniecpolski, qui uti praesens, postquam illi circa requisitionem futuram ab actoribus demonstratum fuerit reale documentum, satisfactionem obtulit et obligavit, et super hoc medio assensum est. E converso proposuerunt illustrissimi et excellentissimi domini commissarii, si quidem occasio praetensionum orta est, habemus et nos quoque similem huic praetensionem. Nonnullus enim dominus de regno nostro habet similem praetensionem, requirendo debitum apud boiaros et incolas Valachiae, uti haec praetensio iam delata est illustrissimo et excellentissimo domino pasza seraskiero, qua cognita causa, iniunxerat, ut officiose satisfiat. Sed quia et hospodar et boiari protunc erant Adrianopoli, ideo haec praetensio effectum suum sortiri non potuit. Et haec praetensio est unius ex regno nostro magnatis evidens, et in qua commissa est cura illustrissimis et excellentissimis dominis, ad dislimitationem deputatis, et serio requirebatur dicendo, quod in simili occasione et negotiis docent nos et tractatus ipsi, ut iustitia conservetur. Et exinde pro re iusta recognita est haec ad Valachos praetensio, ut mutue a Valachis aquietetur [*sic*]. Item ut confinia inter Poloniam et Valachiam sint munda, proponebatur. Repositum: Inter nos et Valachiam ipse Deus flumine Tyra dislimitavit, et tunc temporis, quo ad fundum nemo queritur ex Valachis neque de laesis finibus aut damnificatione eorum. Nihilominus habemus a Valachis plurimas iniurias contra veterem consuetudinem, in aliquibus locis circa Sorokam et Chocimum, traiectus vulgo *pramy*^b solum modo nostri erant, et ab aliquod annis palatini Valachiae illos quoque sibi usurparunt, quod est veteri et moderno tractatu (quoniam nobis solis competunt) cautum. Itaque ut praefati traiectus Polonis tantummodo serviant, defferri id Praefulgidae Porthae optinerique ferman ad palatinum Valachiae appromittitur, ut haec iniuria cesset, quae parti infertur. Item villis ad Tyram positis ex parte Poloniae, Valachi ad fines circa Tyram residentes multa damna intulerunt. In expiandis alvearibus et aliis rebus, quod damnum ut compensetur requirebatur.

² On the Moldavian hospodar Vasile Lupu and his daughter Domna Rosanda see Document 63, notes 8–9.

³ Aleksander Koniecpolski, see Document 63, note 11.

^a *Domny*, Pol. genitive of *Domna*; i.e., “the heirs of Domna [Rosanda].”

^b It should read *pramy*, Pol. “ferries.”

Et hoc similiter deferre Praefulgidae Porthae declaratum est, ut exeat fer-man ad palatinum Valachiae pro compensatione damnorum. Item Poloni tribus vicibus ad Jahorlik praetensionem suam promoverunt, quod ab antiquo fundi Ukrainae ad illos tantummodo pertinebant, sed sub tempus hostilitatis Turcae et hani Crimensis, rebellis Chmielnicki violenter regionem illam possedit, cuius postea filius Tymoż duxerat uxorem Domna, et haec a palatino Sendomiriensi usque ad medietatem fluvii Kaynardzi iurisdictionem suam habuit. Et quoniam hoc realiter deductum est, unanimiter decernimus, ut Kaynar sit communis partibus, et Kaynardzie fluvius in Tyram defluens, et in isto loco ex una parte ostium sit Turcicum, ex altera vero positum sit Poloniae, in quibus ostiis erecti sunt de novo a nobis commissariis duo scopuli, et quidem Poloni suo scopulo imposuerunt in memoriam lapidem, cum inscriptione anni et personarum dislimitantium. Inde circa vallem Kaynar, ubi fluvius oritur, processimus, et in locis idoneis ex utraque parte supra fluvium signa metalia fecimus, ex una parte Turcica, ex altera Polonica, in oppositum sibi in ostiis montium locata, usque ad fenestram eiusdem rivuli, ubi itidem duos magnos scopulos, unum contra alterum, exsolvimus. A quo loco in declivitate montis circa Kaynar inter medios montes eundo, in partibus nostris similiter scopulos posuimus usque ad montem, eandem vallem in dextram et levam partem dividentem, ut alii vocant Widły, a quo loco duae valles, unus dexter, quem productum nostro accepimus, sinistram Poloniae, dextrum vero Ottomanis spectantem, et in dextra parte Ottomanis, in leva Poloni signa sua locarunt. Inde una hora itineris ad locum Koianłyk⁴ capitalem appellatum, per transversum tractus ut vocant Kuczmański Szlak transivimus, ubi repertum est signum, alias Stara Mogiła, et ut nomen ei Jagnięca Mogiła, cui cum non sit reperta alia similis, pro signo utriusque partis habebitur. Inde solita via, Humanium versum tendente, venimus, ubi Caput Deli lacus⁵ nuncupatur. Ulterius vero eundo Marków appellatam silvam ad meridiem ex parte nostra accepimus, in sinistram vero partem, ubi magna auris a Kodema⁶ ad septemtrionem finitur, ibi silva est Poloniae. Hac ergo mercatoria via per edita montium eundo ad finem Deli Jeziora Ucha lacus appellati silvula est, ad meridiem Ottomanica, et quia aqua nullibi reperiri potuit, necessum erat ductum habere per vallem Kodema, ubi et substitimus, et ubi tota vallis Kodema est ductus Poloniae, ad cuius latus mons ad meridiem iacet, in quo positus est scopulus Poloniae, magis vero remotior ad meridiem tendens Turcicus, et taliter ad septemtrionem, ultra et ultra per dorsum montis proficiscendo, in locis idoneis exstruebantur scopuli, donec ad locum confiniis nostris determinatum, id est flumen Boh, quem Sina Woda ingreditur, pervenimus. Et ibi substetimus, ubi circa ostium fluminis duo scopuli Turcici sunt erecti ad

⁴ Pol. Kojanłyk, Ukr. Velykyj Kujal'nyk, a small river flowing toward the Black Sea. Here its source is indicated (*Koianłyk capitalem*); cf. Document 63, note 19.

⁵ This term apparently refers to the river Tyligul (Tur. Deligöl). Tur. *göl* means "lake;" cf. Document 63, note 21.

⁶ Pol. Kodyma, Ukr. Kodyma, the right tributary of the Boh river.

meridiem, ad septemtrionem vero itidem duo signa metalia sunt fundata a Polonis, et vertici unius id est, proximiori littori Boh impositus est lapis, annum et finem limitum continens, propter maiorem notitiam et memoriam.

Et hoc ordine Imperium Ottomanicum cum Regno Poloniae confinia dominiorum suorum emundarunt, innovarunt, et diviserunt, nil intacti et controversi relinquendo. Pro maiori autem firmitate et securitate mutuae rei inter nos unanimiter constitutae, et superius specificatae, in casum alicuius controversiae scripta haec produci et demonstrari debebunt, et ideo ab invicem instrumenta haec dislimitatoria in manus commissoriales traduntur. Et pro maiori robore mutuis manibus subscribuntur, et sigillis muniuntur.

Datum ad scopulos terminales ad fluvium Boh nuncupatum, ubi Sina Woda influit ex altera parte, die decima quarta mensis Octobris anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo tertio.

[signatures]

Martinus Chomętowski
palatinus Braclaviensis,
capitaneus Drohobicensis,
commissarius Serenissimae
Regae Maiestatis et
Reipublicae

Polonae

[seal]

Jan Koniecpolski
koniuszy wielki
koronny, komissarz
i regimentarz wojska
JKMci mp.⁷
[seal]

Jan Humiecki
podstoli koronny,
komissarz JKMci
i Rzeczypospolitej mp.⁸
[seal]

⁷ Jan Koniecpolski, the great Crown equerry (*koniuszy*), the commissioner and the commander (*regimentarz*) of the troops of His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth, *manu propria*.

⁸ Jan Humiecki, the Crown steward (*podstoli*) and the commissioner of His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth, *manu propria*.

DOCUMENT 65 (22 APRIL 1714)

The Ottoman document containing two articles of peace
agreed on between the grand vizier Damad Ali Pasha
and the Polish envoy Stanisław Chomentowski
[Facs. XXX]

Original document in Turkish: AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 79, t. 636, no. 1202.

62 × 32 cm.

pençe (black)

text (black with red): *divani* script

oval seal (*mühür*) is affixed next to the pençe

Polish translation by Crutta: a) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 79, t. 636, no. 1203; b) AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 79, t. 636, no. 1204.

Latin translation: Bibl. Czart., ms. 616, fol. 71a–72a.

efkarü'l-‘ibad ‘Ali Paşa^a
sahh

tawakkaltu ‘ala’llah^b

radiytu bi-ma kasama’llah li
lakad ihsanu’llah fi-ma maza

[wa fawwaztu amri ila Haliki]^c
ke-zalik yahsunu fi-ma bakiya

[1] ba’is-i tahrir-i huruf bu dur ki

[2] devlet-i ‘aliye ile Leh kiralı Agustus-i Sani^d ve cumhuri beyninde
müte‘akkıd olan iki madde dir ki zıkr olunur evvelki madde milad-i
hazret-i ‘Isanın bin yediyüz

[3] on üç senesinde mah-i Haziranın on üçüncü gününde Edirnede devlet-i
‘aliye ile Moskov çarı beyninde ‘akd olunan mevadd temessüğünün
evvelki maddesinde

^a Text of the *pençe*. In the eighteenth-century Polish translation, the name of the vizier has been read as Selim. Indeed, the name in the *pençe* is written unclearly and could be read in both ways—Selim or Ali; however, the vizier at that time, who negotiated with the Polish envoys, was Şehid Damad Ali.

^b Text of the seal, (*mühür*). The seal contains no proper name. The versified outer inscription is identical with that published by Uzunçarşılı, “Osmanlı Devleti zamanında kullanılmış olan bazı mühürler hakkında bir tetkik,” *Bellefen* 4 (1940): 495–544, esp. p. 515.

^c This hemistich is illegible in the document. It was reconstructed on the basis of a similar seal published by Uzunçarşılı; see note b.

^d اغستوس ثانی.

- [4] Moskov murahhasları Lehe müta'alılık her ne ki ta'ahhüd ü sebat ittiller ise Leh kralı ve cumhuri taraflarından dahi Leh maddesinin müra'at olunması ta'ahhüd olunur
- [5] ikinci madde devlet-i 'aliye İsveç kralını Leh içerusünden her ne vakıtda göndürmek murad ider ise dostluk tariki ile gitmesi hususı Leh kralına ve cumhurine
- [6] haber olunub anlar taraflarından komisar ta'yin ve zıkr olunan Leh komisarlarıyla münasib vechle söyleşiyle ve karar virildiği vech üzere gider ki
- [7] esna-i tarikde Leh kralı ve cumhuri taraflarından emn ü selametleri ta'ahhüd olunur deyü asitane-i sa'adetde olan Leh elçileri İstanislavus Homentovski^e ve Françışkus Golç^f
- [8] taraf-i devlet-i 'aliyeye temessük virmeleriyle tarafımızdan dahi rica ve iltimaslarına bina'en işbu sureti tahrir ve yedlerine vaz' olunmuşdur tahriren fi 7 Rebi'i'l-ahir seneti sitta ve 'işrin ve mi'ate ve elf

bi-medine-i
Kostantiniye
'l-mahruse

Translation:

- [pençe] *The most humble of the servants [of God], Ali Pasha*
 "correct"
- [seal] *I placed my confidence in God*
 I have been satisfied with the lot that God has apportioned to me
 and I have dedicated my acts to my Creator
 God's favor is in what has happened
 likewise, what has remained, goes well

The reason for the writing of these letters is as follows:

These are the two articles concluded between the high [Ottoman] state and the Polish king, August the Second, and [the Polish] republic, which are stated [below]:

The first article: Whatever in relation to Poland was contracted and fixed by the Muscovian deputies in the first article of the temessük concluded between the high state and the Muscovian tsar¹ in Edirne on the thirteenth day of June in the year 1713 since the birth of his excellency Jesus, has [now] been contracted that the "Polish article" be observed by the Polish king and republic as well.

The second article: Whenever the high state intends to send the Swedish king² [home] through Polish territory, the Polish king and republic should be notified of his friendly

^e استانسلاوس خومنطوستی.

^f فرانچشکوس گولچ.

¹ I.e., Peter the Great.

² I.e., Charles XII.

passage, and from their side commissioners should be appointed; when he travels in the manner approved and agreed on by the aforementioned Polish commissioners, the Polish king and republic should guarantee his safety and security during [his] journey.

As the Polish envoys now at the felicitous threshold, Stanisław Chomentowski and Franciszek Goltz, have presented to the high state a temessük of these contents, also from our side on their request and petition, this copy has been written and given to their hands.

Written on the seventh [day] of Rebi II of the year 1126, in the city of Constantinople, the well-protected.

DOCUMENT 66 (AUTUMN 1790)
Proposed Polish-Ottoman defensive and commercial treaty
(French version)

French copy:¹ Bibl. Czart., ms. 846, pp. 611–14.

Published in K. Waliszewski, ed., *Ostatni poseł polski do porty ottomańskiej. Akta legacji stambulskiej Piotra Potockiego starosty szczyrzeckiego z Archiwum Roskiego zebrat i wydał*, vol. 1: 1789–1790 (Paris, 1894), pp. 301–305.

Traité perpétuel d'alliance défensive et de commerce entre la Sublime Porte ottomane et la Sérénissime République de Pologne

Au nom de Dieu Tout Puissant

Les événements consécutifs, surtout depuis l'époque de l'alliance combinée entre les cours de Vienne et de Pétersbourg, ayant prouvé que les intérêts de l'Empire ottoman et du Royaume de Pologne sont si étroitement liés que la moindre atteinte portée à l'une des deux puissances rejailit nécessairement sur l'autre, ce dont les faits accumulés font témoignage, Sa Majesté Impériale Sultan Sélim III, le très auguste et très puissant Grand Seigneur, ainsi que Sa Majesté Stanislas Auguste, très auguste et très puissant roi de la Sérénissime République de Pologne, ont résolu de leur gré mutuel de confirmer les conventions subsistantes d'après la teneur du traité de Karlovitz, conclu en 1699, et d'en resserrer les liens par un nouveau traité d'alliance pour la sûreté et pour la tranquillité commune. En conséquence, l'on est convenu, par le moyen des plénipotentiaires respectifs, des articles suivantes du présent traité d'alliance et de commerce entre les deux états.

Article 1:

Il y aura une amitié perpétuelle entre Sa Hautesse Impériale Sultan Sélim III Han, Empereur des Ottomans, et Sa Majesté le roi Stanislas Auguste, ainsi que la Sérénissime République de Pologne. Cette alliance aura pour but l'intégrité respective des deux états, le bien de leurs intérêts, la sûreté mutuelle de l'Empire ottomann [*sic*] et du Royaume de Pologne, la liberté, la souverain[e]té de la République, l'éloignement de toute influence et perturbation étrangère et les droits respectifs de souveraineté. En conséquence, si la Maison d'Autriche et la Russie ensemble, ou l'une d'elles séparément, déclaraient la guerre contre les puissances alliées, la Sublime Porte et la Sérénissime République de Pologne, ou s'ingéraient et inquiétaient dans quelques-uns de leurs états, droits, possessions et intérêts, dans ce cas les deux puissances s'entre'aideront et se défendront mutuellement l'une autre.

¹ This copy was sent by the Polish envoy to Warsaw on 10 November 1790.

Article 2:

Pour expliquer le cas d'alliance on fera toujours plus d'attention à l'essentiel qu'au formel,^a pour l'intégrité ou la défense de l'un ou de l'autre état. Ainsi, l'on respectera [*sic*] pour le cas d'alliance non seulement [*sic*] si l'une ou l'autre des puissances contractantes^b est attaquée par la Russie ou la Maison d'Autriche après la pacification générale, mais encore si un de ces empires se prépare à attaquer ou en menace par des levées extraordinaires, armements, etc. En ce cas, on emploiera les bon offices, et, si cela ne suffit pas, on se donnera des secours trois mois au plus tard après la réquisition faite par la puissance attaquée ou menacée, soit en hommes pour faire diversion dans les pays ennemi[s], soit en argent. Ce qui sera également relatif au cas que^c quelque puissance étrangère que ce soit prétendoit^d de se mêler des affaires intérieures de la République ou de ses dépendances.

Article 3:

Quant au secours mutuel des troupes qu'on doit se fournir mutuellement selon le besoin, la Sublime Porte et la Sérénissime République de Pologne s'engagent qu'à la première réquisition de la part de la République de Pologne, la Sublime Porte lui fournira trente mille hommes de cavallerie [*sic*] et, réciproquement, sur une pareille réquisition de la parte [*sic*] de la Sublime Porte, la République de Pologne lui fournira le nombre de vingt mille hommes, moitié cavallerie et moitié infanterie, en ajoutant de part et d'autre un nombre proportionné en artillerie. Si une des parties se trouve dans le cas de requérir de l'autre un secours plus considérable, en ce cas, la Sublime Porte augmentera la cavallerie subsidiaire jusqu'au nombre de quarante-cinq mille hommes, et la République à celui de trente mille hommes, moitié cavallerie moitié infanterie, avec l'augmentation proportionnelle en artillerie de part et d'autre. Si cependant le nombre graduel ci-dessus spécifié des troupes subsidiaires n'était pas encore suffisant, et que l'une des deux parties contractantes se trouvait dans le cas d'un secours de toutes les forces de l'autre, les deux puissances s'obligent réciproquement de les employer immédiatement lors de la réquisition de l'une faite à l'autre pour cet effet. Si la partie menacée ou attaquée préférerait aux troupes [*sic*] un secours en argent, elle en aura le choix, et ce secours sera pour lors évalué à vingt mille ducats de Hollande par an pour mille hommes d'infanterie et à vingt-six mille six cent soixante-six ducats de Hollande pour mille hommes de cavallerie par an, en évaluant chaque ducat à cinq piastres l'un, monnoye^e de Turquie, ou si l'on veut, on payera et acquittera la susdite somme partagée et calculée chaque mois à proportion.

^a Waliszewski: *qu'à la forme*.

^b Waliszewski: *puissance contractante*.

^c *Sic*; Waliszewski: *où*.

^d *Sic*; Waliszewski: *prétendrait*.

^e Waliszewski: *monnaie*.

Article 4:

Les parties contractantes se garantissent mutuellement toutes les possessions qu'elles ont et celles qu'elles auront à la pacification, ainsi que leurs droits de souveraineté respectifs.

Article 5:

Les stipulations relatives au commerce et le traité de Karlovitz, conclu en 1699 entre la Sublime Porte et la Sérénissime République de Pologne, seront observées comme si elles étaient insérées mot pour mot dans le présent traité.

Article 6:

Autant pour étendre les différentes branches du commerce qui doit lier à jamais les deux nations que pour veiller à l'union la plus étroite et aux intérêts respectifs de ces deux nations, la République de Pologne entretiendra un ministre permanent auprès de la Sublime Porte, avec le rang d'envoyé et les prérogatives et exemptions y attachées sur le pied des puissances les plus favorisées, comme la France, l'Angleterre et d'autres. Elle pourra avoir des consuls, vice-consuls, dragomans, dans les provinces, villes, ports ou échelles, où les affaires et le bien du commerce l'exigeront et où il n'en résulterait pas d'inconvénien[t]s aux vues politiques de la Sublime Porte,² sur quoi on conviendra d'un commun accord. Ils jouiront des mêmes prérogatives comme ceux de France, d'Angleterre, etc.

Article 7:

Tout se qui se trouve stipulé entre les deux parties contractantes par des actes séparés doit être observé et avoir force et valeur comme s'ils étoient insérés mot pour mot dans le présent traité.

Article 8:

Les puissances alliées, la Sublime Porte et la Sérénissime République de Pologne, se réservent de concourir réciproquement lors de la pacification à tout ce qui peut augmenter le bien-être des deux nations par le moyen de leurs représentants respectifs au congrès de la paix. Les intérêts de la Pologne ayant été stipulés par le traité dernièrement conclu entre la Sublime Porte et Sa Majesté Prussienne, ainsi que l'adhésion à la susdite [*sic*] pacification de Sa Majesté le roi de Prusse, celle de la République de Pologne et des puissances médiatrices, en conséquence Sa dite [*sic*] Majesté Prussienne ainsi que les puissances médiatrices, l'Angleterre et la Hollande,

² According to a marginal note by the Polish envoy, this restriction was provoked by the earlier stated intention of the Russians of opening a consulate in the military port of Varna.

^f Waliszewski: *étaient*.

seront invitées par les parties contractantes à accéder par leurs garanties au présent traité d'alliance selon sa teneur.

Article 9:

Ce traité sera ratifié et échangé ici, à Constantinople, dans trois mois ou plus tôt, si faire se pourra.

DOCUMENT 67 (4 OCTOBER 1790)
Proposed Polish-Ottoman defensive and commercial treaty
(Turkish translation from French)¹
[Facs. XXXI]

Turkish copies:

A. Bibl. Czart., ms. 846, p. 707.

51.5 × 33 cm.

text (black): *rik'a* script

B. BA, Cevdet Tasnifi, Hariciye, 1023.

C. BA, Hatt-i Hümayun, 14968-A.²

Another undated Turkish variant, differing in content and the order of the articles, is preserved in AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, folders of Piotr Potocki. Apparently it is a preliminary draft prepared by a European translator (perhaps Franciszek Chabert, the dragoman of the Polish embassy), as it contains numerous orthographic errors.

Polish translation of A. copy: Bibl. Czart., ms. 846, pp. 699–706.

Published in K. Waliszewski, ed., *Ostatni posel polski do porty ottomańskiej. Akta legacji stambulskiej Piotra Potockiego starosty szczyrzeckiego z Archiwum Roskiego zebrat i wydał*, vol. 1: 1789–1790 (Paris, 1894), pp. 324–27.

French translation by Crutta: a) Bibl. Czart., ms. 846, pp. 687–91; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 846, pp. 692–98.

Inşa'a'llahu ta'ala devlet-i 'aliye ile Leh cumhuri beyninde şurut-i tedafü'i ve emr-i ticareti havi 'akd olunacak ittifak senedi tercümesidir bi-tevfiki'llahi'l-Meliki'l-Kadir
fi 25 M. sene-i 205

devlet-i 'aliye ile haşmetlü Leh cumhurinin maslahat-i mülkiyeleri yek digere merbut derecelerde oldığı dela'il-i 'adide ile zahir olduğundan başka Nemçelü ile Moskovlu beyninde 'akd-i ittifak olundığı vaktan beri ahad-i tarafeyne isabet iden halet her ne güne ise la-mahale taraf-i ahire dahi 'aks ider dere-

¹ Cf. Document 66. Articles 5 and 6 of the French version are given in reverse order here, and article 7 of the French version is missing in B. and C. Article 8 of the French version corresponds to article 7 in B. and C., or to article 2 of the A. copy of the offensive pact in the Turkish version (for this article, see Document 69). Article 9 of the French version corresponds to the conclusion (*hatime*) in all Turkish copies.

² This copy was preserved in an envelope addressed to the *reisü'l-küttab*. According to the date written on the envelope, it was submitted on 18 January 1791 (13 Djumada I 1205 A.H.).

celerde bir birlerine merbut olduğu zuhura gelen vekayi'den dahi bi't-tecrübe ma'lum olduğına bina'en şevketlü kudretlü padişah-i Al-i 'Osman Sultan Selim-i Salis hazretleri ile haşmetlü Leh kralı Istanisla Augustus^a ve Leh cumhuri beyninde tarafeynin emniyet ü istirahatı için tedafü'i ittifakı muhtevi cedid bir sened-i 'akdi ile hala düstürü'l-'amal olan Karlofça mu'ahedesı muhtevi şerayitin te'kidı karar-gir olmağla tarafeyn murahhasları ma'rifetiyle zikri atı şüurut üzere iki devletin ittifakı ve siper-i sefayın şerayiti 'akd olunmuşdur

şart-i evvel

şevketlü kudretlü padişah-i Al-i 'Osman Sultan Selim-i Salis hazretleri ve haşmetlü Leh kralı ve cumhuri beyninde mü'ebbed bir dostlugun istihkâmı aksa-yi ma'arib-i tarafeyn olduğına bina'en işbu ittifaktan maksud-i aslı canibeynin emniyet ü muhafazası ile muktaza-yi maslahatlarının hüsn-i hali ve saltanat-i seniye ile Leh cumhurinin emniyeti ve ke-zalik tarafeynin hakk-i hükümeti ve ecanibin her dürlü ta'arruz ve müdahalesi teb'idi ve Leh cumhurinin hakk-i hükümet ü serbestiyeti olub bu takdirce Moskovlu ile Nemçelü müttahiden veyahud ikisinden biri münferiden müttetik olan devlet-i 'aliye ile Leh cumhurinden birisi üzerine i'lan-i harb veyahud gerek memleketlerinden birisine ve gerek kendü hukuk u maslahat-i mülkiyelerine ta'arruz u müdahale ider ise ol halde devlet-i 'aliye ve cumhur-i mezkur yek-digere i'anet ve muhafaza ideler

şart-i sani

tarafeyn istirahat ve muhafazası gereği gibi istihsal olunmak zımnında rüsûma çendan i'tibar olunmayub ma bihi'l-meram olan esas-i mevadda ihtimam u dikkat oluna ya'ni der-kar olan muharebe musalahasından sonra ahad-i tarafeyn üzerine Moskov veyahud Nemçelü taraflarından bi'l-kez 'azm-i sefer olundığı halde değil belki işbu zikr olunan Nemçelü veya Moskovlu sefer tedarikatın ider ise veyahud müceddeden 'asakir ve levazimat tertibi ile sefer suretlerin izhar iderler ise ol halde dahi tarafeynden hüsn-i himmet sarf oluna kaldı ki o makule hüsn-i himmet kar-ger olmadığı surette ahad-i hüma ahara akçe ile veyahud düşmanı işgal için hududa irsal 'asker ile imdad ve i'yanet eyleye ve zikr olunan imdad 'askeri taleb olundığı günden akall-i mertebe üç ay müddet zarfında tedarik olunub virile eger ecnebi bir devlet tarafından Leh cumhurinin umur-i dahiliyesine veyahud hala zir-i hükümetinde olan araziye müdahale olunur ise yine vech-i meşruh üzere Leh cumhurine i'anet oluna

şart-i salis

müttetik olan devlet-i 'aliye ve Leh cumhurinin hasbe'l-iktiza yek digere lazım gelecek i'yanet-i 'askeriyesine da'ir tarafeynden bu vech ta'ahhud olunur ki Leh cumhuri imdad-i mezkuri canib-i devlet-i 'aliyeden istid'a

^a استانیسلا اوغستوس.

eylediği gibi devlet-i ‘aliye cumhur-i mezkura otuz bin nefer süvari ‘asker i’ta eyleye ve yine devlet-i ‘aliye zıkr olunan imdadı Leh cumhuri tarafından talep eylediği gibi cumhur-i mezbur devlet-i ‘aliyeye nısfı piyade ve nısf-i aharı süvari olmak üzere yigirmi bin nefer ‘asker ile hizmet eyleye ve tarafeynden bir birine kifayet mikdarı cebehane dahi virile kaldı ki ahad-i tarafeyn salifü’l-mikdar ‘askerden ziyade imdada muhtac olur ise ol halde devlet-i ‘aliye Leh cumhurine kırk beş bin nefer-i süvari ‘asker i’ta idüb Leh cumhuri dahi nısfı piyade ve nısf-i digeri süvari olmak üzere otuz bin nefer ‘asker ile hizmet eyleye ve bu takdirce cebehanenin mikdarı dahi tarafeynden teksir oluna eger salifü’l-mikdar ‘asker dahi kifayet itmez ise vahid-i tarafeyn müttefikinin mecmu’-i kuvvetine muhtac olur ise ol halde talep olundukda bir birlerine mecmu’-i kuvvetleriyle i‘anet eyleyeler kaldı ki kangı tarafından ‘aleyhe su’-i kasd olunan mütteliklerin biri malen i‘aneti ‘asker ile imdad olunmasına takdim ü tercih eylediği halde bin nefer piyade ‘askerin bir senelik ‘ulufe ve masarifi yüz bin gurus ki yigirmi bin Macar altını ider ve be-her bin nefer süvari ‘askerin bir senelik masarifi yüz otuz üç bin üçyüz otuz gurus ki her biri beşer gurusdan yigirmi altı bin altıyüz altmış altı Macar altını itmekle bu vechle akçe virile veyahud meblag-i mezkur mahiye olmak üzere taksim ve hesab olunarak mah be-mah eda ve taksim oluna

şart-i rabi’

müttelik olan devletler gereke’l-yevm mutasarrif oldukları ve gerek işbu derkar olan muharebe musalahasından sonra mutasarrif olacakları memleketlerin muhafazasına ve tarafeynin hükümetleri hukukuna mütekeffil olalar

şart-i hamis

tarafeynin ittihad-i mü’ebbedine ba’is olan emr-i ticareti tervic ve canibeynin muhkem ittihad u musafatı ve mukteza-yi maslahatına ihtimam u dikkat eylemek üzere Leh cumhurinin orta ilçilik payesiyle asitane-i sa’adetde bir nefer ilçisi ‘ala’d-devam ikamet eyleye ve França^b ve İngiltere^c ve sa’ir dost-i ahabb olan devletlerin ilçileri hakkına cari olan imtiyazat ve mu’afiyat ilçisi mersum hakkında dahi cari ola ve emr-i ticaret hüsn-i hali icab eylediği ve tarafeynin münasib gördüğü mahzurdan salim ve devlet-i ‘aliyenin maslahat-i mülkiyesine mugayir olmayan mahaller ve iskele ve liman ve şehirlerde Leh konsolosı ve konsolos vekili ve mu’inlerine tercüman ta’yin olunub França ve İngilterelüler hakkına cari olan imtiyazat u mu’afiyat mersumun haklarında dahi cari ola

şart-i sadis

devlet-i ‘aliye ile Leh cumhuri beyinde tarih-i hicret-i nebevi ‘ala sahibuha efzalü’t-tahiyenin bin yüz on senesi ve tarih-i ‘iseviyenin bin altıyüz doksan dokuz senesinde mün’akıd olan Karlofça ‘ahdnamesi ve ticaret şerayiti işbu mu’ahedede lafz be-lafz ilhak olunmuş gibi ri’ayet oluna

^b فرانچہ.

^c انگلترہ.

şart-i sabî‘

müttefik olan iki devletlerin beyninde rabıta-pezir olan ittifak-i tecavüzi ve şerayit-i siper-i sefayin işbu senede lafz be-lafz ilhak olunmuş gibi mer‘i ve mu‘teber tutıla

hatime

işbu ittifak senedi üç ayda ve mümkün ise dahi evvelce asitane-i sa‘adetde mübadele oluna tasdikân li’l-makale biz ki

Translation:

God—may He be exalted!—willing: this is the translation of the document of the alliance containing the defensive conditions and commercial matters that will be concluded between the high state and the Polish republic, with the guidance of God, the Almighty King:

on the twenty-fifth Muharrem of the year 1205

In consequence of the knowledge gained from [previous] events, which have demonstrated by numerous proofs—especially since the conclusion of the alliance between the Austrians and the Russians—that the proper interests of the high state and the majestic Polish republic are mutually connected, insofar that whatever act is committed against one of the two sides, it will be unavoidably reflected on the other side as well, in order to bring security and ease a new document of agreement, containing a defensive alliance, has been concluded between the illustrious, mighty Ottoman padishah, his excellency Sultan Selim the Third, and the majestic Polish king, Stanislaus Augustus, and the Polish republic; now the clauses of the treaty of Karlowitz, serving as a guide, have been confirmed, while the alliance of the two states and the conditions for the security of navigation have been concluded by the deputies of the two sides, according to the conditions set forth below:

The first article:

As the strengthening of the perpetual friendship between the illustrious, mighty Ottoman padishah, his excellency Sultan Selim the Third, and the majestic Polish king and republic, is a matter of the utmost interest for the two sides, the principal purpose of this alliance is the mutual security and defence, the good condition of their exigent interests, the security of the exalted sultanate and of the Polish republic, and also the mutual right of sovereignty, the removal of any kind of meddling or interference by the foreigners, and the right of sovereignty and independence of the Polish republic; supposing that the Russians and the Austrians, whether in unison or alone, declare war against either the allied high state or the Polish republic or meddle and interfere in any of their provinces or their rights and proper interests, then the high state and the aforementioned republic should provide mutual help and defence.

The second article:

In order that the ease and defence of the two sides be duly ensured, rather than the observance of external forms, one should be careful and attentive to the essential purpose of the articles. Namely, after the pacification of the present war, not only in the event

that the Russians or Austrians undertake a campaign against whichever of the two sides, but also if the aforementioned Austrians or Russians prepare a campaign, or if they manifest campaign preparations by organizing troops and provisions anew, then full [diplomatic] support³ should be mutually provided. Moreover, if such full support brings no result, either of the two should provide rescue and help to the other with financial aid or troops sent to the border in order to engage the enemy. From the day of request for the aforementioned rescue troops, they should be assembled and sent within a period of three months at the latest.

If any foreign state interferes in the internal affairs of the Polish republic or the lands under its rule at present, again one should help the Polish republic in the manner described.

The third article:

As concerns any mutual military assistance required in the future by the allied high state and the Polish republic, it has been mutually determined that when the Polish republic asks for the aforementioned help from the side of the high state, the high state should furnish the aforementioned republic with thirty thousand mounted troops. Again, when the high state asks for the aforementioned help from the Polish republic, the said republic should serve the high state with twenty thousand troops—half infantry and the other half mounted. One should also mutually provide a sufficient amount of munitions. Moreover, if either of the two sides needs for rescue more troops than the aforementioned number, then the high state should furnish the Polish republic with forty-five thousand mounted troops, and the Polish republic should also serve with thirty thousand troops—half infantry and the other half mounted. In this consideration, the amount of munitions should also be mutually augmented. If the aforementioned number of troops is still insufficient, and one of the two sides needs all the forces of its ally, then, when requested, they should assist each other with all their troops.

Moreover, if either of the allies against whom an aggression is directed from whichever direction gives precedence and prefers financial aid to military assistance, the yearly pay and expenses of a thousand infantry soldiers make [i.e., are calculated as worth] one hundred thousand piasters [guruş], that is, twenty thousand Hungarian florins [Macar altını]. And the yearly expenses for every thousand mounted soldiers make one hundred thirty-three thousand and three hundred thirty piasters, that is, twenty-six thousand, six hundred sixty-six Hungarian florins, each one [worth] five piastres; in this manner money should be given, or the said amount should be divided and calculated monthly, and paid and distributed month by month.

The fourth article:

The allied states should mutually guarantee the keeping of their provinces, whether held at present or to be held after the pacification of this present war, and their respective rights of sovereignty.

The fifth article:

As the matters of trade that promote the perpetual union of the two sides should be favored, and the strong union, friendship, and exigent interests of the two parties should

³ Tur. *hüsni-i himmet*; in the French version: *les bons offices*; see Document 66.

be treated with care and attention, an envoy of the Polish republic with the rank of a middle envoy should permanently reside at the felicitous threshold. The valid privileges [imtiyazat] and immunities [mu'afiyat] concerning the envoys of France, England, and the other most friendly states should be in force in regard to the aforementioned envoy as well.

As good conditions for the matters of trade are necessary and considered appropriate by the two sides, Polish consuls, consul deputies, and dragomans [given] to their assistance should be appointed in the places, ports, harbors, and towns that are safe from dangers and [which are] not contrary to the proper interests of the high state;⁴ the valid privileges [imtiyazat] and immunities [mu'afiyat] concerning Frenchmen and Englishmen should be in force in regard to the aforementioned ones as well.

The sixth article:

The treaty [‘ahdname] of Karlowitz, concluded between the high state and the Polish republic in the year 1110 since the emigration [Hegira] of the Prophet (may the most superior salutation be upon its author!),⁵ that is, in the year 1699 of the era of Jesus, and the [previous] trade articles should be observed as if they were appended to this treaty letter by letter.

The seventh article:

The recently arranged offensive pact and the conditions for the security of navigation should be observed and respected as if they were appended to this document letter by letter.

Conclusion:

The exchange [mübadele] of these alliance documents should occur at the felicitous threshold within three months and, if possible, even earlier.

In confirmation of these words, we, who [are]:⁶

⁴ See Document 66, note 2.

⁵ I.e., Prophet Muhammad.

⁶ A blank space was left for the names of the negotiators.

DOCUMENT 68 (AUTUMN 1790)
Proposed amendments to the Polish-Ottoman treaty for
an offensive pact (French version)

French copy:¹ Bibl. Czart., ms. 846, pp. 615–16.

Published in K. Waliszewski, ed., *Ostatni poseł polski do porty ottomańskiej. Akta legacji stambulskiej Piotra Potockiego starosty szczyrzeckiego z Archiwum Roskiego zebrat i wydał*, vol. 1: 1789–1790 (Paris, 1894), pp. 305–307.

Articles séparés du traité d'alliance entre la Sublime Porte et la Sérénissime République de Pologne.

Quoique le traité d'alliance perpétuelle qui vient d'être conclu entre la Sublime Porte ottomane et la Sérénissime République de Pologne embrasse les principaux points tendant à assurer à l'avenir, avec l'aide de Dieu, l'intégrité et le bonheur de deux nations, vu cependant que l'union des intérêts communs et l'amitié réciproque a déterminé la République de Pologne à déclarer à la Sublime Porte, ainsi qu'à Sa Majesté le roi de Prusse, qu'elle ne restera plus neutre, et qu'elle prendra une part active à la guerre actuelle contre la Russie conjointement avec la Sublime Porte et de concert avec Sa Majesté le roi de Prusse, pour s'assurer contre les vues de la dite puissance préjudiciables à leur sécurité commune, la Sublime Porte s'étant engagée avec la Sérénissime République de Pologne et leur alliée, Sa Majesté Prussienne, à poursuivre avec toutes leurs forces et activité la guerre contre la Russie, les parties contractantes sont en conséquence convenues plus particulièrement ensemble des articles secrets spécifiés dans le présent acte séparé, qui dès le moment de sa signature doit avoir sa force et valeur.

Article 1:

L'expérience des événements [*sic*] successifs ayant démontré que la Russie ayant mis le pied dans les possessions de la Sublime Porte ainsi que dans celles de la République de Pologne et s'en étant emparée s'est procurée un agrandissement disproportionné et préjudiciable pour l'équilibre de l'Europe et de plus en plus dangereux pour l'Empire ottoman et pour la Pologne, la Sublime Porte continuant avec toutes ses forces la guerre actuelle contre la Russie, et Sa Majesté le roi de Prusse devant prendre une part immédiate à cette guerre, en vertu de son traité d'alliance conclu avec la Sublime Porte, la République de Pologne commencera également à faire la guerre avec toutes ses forces conjointement avec Sa Majesté Prussienne contre la Russie.

¹ This copy was sent by the Polish envoy to Warsaw on 10 November 1790.

Article 2:

Les puissances belligérantes se communiqueront réciproquement et se concerteront ensemble sur le plan des opérations militaires ainsi que sur la direction de leurs corps d'armées respectifs, afin d'agir en même tem[p]s, et, de même qu'il a été convenu entre la Sublime Porte et Sa Majesté Prussienne, les deux parties contractantes s'engagent de ne pas mettre bas les armes ni d'accepter ou signer séparément aucune proposition d'armistice ou de paix sans se communiquer préalablement et sans le concours du roi de Prusse, mais de continuer la guerre avec ^atoutes leurs forces, jusqu'à obtenir pleine^b satisfaction, autant pour l'Empire ottoman que pour la République de Pologne et une paix avantageuse et solide pour les parties contractantes, y compris Sa Majesté le roi de Prusse, et les dites puissances ne se désisteront autrement pas de la guerre, qu'elles s'engagent de continuer avec toutes leurs forces.

^{a-b} This portion is missing in Waliszewski's edition.

DOCUMENT 69 (4 OCTOBER 1790)
Proposed amendments to the Polish-Ottoman treaty for an
offensive pact (Turkish translation from French)¹
[Facs. XXXII]

Turkish copies:

A. Bibl. Czart., ms. 846, p. 719.

54 × 36 cm.

text (black): *rik'a* script

B. BA, Hatt-i Hümayun, 14968²

Polish translation of A. copy: Bibl. Czart., ms. 846, pp. 709–714.

Published in K. Waliszewski, ed., *Ostatni poseł polski do porty ottomańskiej. Akta legacji stambulskiej Piotra Potockiego starosty szczyrzeckiego z Archiwum Roskiego zebrat i wydał*, vol. 1: 1789–1790 (Paris, 1894), pp. 328–29.

French translation by Crutta: a) Bibl. Czart., ms. 846, pp. 715–18; b) Bibl. Czart., ms. 846, pp. 729–32.

Şurut-i tecavüziyi havi sened suretidir

devlet-i ‘aliye ile haşmetlü Leh cumhurinin miyanında bu def‘a ‘akd olunan ittifak-i mü‘ebbed bi-tevfiki’llahi ta‘ala tarafeynin emniyet ü vikaye-i tammesi için iktiza iden esas mevaddi egerçi şamil olub ancak canibeynin muhabbet ü musafatı istihkam-pezir olmak zımında bu def‘a Leh cumhuri bi-taraflık şikkını feragat birle Moskovlu üzerine devlet-i ‘aliye ile müttefikan Prusyalu^a ile bi’l-ma‘iye ceng ü harba kıyam ideceğini devlet-i ‘aliye ile haşmetlü Prusya kiralına ifade ve beyan etmekle ve bu vechle Moskovlunun makasid u niyat-i fasidesinden tarafeyne emniyet-i tammenin istihsali zımında devlet-i ‘aliye ile Leh cumhuri müttefikları olan Prusya devletiyle bi’l-ittifak

¹ Cf. Document 68. Article 1 of the Turkish version corresponds to articles 1 and 2 of the French version. Article 2 of the Turkish version corresponds to article 8 of the defensive treaty in the French version (see Document 66). Article 3 is missing in the French version.

² This copy, preserved along with C. copy of Document 67, contains articles 1 and 3 only because article 2 is already registered in C. copy of Document 67 as article 7 of the defensive treaty. After the Ottoman-Austrian armistice of 1791, a new redaction of the articles was composed by another hand on the left side of the same leaf. It contains an amended version of article 1 and a new article 2, providing that after the Ottoman-Austrian truce of Zisztova, Polish and Prussian troops should be dispatched toward the Russian border and that the Habsburg emperor (referred to in the document as *Macar kralı*, i.e., “the Hungarian king”) should not bring help to Russia.

^a پروسیهلو.

Moskovlu üzerine var kuvvetleri ile ceng ü harba gayret ü ihtimam etmek üzere müte'ahhid olmalarıyla zikri ati mevadd-i münferideyi 'akd eylemiştir ki işbu mahfi sened-i münferide vaz'-i imza olundığı gibi bi'l-cümle müfadi ittifak mu'ahedesinde derc ü ilhak olunmuş gibi tamamen ve kamilen mer'i ve mu'teber tutıla

evvelki madde

mera'atı lazım olan Avrupa^b mevazinesine iras-i hanel ve heman devlet-i 'aliye ile Leh cumhurine isal-i zarar ider meritebe Moskovlunun hadd-i i'tidalden haric kesb-i fevk eylemesi mahza devlet-i 'aliye ile Leh cumhuri arazisinden ba'zılarına pa-nihade ve dest-res olduğundan neşa'et itdiği zuhura gelen vekayi'-i mütetabi'eden bi't-tecrübe ma'lum ve devlet-i 'aliyenin Moskovlu üzerine mecmu'-i kuvvetle müdavemet etmek üzere olduğu işbu muharebeye Prusya kralı dahi devlet-i 'aliye ile 'akd eylediği ittifak lazimesince ceng ile dahil olacağı zahir olmagla Leh cumhuri dahi müşarun-ileyh Prusya kralı ile bi'l-ma'îye mecmu'-i kuvvetiyle Moskovlu üzerine muharebeye mübaşeret eyleye^c ve muharib olan devlet-i 'aliye ve Leh cumhuri beraberce hareket etmeleri zımında hareket-i 'askeriyenin tertibi ve iktiza iden mahallere 'askerlerinin sevk ü ta'yini birbirleriyle muhabere eyleyeler devlet-i 'aliye ile Prusya kralı beyninde mukavele olduğu üzere ke-zalik müttetik olan devlet-i 'aliye ve Leh cumhuri birbirlerine haber virmedikçe ve beraber olmadıkça ve Prusya devleti dahi dahil olmadıkça muharebeyi terk etmeyüb mütareke ve musalahaya müte'allik bir dürlü iradi münferiden kabul u imza etmeyeler Moskovludan gereği gibi ahz-i intikam olunmadıkça devlet-i 'aliye ile Leh cumhuri için muhkem ve fa'ideli bir sulh husula gelmedikçe ve Prusyalı dahil olmadıkça Moskovlu üzerine muharebeden farig olmayub mecmu'-i kuvvetleriyle muharebeye müdavemet eyleyeler

ikinci madde

müttetik olan devlet-i 'aliye ile Leh cumhuri işbu der-kar olan muharebe musalahasında mahall-i mukalematda mevcut olmak üzere ta'yin idecekleri murahhasları ma'rifetiyle tarafeynin mümkün olan menfa'at u fa'idesi istih-saline sa'î ve ihtimam ideler ve Prusya devleti ve mütevassıt olacak devletler ve Leh cumhuri musalahaya-i mezkurede dahil olmak devlet-i 'aliye ile Prusya devleti beyninde mu'ahharen mün'akıd ittifakda mestur olmagla işbu itti-fak-name muktezası üzere dahi zikr olunan Prusya devleti ve mütevassıt devletler dahi işbu mu'ahedeye kendi kefaletleriyle dahil olmalarıçün işbu iki müttetiklerden kendilere haber virile

üçüncü madde

devlet-i 'aliye ile Leh cumhurinin dost ve müttetiki olan Prusya kralı işbu 'akd olunan mevaddin mu'ahedesine dahil olmak zımında işbu sened 'akdin-den sonra mukavesesine vakıf olan Prusya ilçisine haber virile

^b اوروپا.

^c Article 2 of the French version begins here.

Translation:

This is a copy of the document containing offensive [pact] articles³

Though the permanent alliance concluded at this time between the high state and the majestic Polish republic contains essential articles requisite—with the assistance of God (may He be exalted!)—for complete mutual security and protection, in order to strengthen the mutual friendship and amity, at this time the Polish republic has expressed and declared to the high state and to the majestic king of Prussia that, abandoning the option of neutrality, it would rise to combat and war against the Russians in alliance with the high state and in company with the Prussians;

in this way, in order to achieve complete mutual security from the vicious aims and intentions of the Russians, the high state and the Polish republic along with their ally, the Prussian state, have unanimously engaged to raise combat and war against the Russians with their available forces, with energy and care;

they have concluded the separate articles set forth below, so that when this secret, separate document is signed, its whole contents should be entirely and completely observed and respected, as if they had been inserted into and appended to the alliance treaty.

The first article:

It is known by experience from a series of consecutive events how great was the damage inflicted on the European balance, which should be observed, and how great was the harm that was instantly caused to the high state and to the Polish republic by the immoderate rise of the Russians, entirely originating from setting their feet on and extending their hands to [grasp] some lands of the high state and the Polish republic;

as the high state is assiduously at war against Russia with all [its] forces, and it is evident that the king of Prussia will also enter this war, as is required by his alliance concluded with the high state, the Polish republic, in company with the aforementioned king of Prussia, should also open war against Russia with all its forces.

In order to coordinate their movements, the belligerent sides—the high state and the Polish republic—should inform each other of their preparations for military movements and about the dispatch and appointment of troops to the required places.

As in the agreement concluded between the high state and the king of Prussia, unless the allied high state and the Polish republic inform each other and remain in unity, and unless Prussia is also included, they [i.e., the allies] should not withdraw from the war nor should they accept or sign separately any proposal of armistice or peace.

So long as a just revenge is not inflicted on the Russians, and the high state and the Polish republic do not obtain an advantageous peace, and [so long as] the Prussians are not included [in it], nobody should withdraw from the war against the Russians, and they [i.e., the allies] should assiduously continue the war with all their troops.

The second article:

During the pacification of the present war, the allied high state and the Polish republic should attempt and take care in order to obtain mutually feasible advantages and profits

³ In B. a slightly different heading is given along with the date: 25 Muharrem 1205 A.H. (4 October 1790).

through their deputies, who will be appointed to be present at the place of negotiations.

As is written in the latterly concluded alliance between the high state and the Prussian state, the Prussian state, the future mediating states⁴ and the Polish republic should be included in the aforementioned pacification; also, as is required by this alliance document, in order that the aforementioned Prussian state and the mediating states enter this treaty with their guaranties, they should be notified by these two allies [about the negotiations].

The third article:

In order that the king of Prussia, being the friend and ally of the high state and the Polish republic, be included in the conditions of this [recently] concluded treaty, after this document is agreed on the Prussian envoy, who is aware of the negotiations, should be notified.

⁴ I.e., England and the Netherlands; cf. article 8 in Document 66.

ABBREVIATIONS OF CITED WORKS, RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS AND LANGUAGES

AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Main Archives of Early Acts, Warsaw]
A.H.	the Hegira year, based on the Muslim calendar
AKW	Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie [Warsaw Crown Archives in AGAD]
Ar.	Arabic
BA	Başbakanlık Arşivi [Archives of the Prime Ministry, Istanbul]
Bibl. Czart.	Biblioteka Czartoryskich [Czartoryski Library, Cracow]
Bibl. Jagiell.	Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library, Cracow]
Bibl. Kórn.	Biblioteka PAN w Kórniku [Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Kórnik]
Bibl. Ossol.	Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich [Ossolineum Library, Wrocław]
Bibl. Racz.	Publiczna Biblioteka Miejska im. Raczyńskich [Raczyński Library, Poznań]
Bulg.	Bulgarian
Dumont, <i>Corps Universel diplomatique</i>	Jean Dumont, <i>Corps Universel diplomatique du Droit des Gens; contenant un Recueil des traités d'alliance, de paix, de trêve et autres contrats qui ont été faits en Europe, depuis le règne de l'empereur Charlemagne jusqu'à présent</i> , vols. 1–8 (Amsterdam-The Hague, 1726–1731)
Dz. tur.	Dział turecki [Turkish division in AKW]; k. = <i>karton</i> [box], t. = <i>teczka</i> [folder], no. = <i>numer</i> [number]
<i>EI</i> ²	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edition (Leiden-London, 1960–)
Eng.	English
Fekete, <i>Einführung</i>	Lajos Fekete, <i>Einführung in die Osmanisch-Türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn</i> (Budapest, 1926)
Fekete, <i>Türkische Schriften</i>	Lajos Fekete, <i>Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy 1606–1645</i> (Budapest, 1932)
Germ.	German
Hung.	Hungarian
Inalcık, <i>The Ottoman Empire</i>	Halil Inalcık, <i>The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300–1600</i> (New York, 1973)

- Ital.
KDT
Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich. Dokumenty do dziejów Polski i krajów ościennych w latach 1455–1672* (Warsaw, 1959)
- Kraszewski, *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcyi*
Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, ed., *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcyi, a mianowicie: Podróż E. Otwinowskiego 1557, Jędrzeja Taranowskiego komornika j. k. m. 1569, i Poselstwo Piotra Żbrowskiego 1568* (Cracow, 1860)
- Krykun, *Administrativno-territorial'noe ustrojstvo*
Mykola Krykun, *Administrativno-territorial'noe ustrojstvo pravoberežnoj Ukrainy v XV–XVIII vv. Granicy voevodstv v sieti istočnikov* (Kiev, 1992)
- Krykun, “Rozgraniczenie”
Mykola Krykun, “Rozgraniczenie ziem Rzeczypospolitej i Imperium Ottomańskiego w 1633 roku” in: *Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w dobie szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Żenonowi Guldonowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*. Edited by W. Kowalski and J. Muszyńska (Kielce, 1996): 145–57
- Münşe'at
Feridun Bey, *Münşe'atü's-Selatin*, vols. 1–2 (Istanbul, 1274/1857–1858)
- Noradounghian, *Recueil*
Gabriel Noradounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman. Traités, conventions, arrangements, déclarations, protocoles, procès-verbaux, firmans, bérats, lettres patentes et autres documents relatifs au droit public extérieur de la Turquie*, vols. 1–4 (Paris-Leipzig-Neuchatel, 1897–1903)
- Ostapchuk, “The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier”
Victor Ostapchuk, “The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier and the Relations of the Porte with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy, 1622–1628.” Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Harvard University, 1989
- Ott.
Österreich und die Osmanen
Österreich und die Osmanen. *Gemeinsame Ausstellung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek und des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs. Prunksaal der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: 31. Mai bis 30. Oktober 1983* (Vienna, 1983)
- Pol.
Pułaski, *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego*
Franciszek Pułaski, ed., *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego wojewody chełmińskiego do Turcyi w latach 1677–1678* (Warsaw, 1907)
- “Relacja komisarzy”
“Relacja komisarzy Rzeczypospolitej do rozgraniczenia Podola,” AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 77, t. 479, no. 803
- Reychman and Zajączkowski, *Handbook*
Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajączkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats* (The Hague-Paris, 1968)

RGADA	Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj arxiv drevnix aktov [Russian State Archives of Early Acts, Moscow]
Rum.	Rumanian
Schaendlinger, <i>Die Schreiben Süleymans</i>	Anton Schaendlinger, <i>Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien</i> , pt. 1–2 (Vienna, 1983)
Skilliter, <i>William Harborne</i>	Susan Skilliter, <i>William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey 1578–1582. A documentary study of the first Anglo-Ottoman relations</i> (London, 1977)
Slov.	Slovak
Tat.	Tatar
Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics”	Hans Theunissen, “Ottoman-Venetian diplomatics: the <i>ahdnames</i> . The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents.” Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Utrecht, 1991
<i>Treaties, etc. between Turkey and Foreign Powers</i>	<i>Treaties, etc. between Turkey and Foreign Powers, 1535–1855</i> . [Edited by L. Hertslet] (London, 1855)
Waliszewski, <i>Ostatni poseł polski</i>	Kazimierz Waliszewski, ed., <i>Ostatni poseł polski do porty ottomańskiej. Akta legacji stambulskiej Piotra Potockiego starosty szczyrzeckiego z Archiwum Roskiego zebrał i wydał</i> , vols. 1–2 (Paris, 1894)
TSMA	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi [Topkapı Palace Museum Archives, Istanbul]
TSMK	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi [Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul]
Tur.	Turkish
Ukr.	Ukrainian
Wójcik, <i>Polska służba dyplomatyczna</i>	Zbigniew Wójcik, ed., <i>Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI–XVIII wieku</i> (Warsaw, 1966)

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GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNIC TERMS

Terms found in documents in French, Italian, Latin or Polish	Equivalent in English or in a local language	Document no.
<i>Adana</i>	Adana	53
<i>Aden</i>	Aden	20, 33
<i>Adrianopolis</i>	Edirne (Andrianople)	34, 39, 47, 64
<i>Adrinopolis</i>	Edirne (Andrianople)	39
<i>adziamskie</i>	Persian	33
<i>Aegiptus</i>	Egypt	29, 34, 39, 47, 49
<i>Aegypt</i>	Egypt	33
<i>Africa</i>	Africa	49
<i>Albania</i>	Albania	12
<i>Alcira</i>	Algiers	20
<i>aleksandryjski</i>	of Alexandria	33
<i>Alepo</i>	Haleb (Aleppo)	13
<i>Allexandria</i>	Alexandria	12
<i>Ammasias</i>	Amasya	12
<i>Anatolia</i>	Anatolia	13, 20, 53
<i>Anchiochia</i>	Antiochia (Antakya)	12
<i>Andrinopolis</i>	Edirne (Andrianople)	10
<i>Angleterre</i>	England	66
<i>Annatolia</i>	Anatolia	12
<i>Aphryca</i>	Africa	12
<i>Arabes</i>	Arabians	14, 29, 34, 39, 47, 49
<i>Arabia</i>	Arabia	10, 12, 13, 20
<i>Arabowie</i>	Arabs	35
<i>arabskie</i>	Arab	33
<i>Armeni</i>	Armenians	22, 47, 49
<i>Armenia</i>	Armenia	12
<i>Asia</i>	Asia (i.e., Asia Minor)	1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 24, 29, 34, 39, 47, 49
<i>Assia</i>	Asia (i.e., Asia Minor)	6
<i>Asyja</i>	Asia (i.e., Asia Minor)	35
<i>Autriche</i>	Austria	66
<i>Azia</i>	Asia (i.e., Asia Minor)	4, 33
<i>Babillonia</i>	Babylonia	12
<i>Babilonia</i>	Babylonia	20
<i>Babin</i>	Babyne (Babin)	56

<i>Babine mogiły</i>	Babyne tombs	56
<i>Bahłajki</i>	Bahlajky (Bakłajki)	56
<i>Bar</i>	Bar	53
<i>Barens (Barensem)</i>	of Bar	34
<i>barski</i>	of Bar	25, 26
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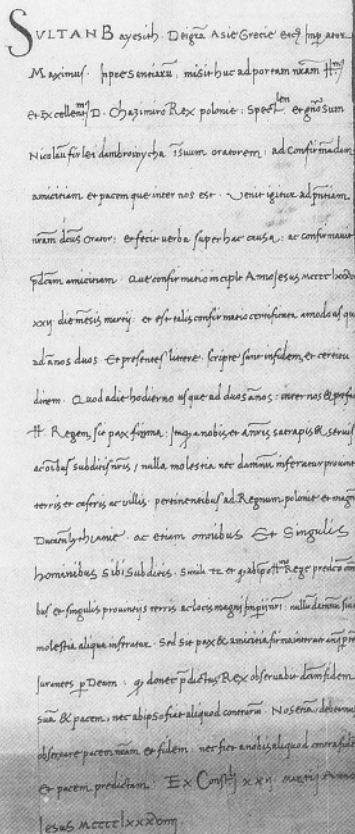
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**FACSIMILES
AND
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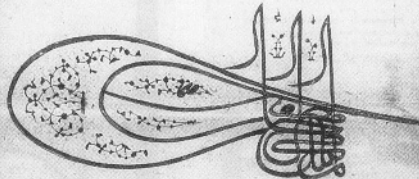
Volgens II & Cramer IV



Facs. II DOC. 3 (6 April 1494) The *'ahdname*
sent by Bayezid II to King John Albert

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Phryganea lateralis in *Pala. inter. Japan*, Hana et al. *Kyushu, Bessatsu Zoogeographica*: 1502.

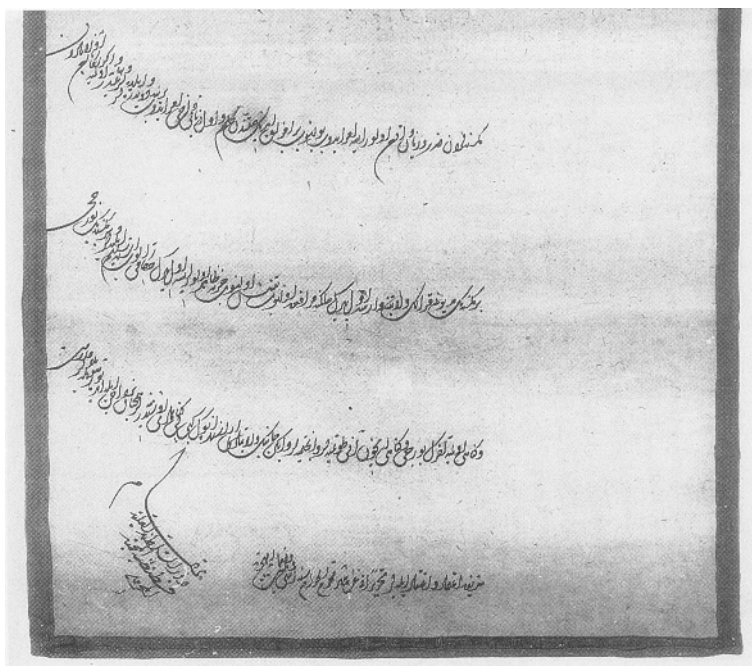
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Facs. III DOC. 7 (9 October 1502) The 'ahdname
sent by Bayezid II to King Alexander

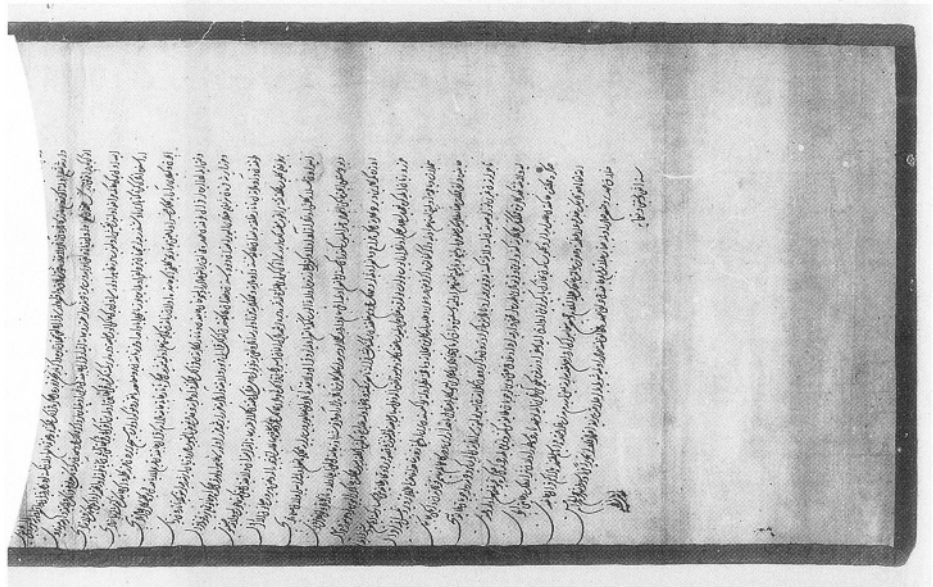
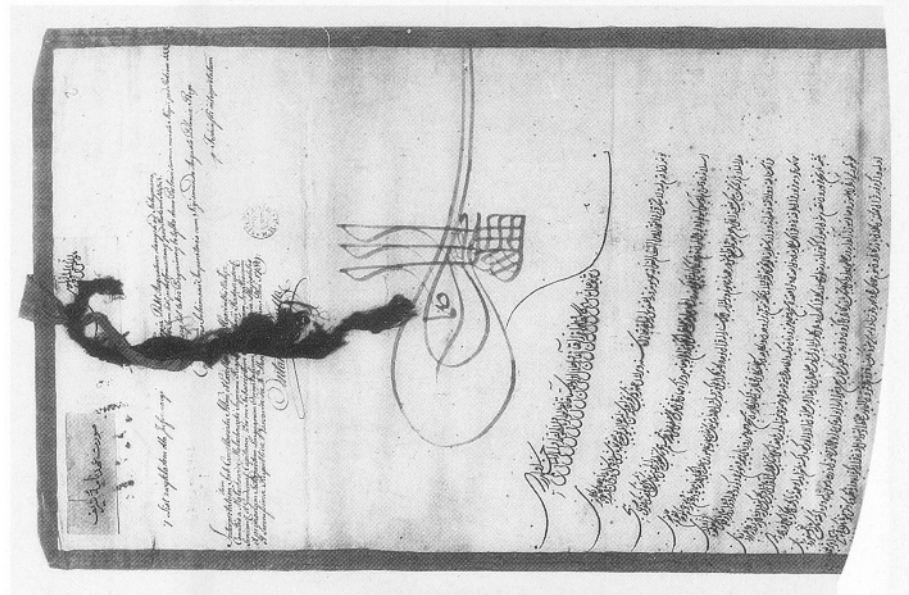
a b

حضرت عزت جلالت قدره وعلت کلمات عیاتی
 و همی پیر نبوت اختراع قوت تشبیه ای انبیا
 و مقتدای فرقه اصفا محمداً مصطفی نکه
 صلی الله علیه و لم معجزات کثیره البرکاتی و درت
 یاربنا که ابو بکر و عمر و علی و فاطمه
 الله علیه اجمعین انزل و ارج قدس سره مراقبتله

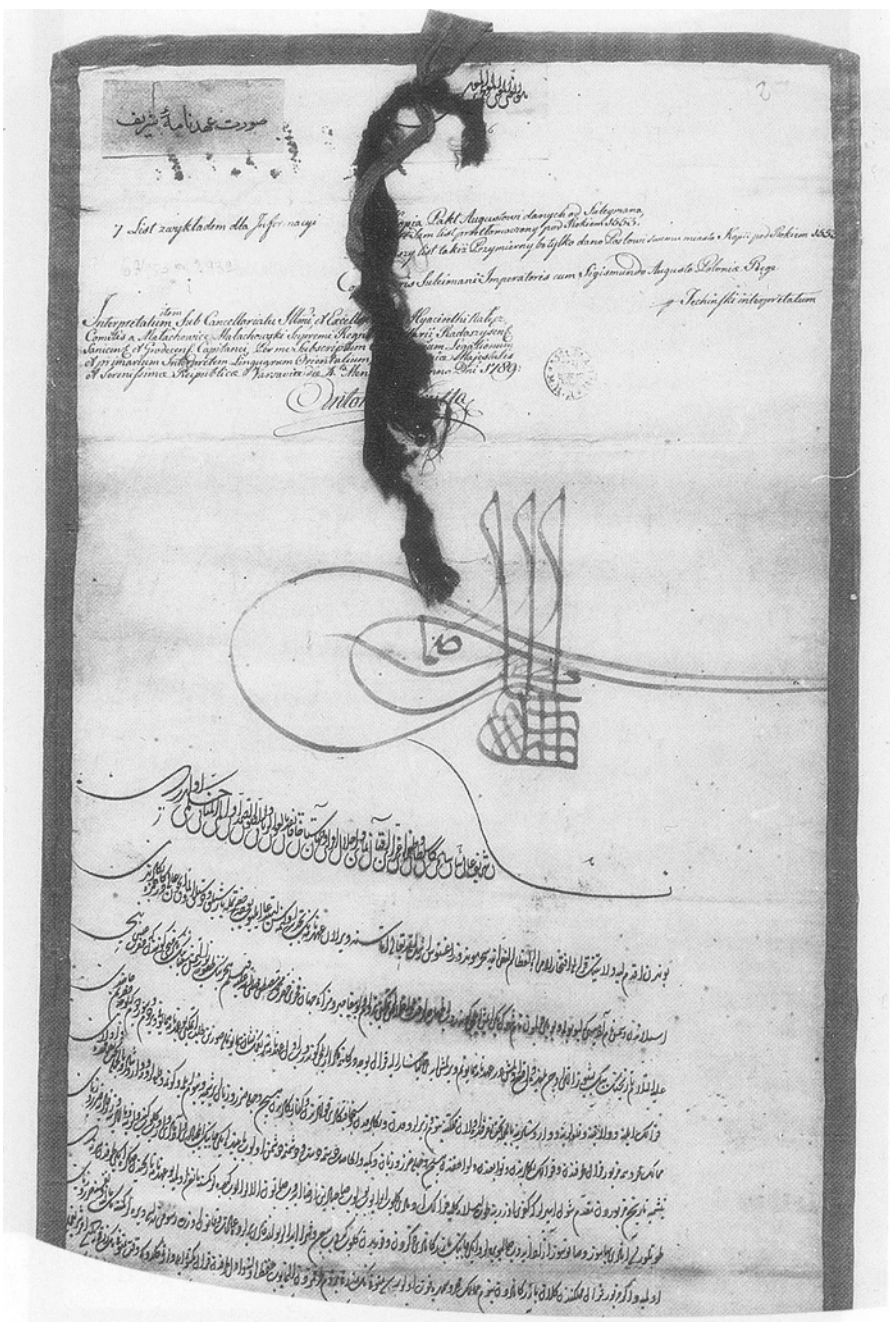




Facs. Vd



Facs. Vla-b DOC. 17 (6-15 December 1554) The Ottoman copy (*suret-i 'ahdname*) issued on the request of the Polish king and reiterating the conditions of the '*ahdname* of 1553



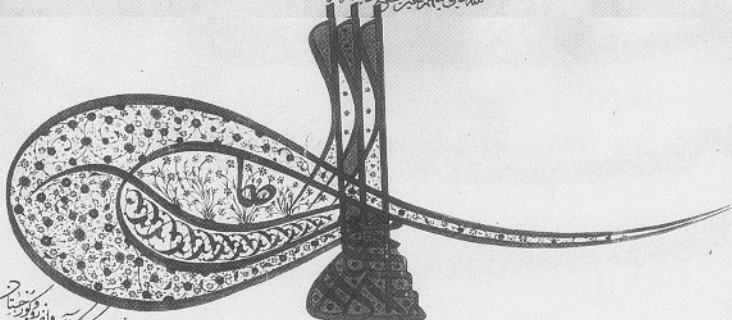
Facs. VIa

Die Originalen der vorstehenden
 der Königl. Hofbibliothek zu Wien
 am 17. Juli 1577
 Stephan Báthory

40
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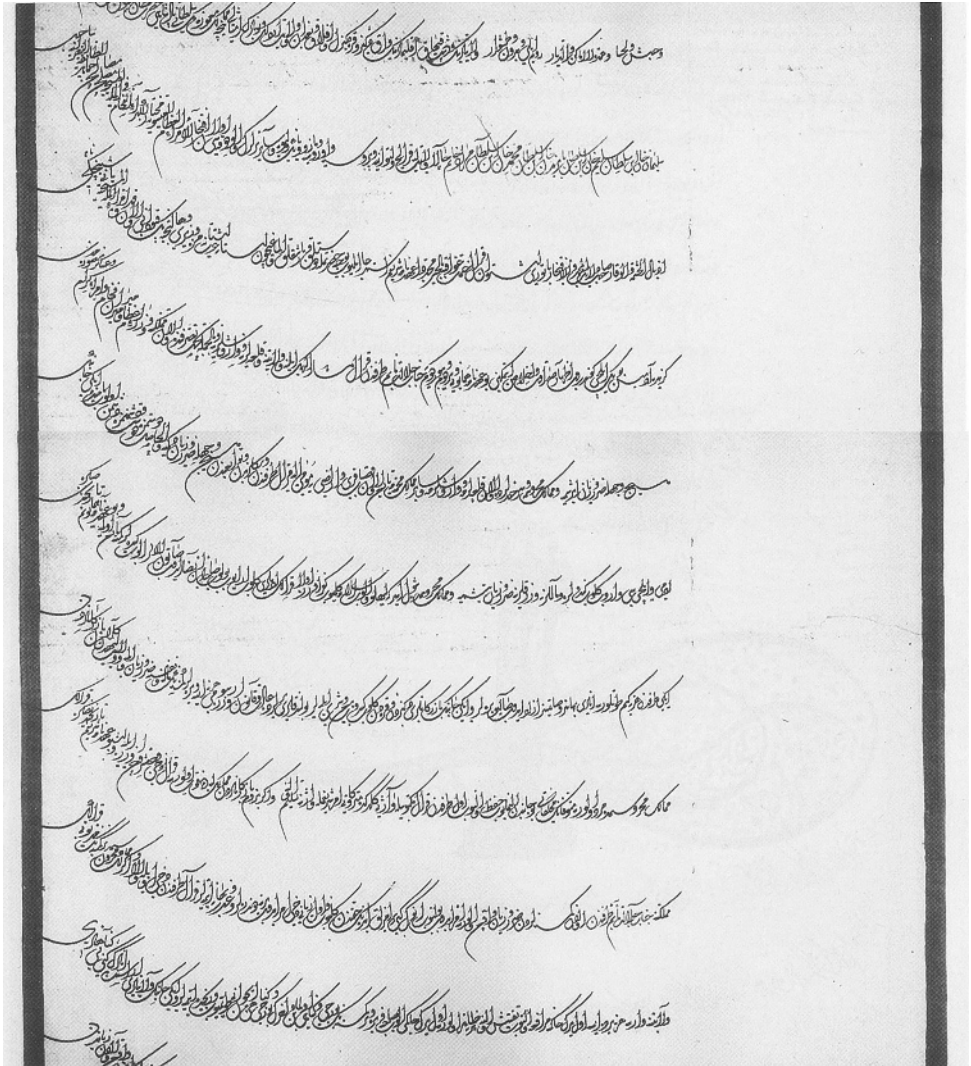
Received from the Imperial Library of Vienna
 the original of the above mentioned
 document
 Antonius Juel

حضرت زین العزت جلّت قدرته وعلت عظمته
 اختر برج قوت بنوای من اینک مقدر بود که
 عین خطه علی الدفء الی علمه جلّت عزراته
 الله تعالی علی العزت من جمیع البلاء و
 دنیا و آخرت



این ابدن من در این زمانه
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Facs. VIIa-d DOC. 21 (17 July 1577) The 'ahdname sent by Murad III to King Stephan Báthory



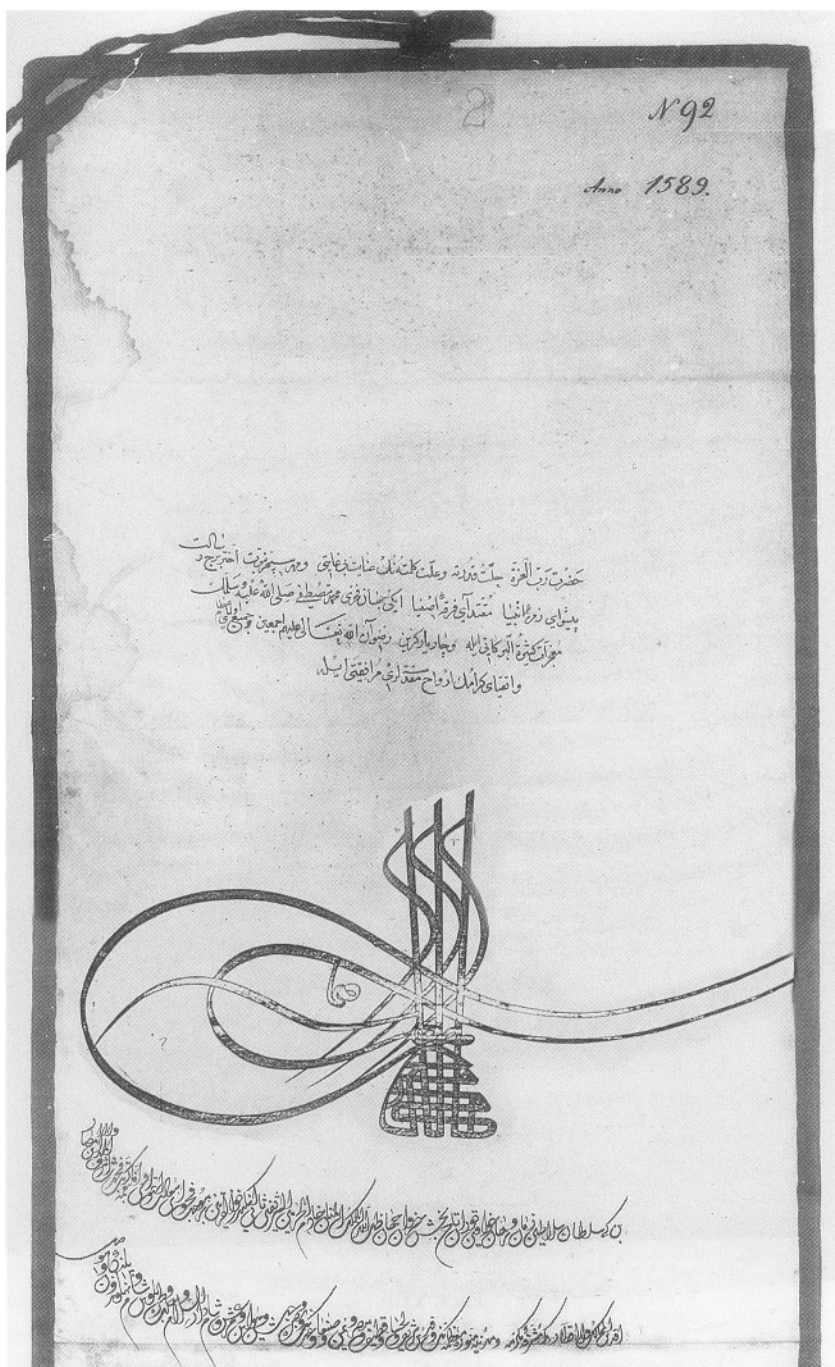
Facs. VIIb

N^o. 169

Antonijs Prutka

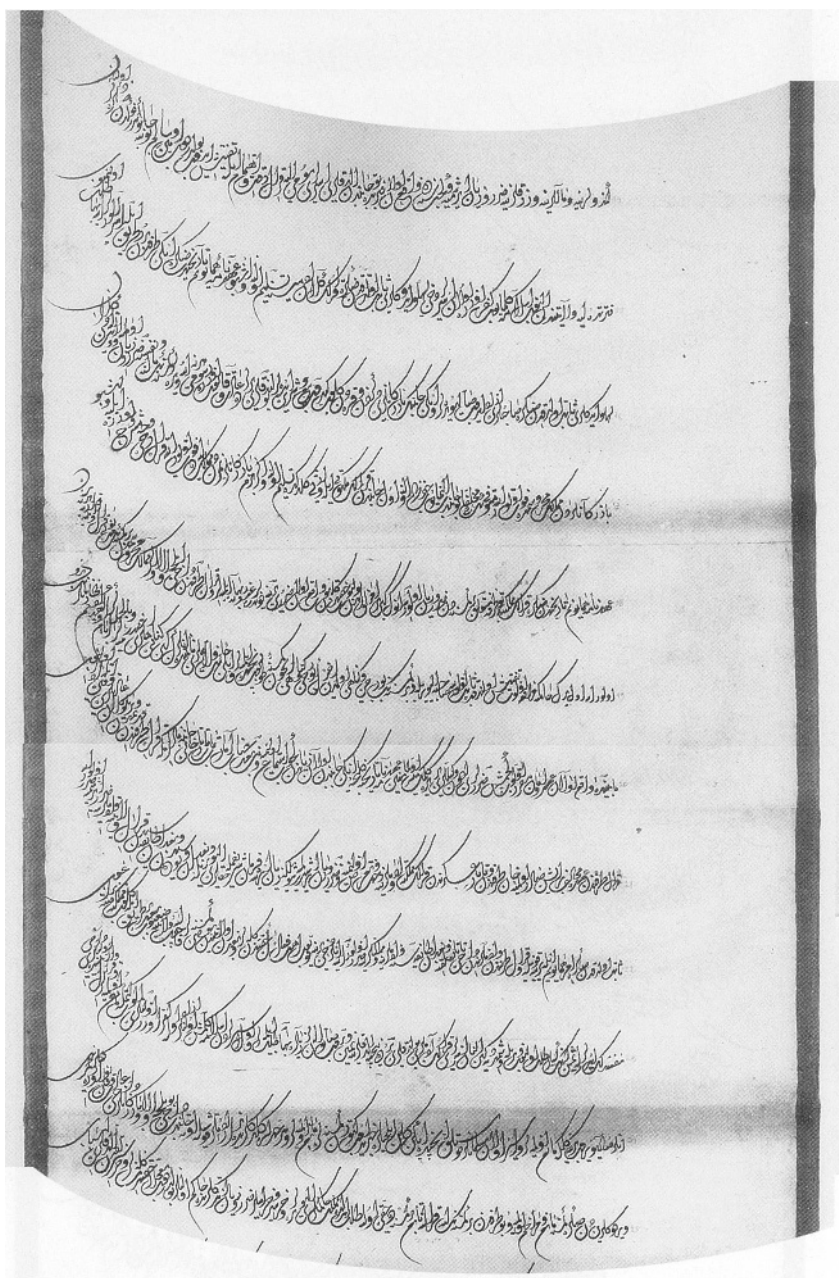
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Dariusz Kołodziejczyk - 978-90-04-50756-2

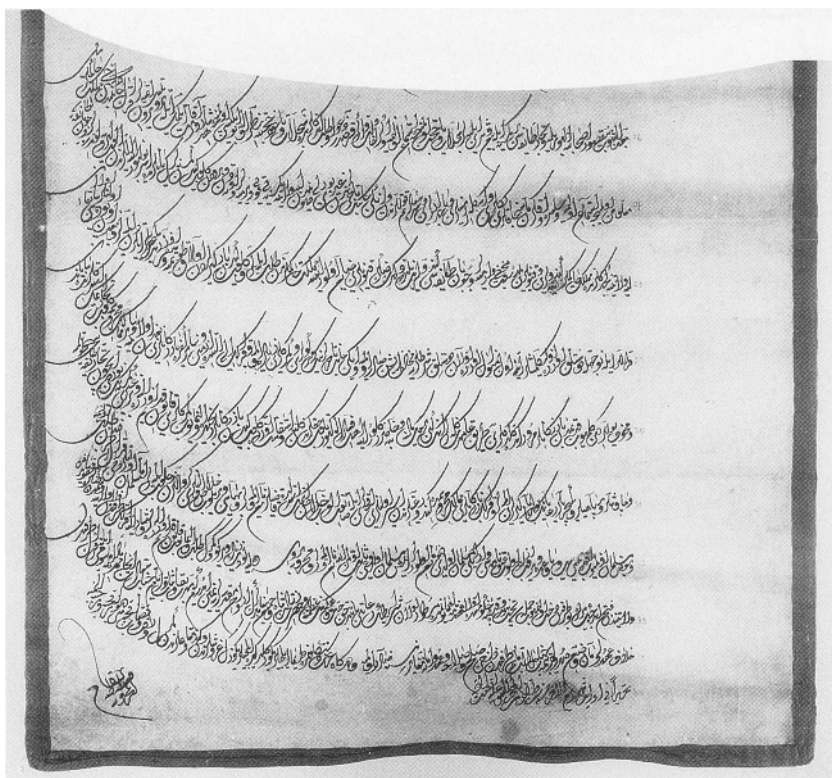


Facs. IXa-d DOC. 27 (11–20 November 1597) The ‘*ahdname*’ sent by Mehmed III to King Sigismunt III

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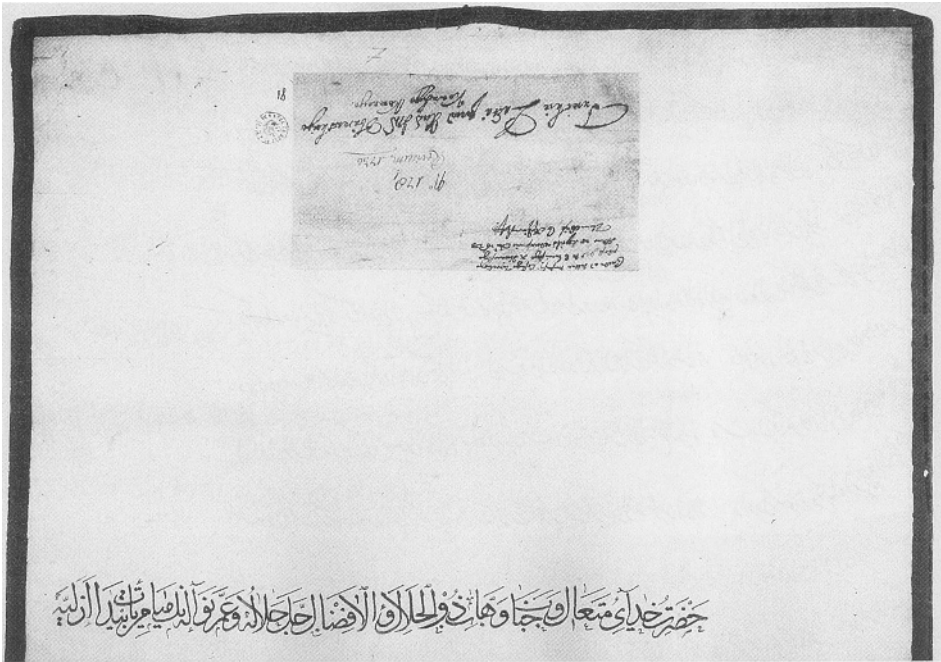
Facs. IXc



Facs. IXd

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Facs. Xa-d DOC. 28 (4 August 1598) The *'ahdname* sent by Mehmed III to King Sigismunt III

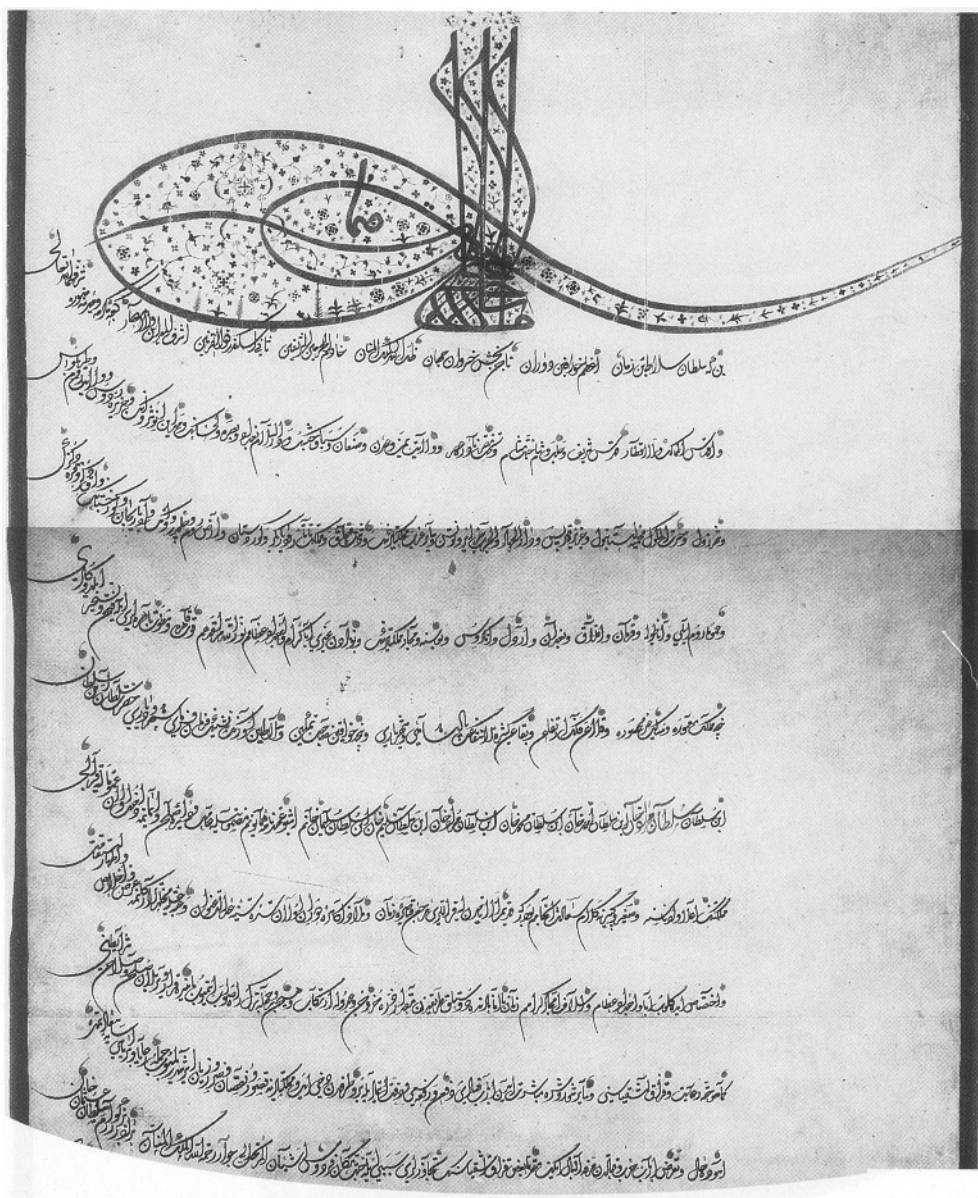


Facs. XIa-g DOC. 37 (12–21 February 1623) The *‘ahdname* sent by Mustafa I to King Sigismunt III

رضوان الله تعالى عليه لم يخف وسيل اولي الامر وثيقا لما لزمه من مفسداتهم فقتل

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Facs. XIIIb

صلح و صلح رعایت متعلقه و لای
دوستی و بازگشتن ماده لودر

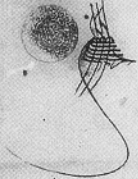
اولی ماده بود که بوقدر زمان در بر ماید بر روزی که سران
دفع ابدی زدی غرضی منطابقه لم دوعود اولون لکن بولام
معتول سوزا ویلویب همان لایم اولان قرآن اشتیاقی
اول امله لودن قالدروب ایچو کویون سر وینا
فرع دکن و مالک محروسه و فریم دیارن فرم و در یاد
قرآن طایفه سی چقا ویلویب منع دفع اوله ناکه بولاند
کلی و اکامان و بوجان و بچیلویب ده اولان طایفه دج
قالدروب فریم دیارن کویونروب محکم منط و معتزلی
دفع دفع اوله و فریم نایزیک دفع و معتزلی چون قدید
هرسه خان عالیشان معتزلی نه معهود اولان و بر کوی ادا
اولد بجه بولاندن دخی خان مشا ایه حفرتی و قاعقا بلی
وسکتا نیری و سایر دیرلری و نایز طایفه سی محکم منط و لویب
غارت و معتزلی منع دفع اولن مقرر د

ایچی ماده بود که منوال مشروح اوزر عمل و قرآن منط اولویب
اشکان و عظموز لای امله مالک محروسه بایلدی نه اکرا و اکم
شقیقه ایه قرآن چبقار ایسه بالاد مشطرا اولان
نایز طایفه سی و سایر دیر و بوجان نایز طایفه دج
لیه و لاین غارت اکلوی طرندین سوال وارد اولیه

اویچی ماده بود که اردل ویندن و افلاق و لایز نه بر حمله
بر از نظر ایه بویوب و بایضیه و عدا نه اخرون کسینه بکو
و عیبری طریشه امداد و بر حمله معاونت و مطهرت اولویب
خلای فی ظهرا و ادر ایسه صلح و صلح احوالی دفع اولن اقفا ادر

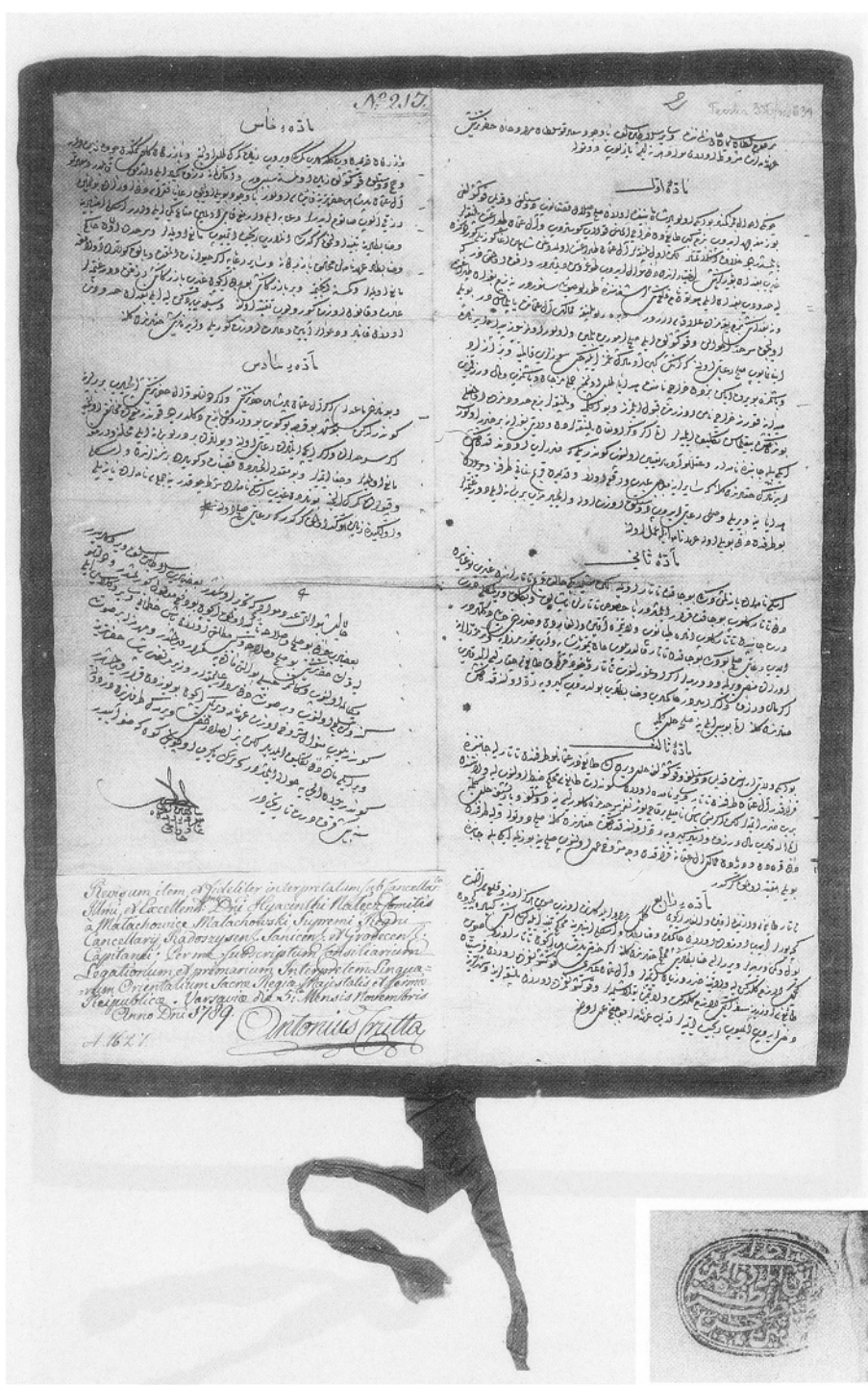
در دخی ماده بود که مقدها و بویون عهد نامه ها بویون عیبر
و نیبیه اولان جود و منوط هر ایسه طرندین رعایت اولویب
دفع قدر ملایقه حوان کوسه تلیه ناکه صلح و صلح
مستمر و برقرار اوله

بیشی ماده بود که صلح و صلح احوالی وجه مشروح اوزر
ثبوت و ظاهری و طرندین اولان اشکارا حضور صلح
نکته اولویب صلح احوالنه نام ثبات و قرار و بر لای کسینه
طرندین اولان اسیر لویب و سلب اولویب مخالفت لای قنیه

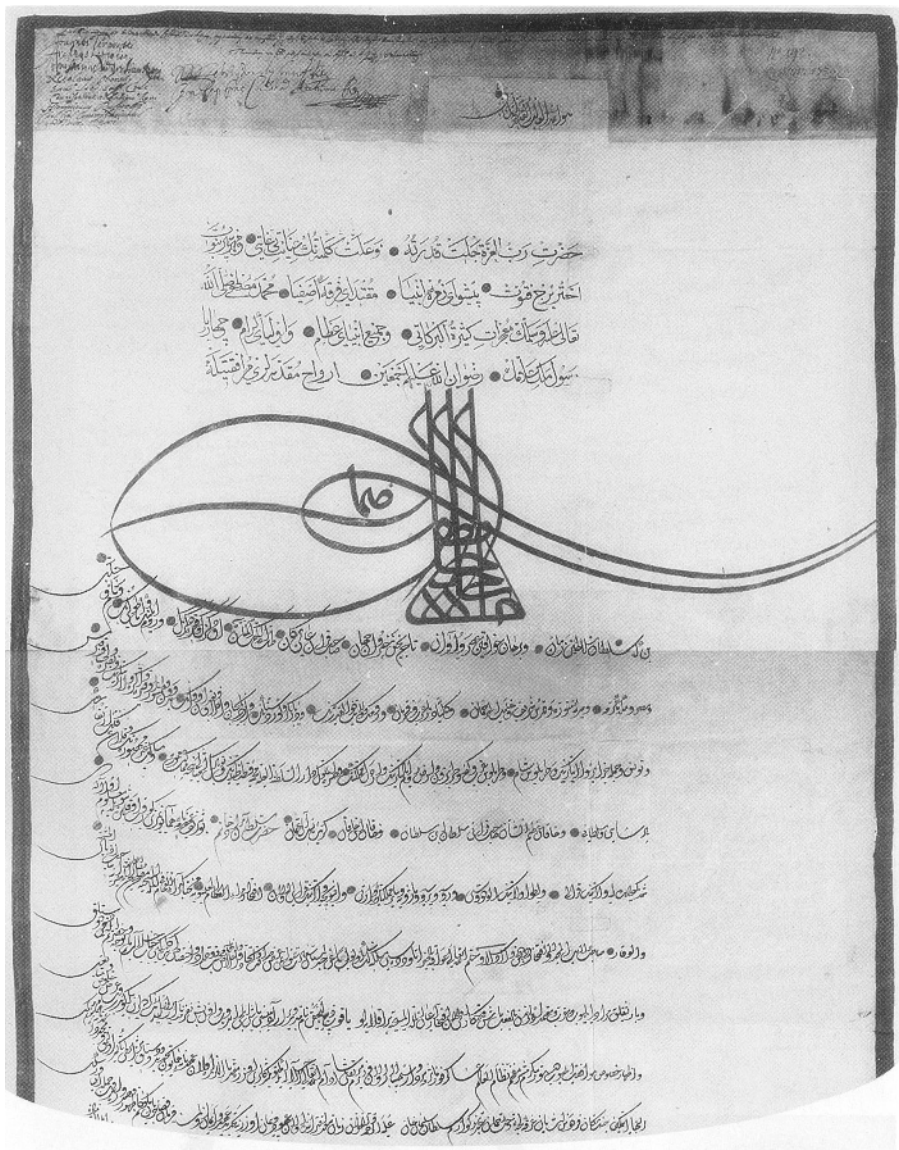


Handwritten text in Latin script, likely a diplomatic note or signature.

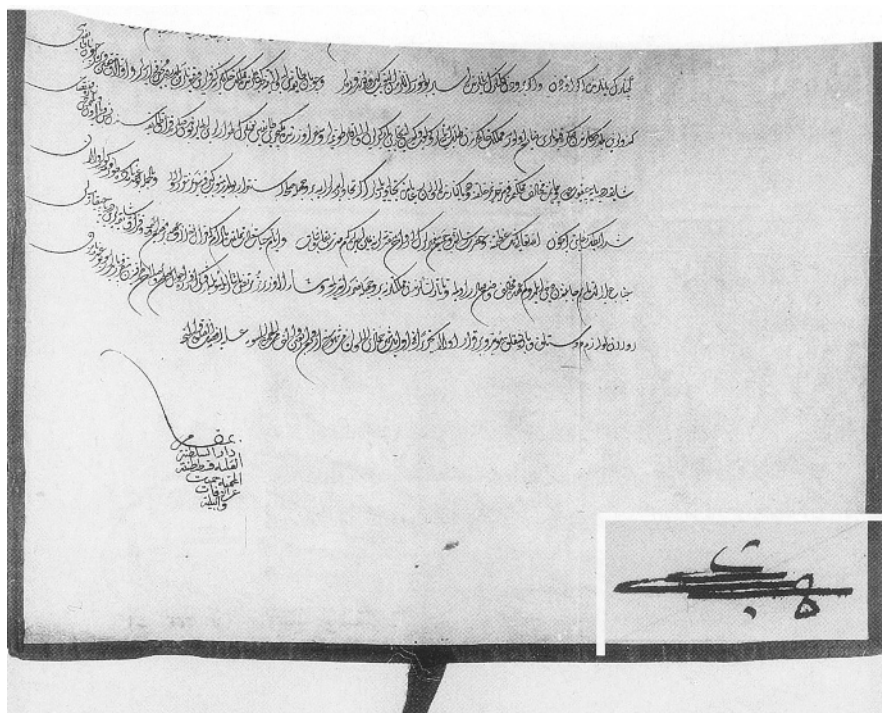
Handwritten text in Latin script, likely a diplomatic note or signature.



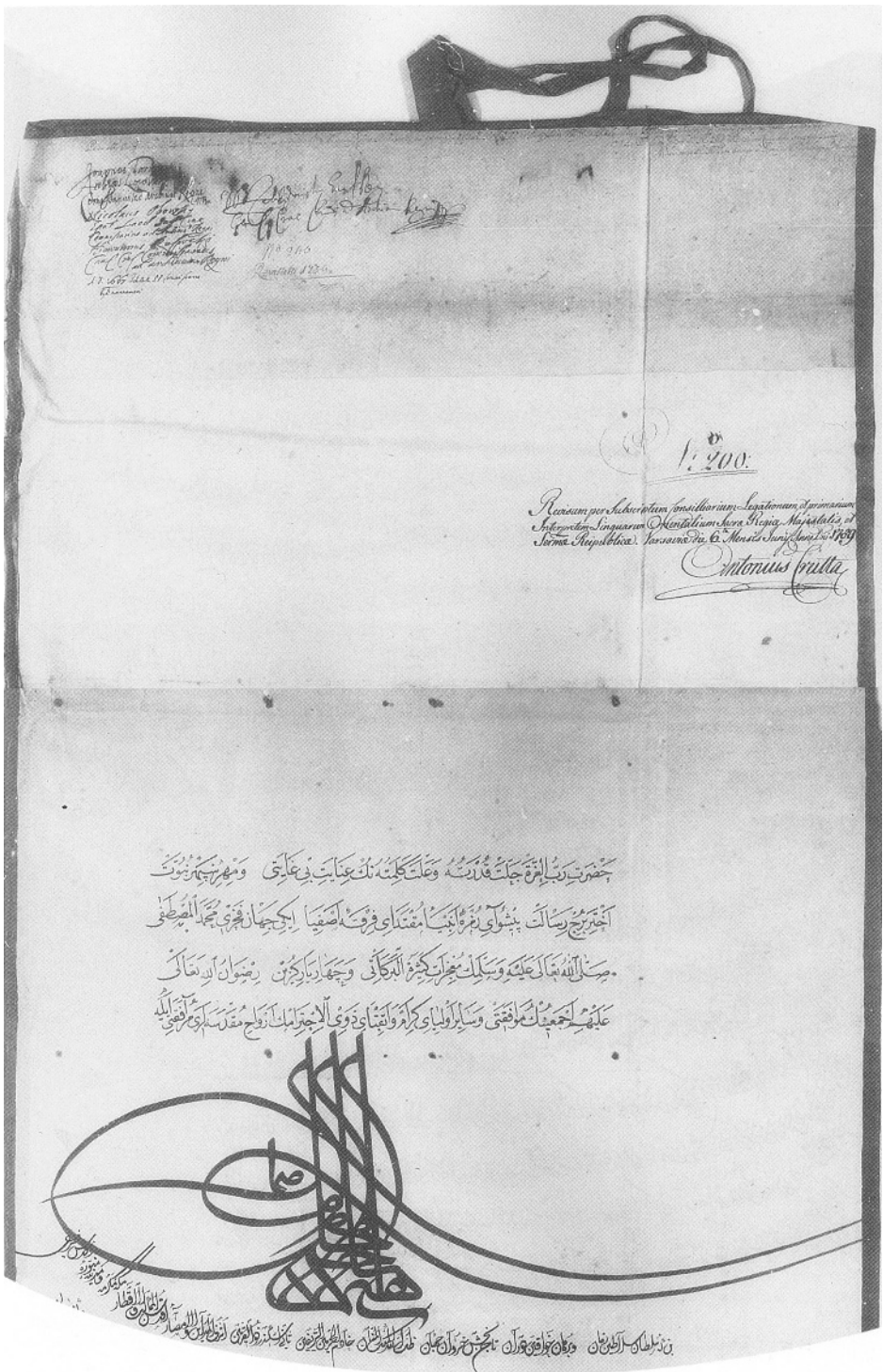
Facs. XIVa-b DOC. 43 (19 August 1634) The Ottoman document of agreement concluded between Shahin Agha and Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski



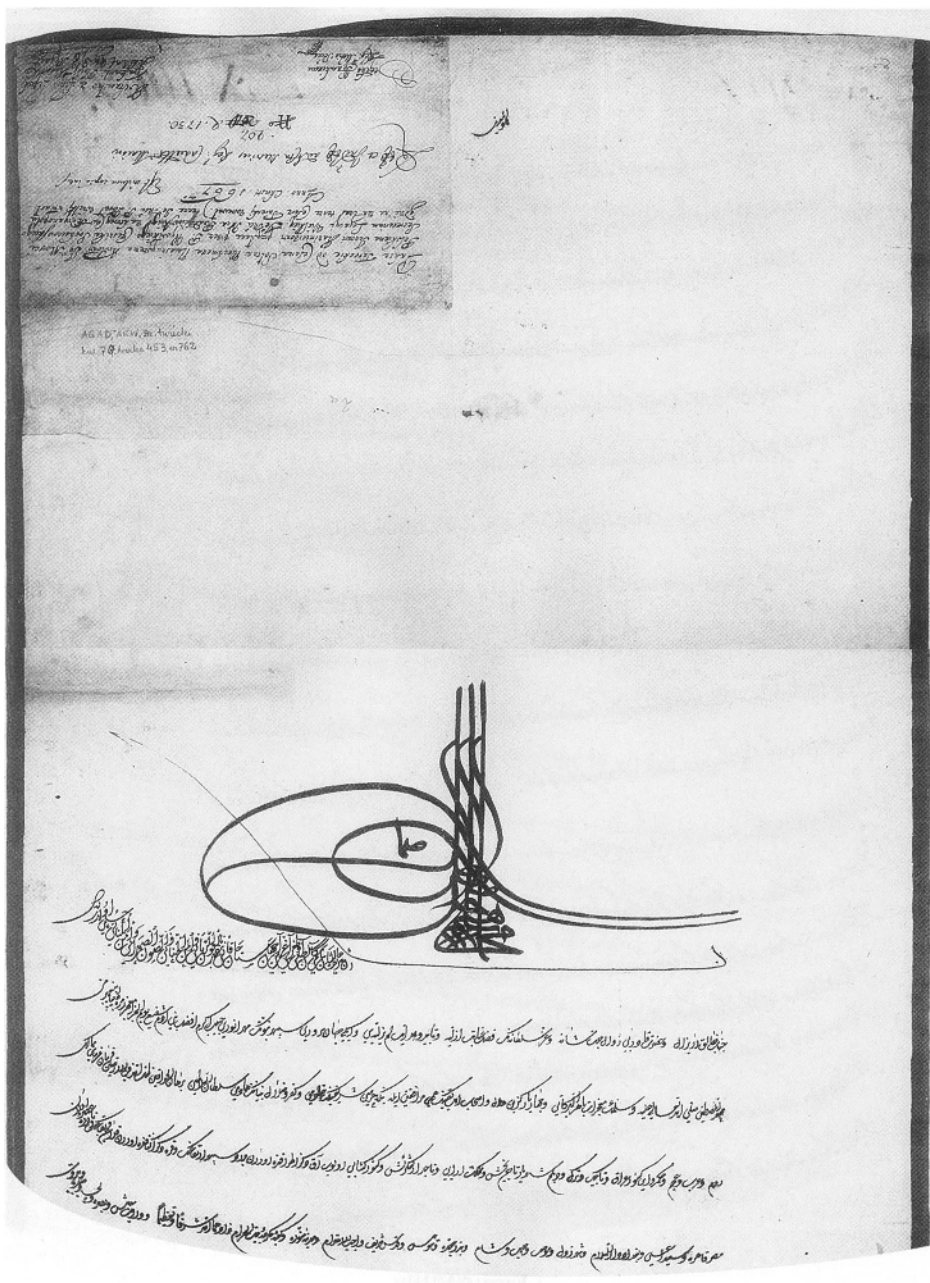
Facs. XVIa-d DOC. 45 (23 October–1 November 1634) The 'ahdname sent by Murad IV to King Ladislaus IV



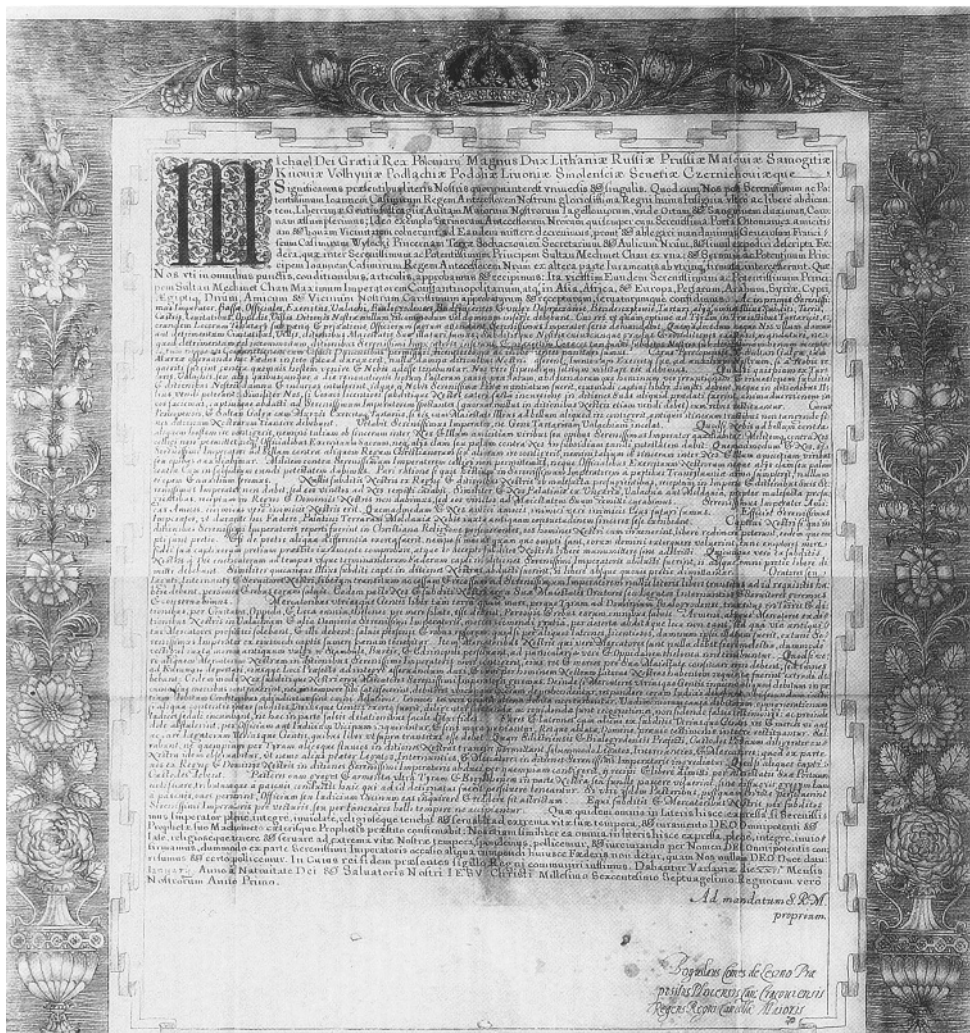
Facs. XVIc-d



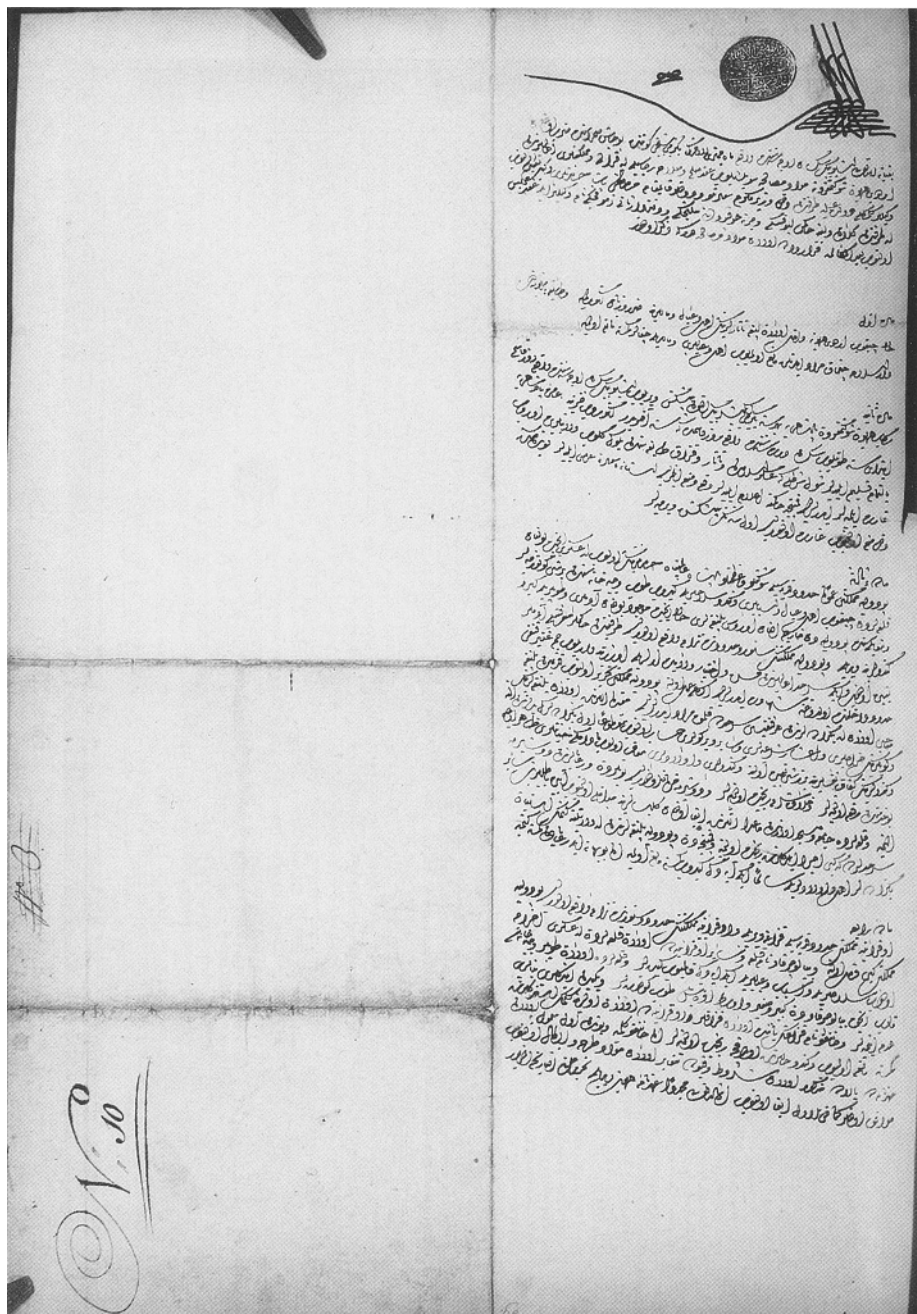
Facs. XVIIa-e DOC. 46 (13-22 May 1640) The 'ahdname sent by Ibrahim I to King Ladislaus IV



Facs. XVIIIa-e DOC. 48 (2-11 August 1667) The 'ahdname sent by Mehmed IV to King John Casimir



Facs. XIX DOC. 49 (26 January 1670) The royal confirmation of the treaty of 1667

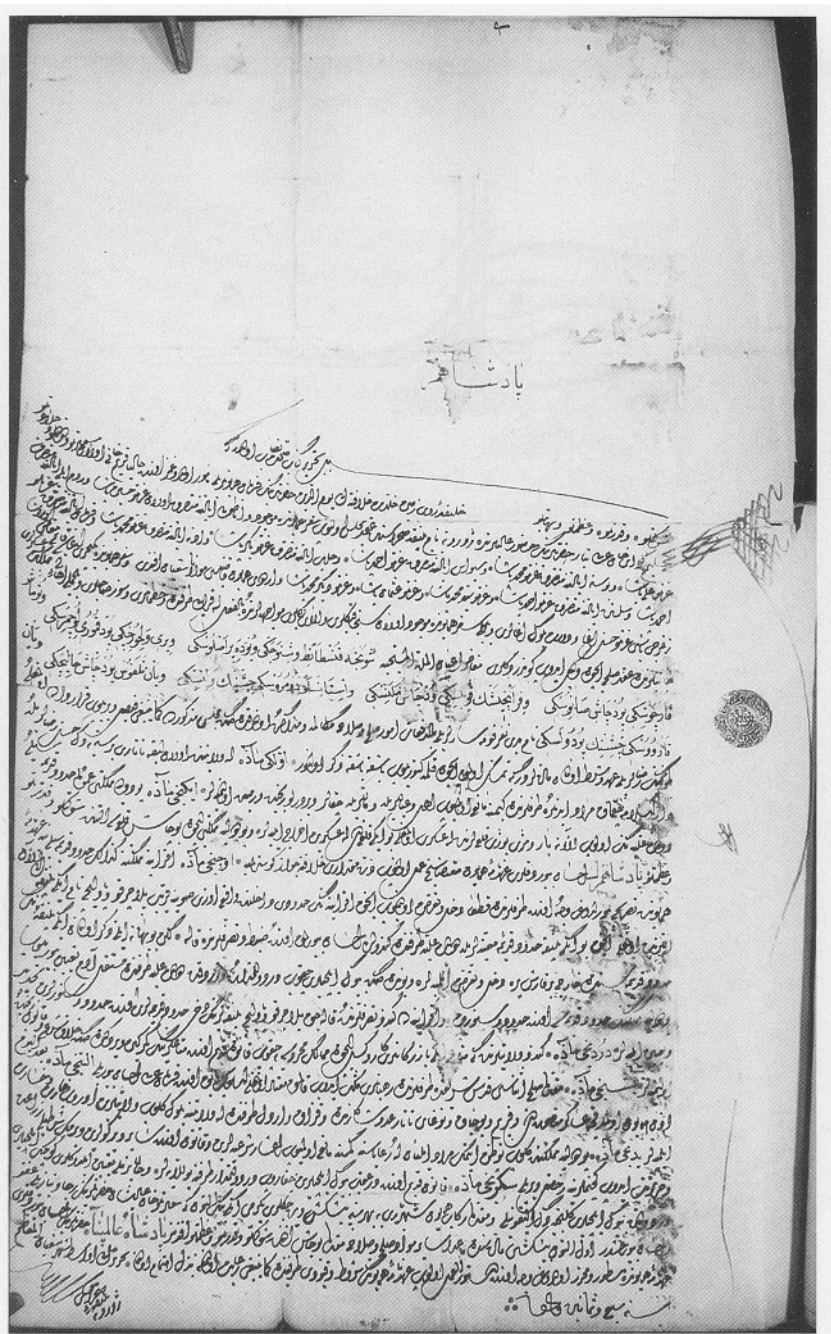


Facs. XX DOC. 51 (18 October 1672) The Ottoman document of the agreement of Buczacz

Antonius Feller

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Facs. XXII DOC. 54 (17 October 1676) The Ottoman document of the agreement of Żurawno

Handwritten Ottoman Turkish text, likely a formal letter or decree, featuring a large, ornate signature at the top center. The text is written in a cursive script and is arranged in several lines, with some lines being more prominent than others. The document is dated 1678, as indicated by the caption.

Facs. XXIIIa-d DOC. 55 (4-13 April 1678) The 'ahdname sent by Mehmed IV to King John III

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[illegible][illegible]

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[illegible]

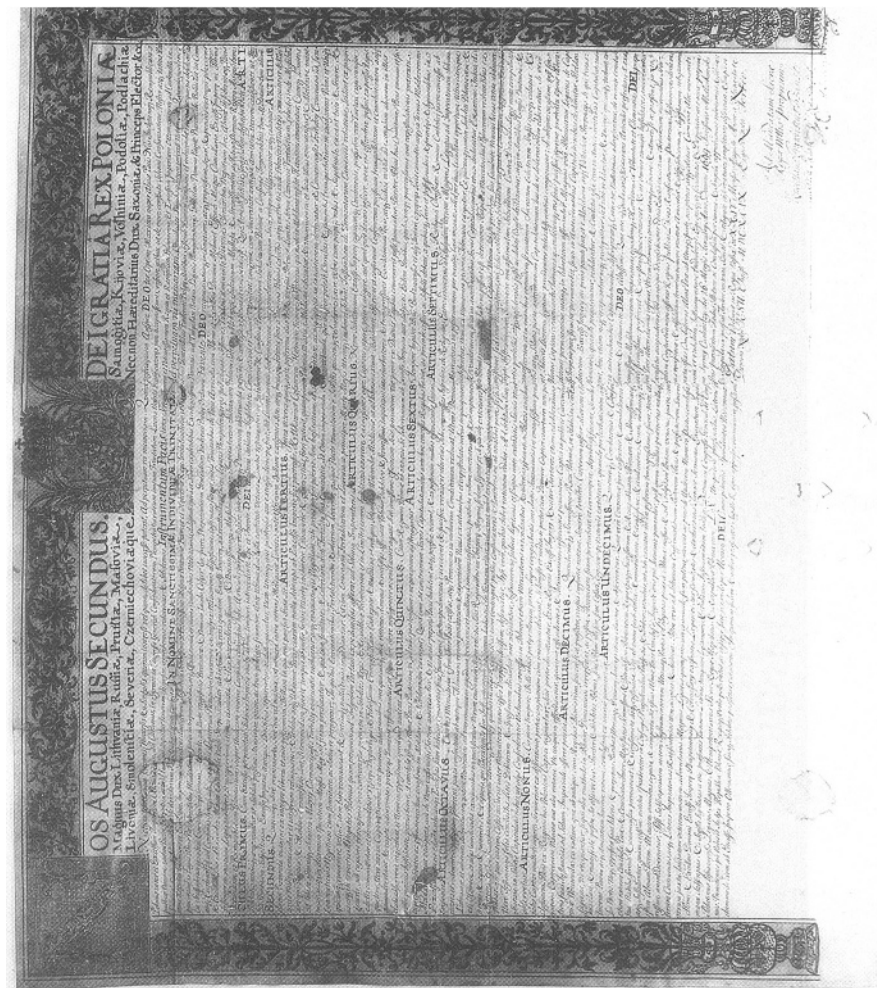
حکمک انما بوجه حد فیکلمه سرو فحد حق قد مدته علمان محدود در
 قبل طریقی بر خود نوی یایع و نور انما حق و سئل انما بوجه حد حق
 طریقی بر خود نوی یایع و نور انما حق و سئل انما بوجه حد حق
 هالیند کلمه فیض و انما حق و نور انما حق و سئل انما بوجه حد حق
 و اما فی یایع و نور انما حق و سئل انما بوجه حد حق

داخل در غیر جای لی تصرف نمودن کواریا قریب حدودی مشهور
 محل غیر درج شده است و اینها بابت طریقه حمل و نقل
 بکل کیم که بود و لی و لا تنک حدود و دیو می و محلات نهایت بود
 لی طایفه می حدود و محلات قریب و لا تنک و لا تنک و لا تنک
 و استناد و لا تنک و لا تنک و لا تنک و لا تنک و لا تنک
 بود و لی و غیر طریقی لی و لا تنک و لا تنک و لا تنک و لا تنک
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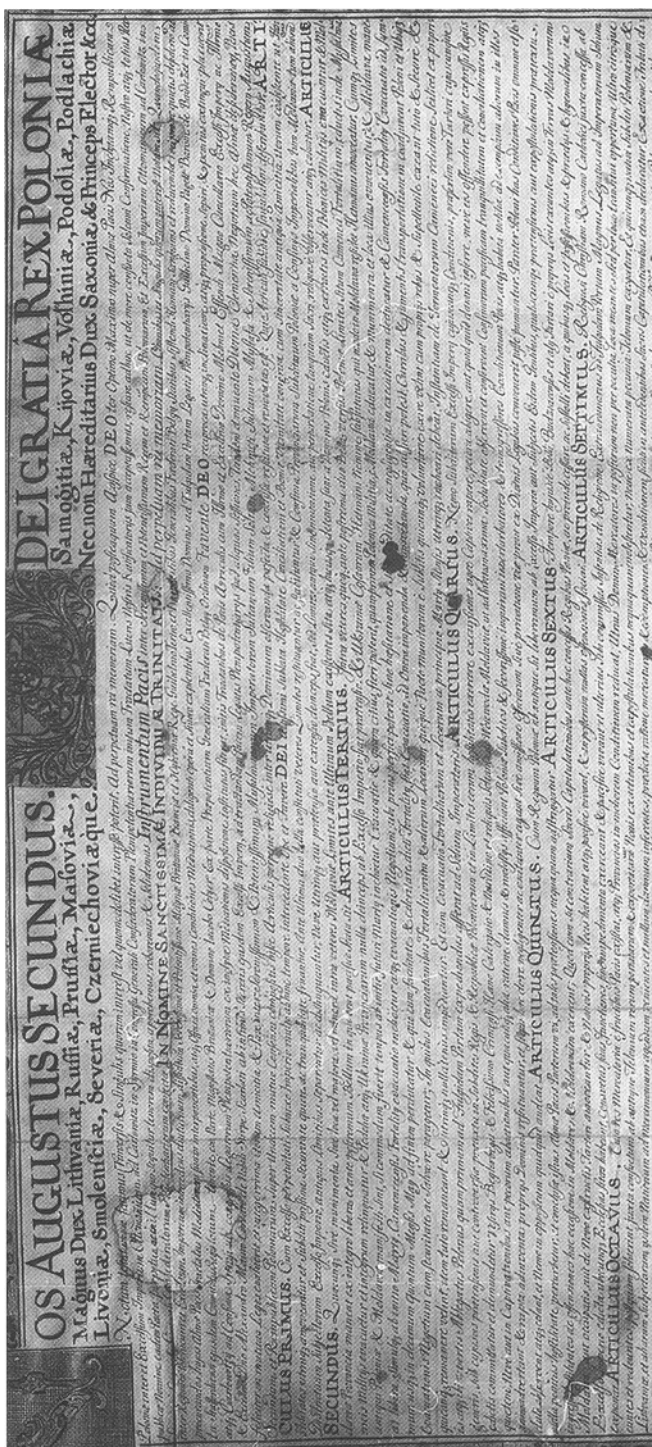
جمله ملک مسلمین بود و لا تنک و لا تنک و لا تنک و لا تنک و لا تنک
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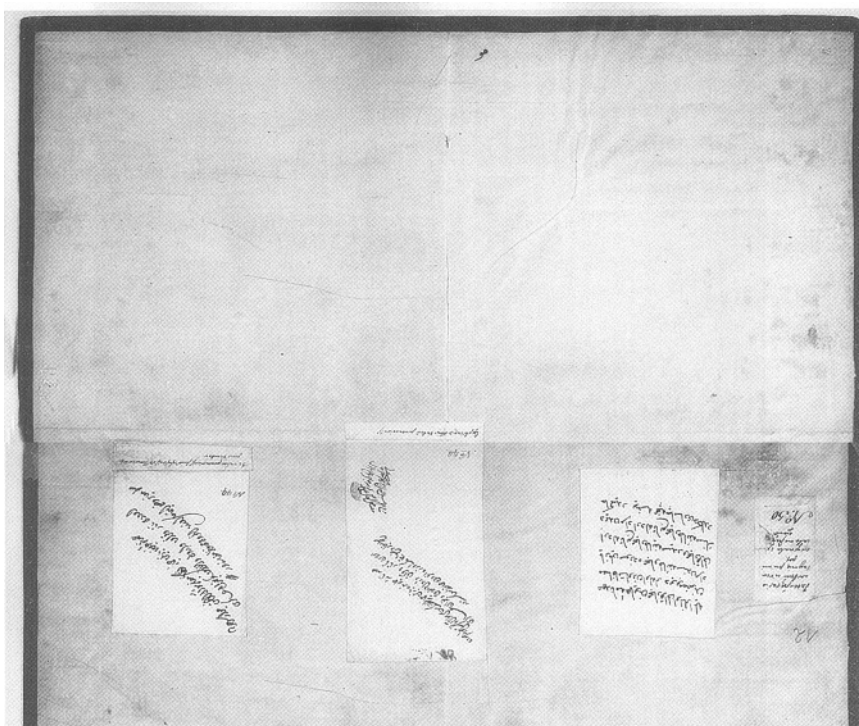


Facs. XXVI DOC. 61 (24 August 1699) The royal confirmation of the treaty (second version)

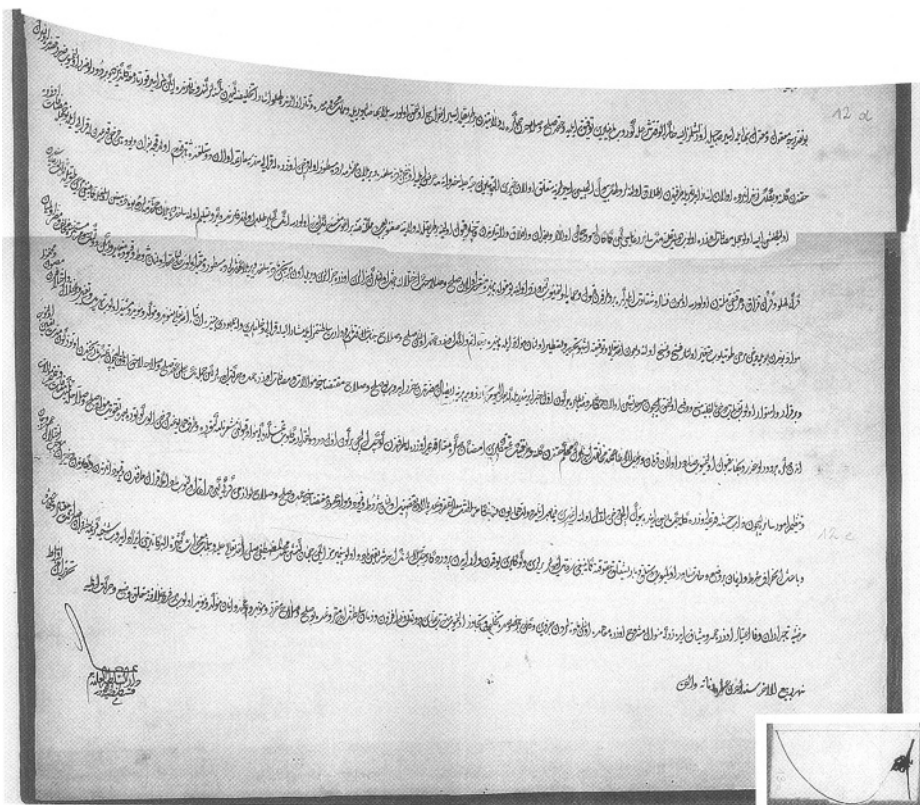


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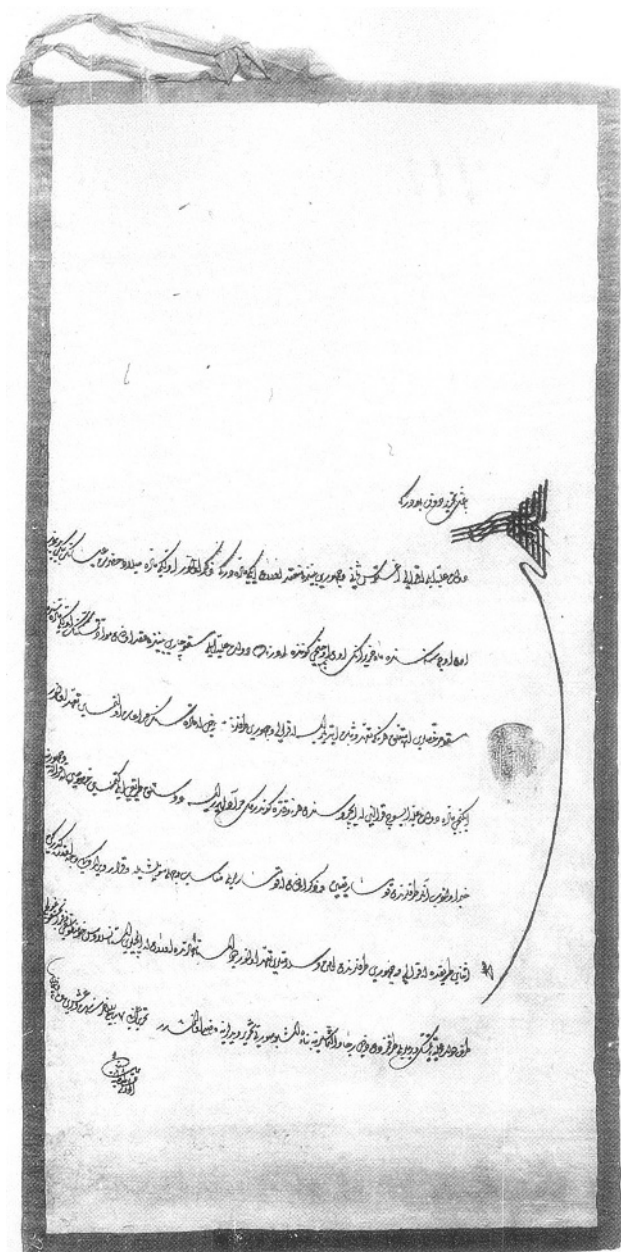
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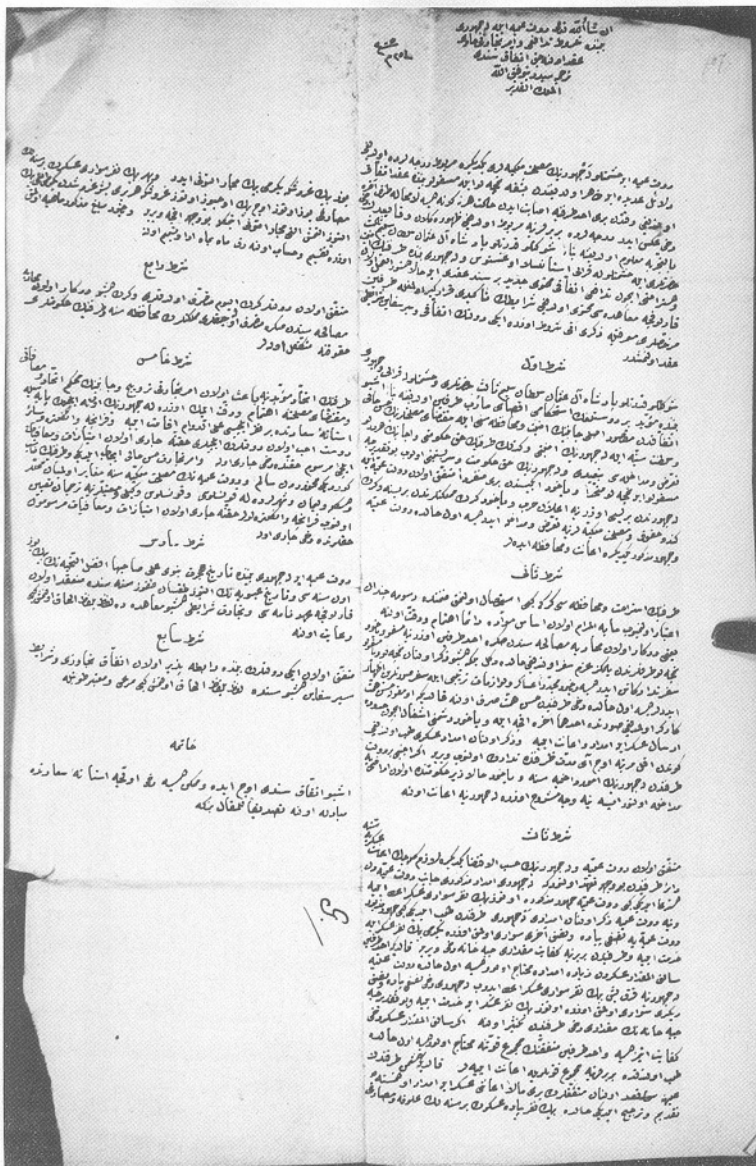
Facs. XXVIIa-e DOC. 62 (6-15 October 1699) The 'ahdname sent by Mustafa II to King August II



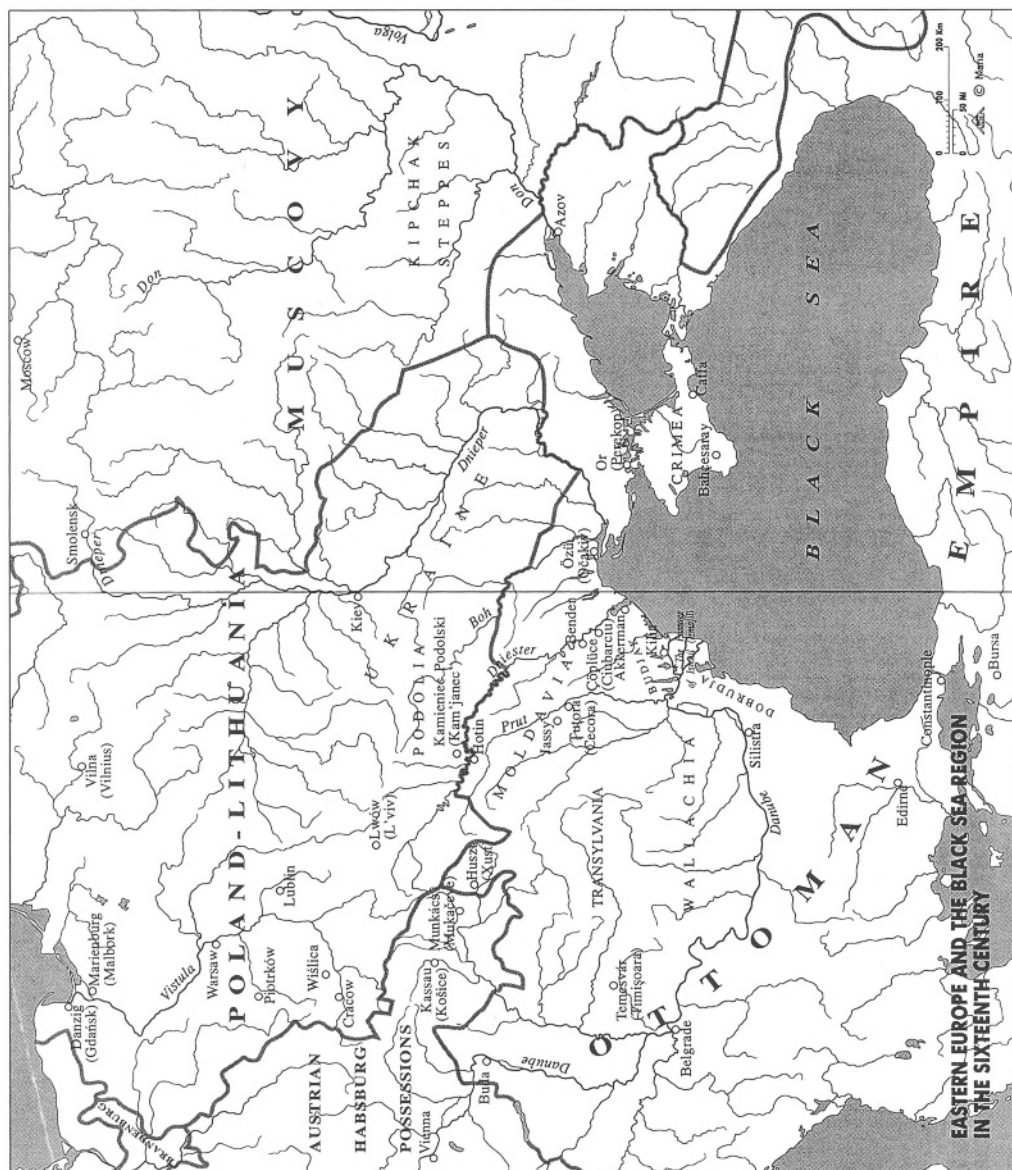
Facs. XXVIIId-e



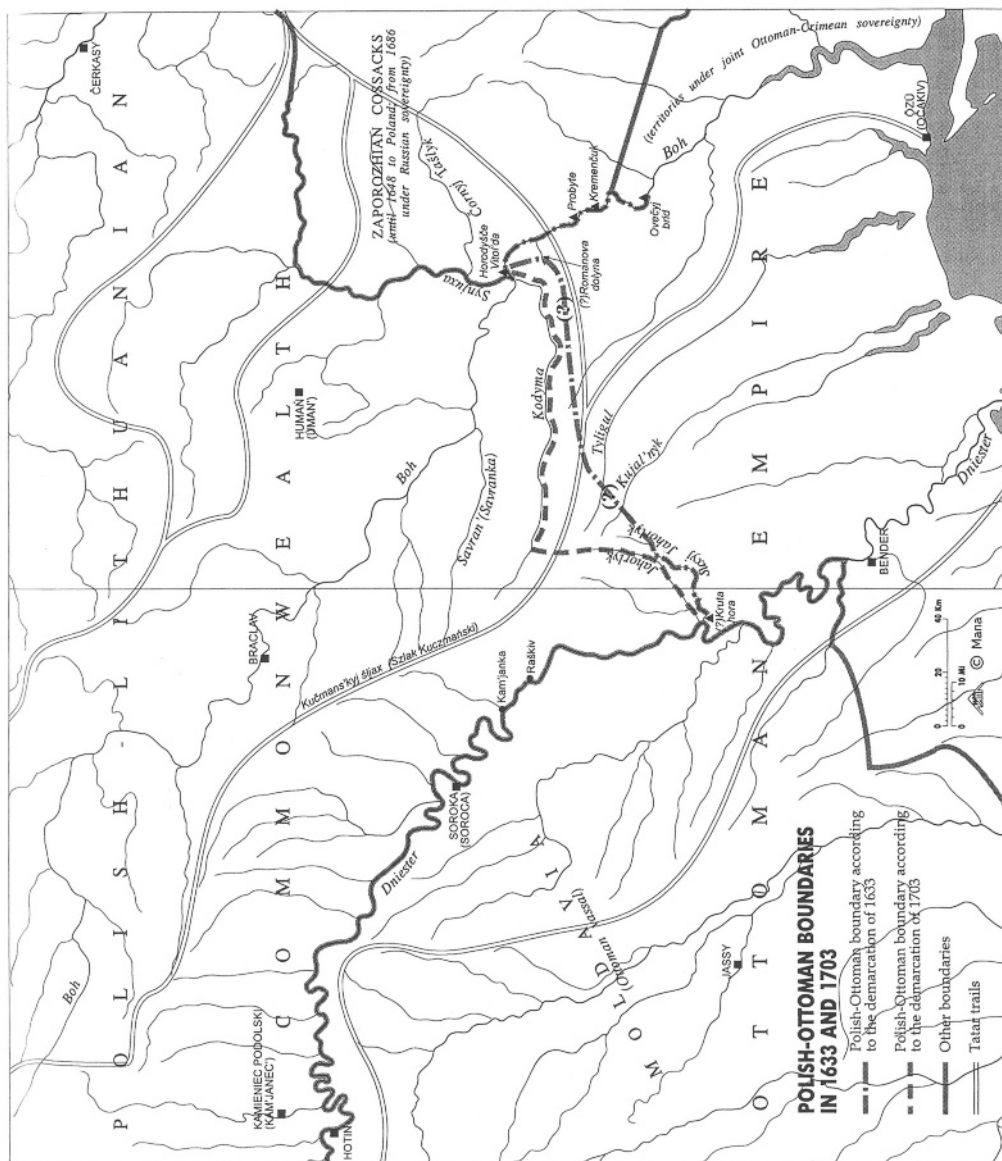
Facs. XXX DOC. 65 (22 April 1714) The Ottoman document containing two articles of peace agreed upon between the grand vizier Damad Ali Pasha and the Polish envoy Stanisław Chomentowski



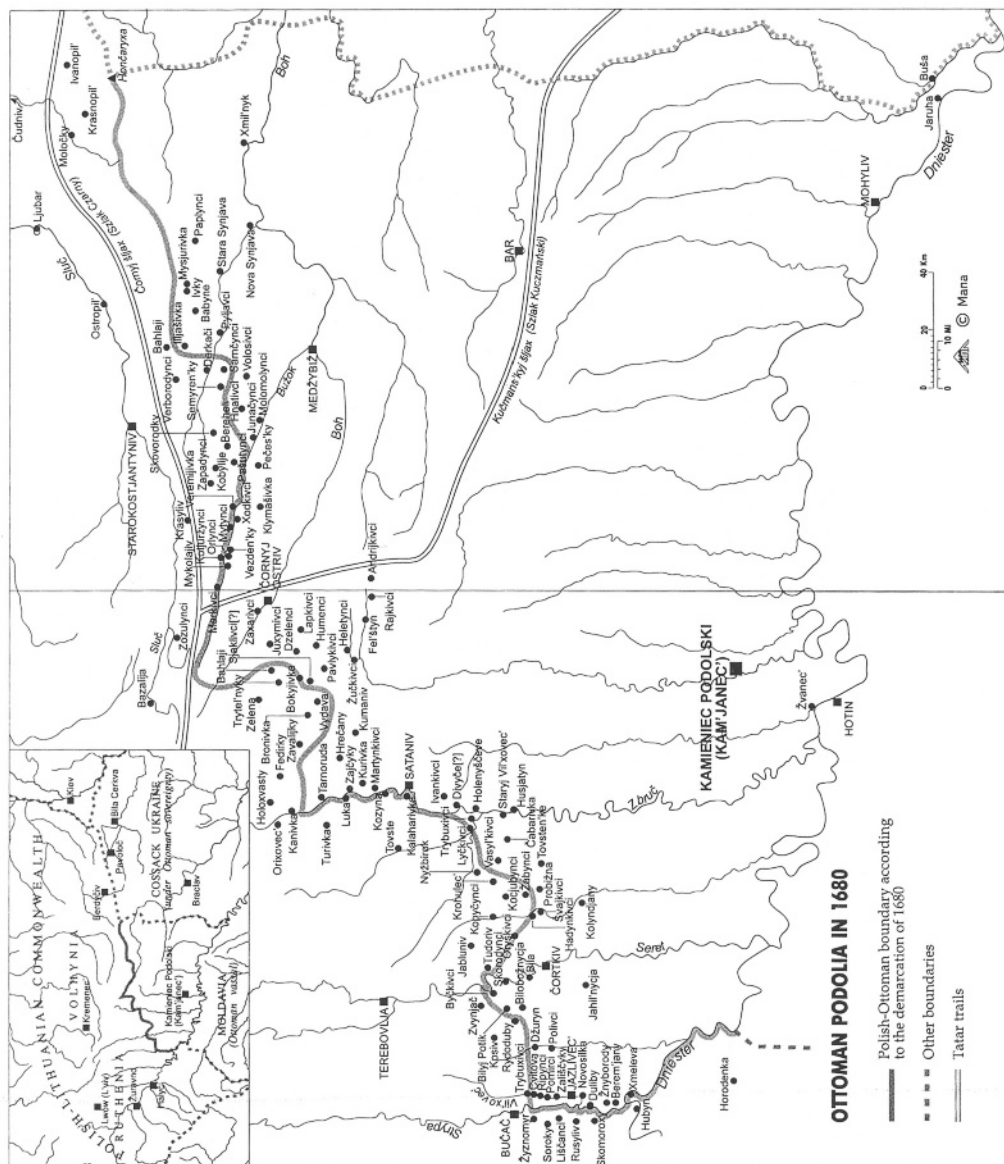
Facs. XXXI DOC. 67 (4 October 1790) Proposed Polish–Ottoman defensive and protection treaty (Turkish translation from French)



Map 1



Map 2



THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS HERITAGE

Politics, Society and Economy

1. İslamoğlu-Inan, H. *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire*. Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic Development in Ottoman Anatolia during the Sixteenth Century. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10028 8
2. Leeuwen, R. van. *Notables and Clergy in Mount Lebanon*. The Khāzin Sheikhs and the Maronite Church (1736-1840). 1994. ISBN 90 04 09978 6
3. Aksan, V.H. *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace*. Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1700-1783). 1995. ISBN 90 04 10116 0
4. Har-El, S. *Struggle for Domination*. The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485-91. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10180 2
5. Abu Shouk, A.I. and Bjørkelo, A. (eds. & trs.). *The Public Treasury of the Muslims*. Monthly Budgets of the Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1897. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10358 9
6. Darling, L.T. *Revenue Raising and Legitimacy*. Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10289 2
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